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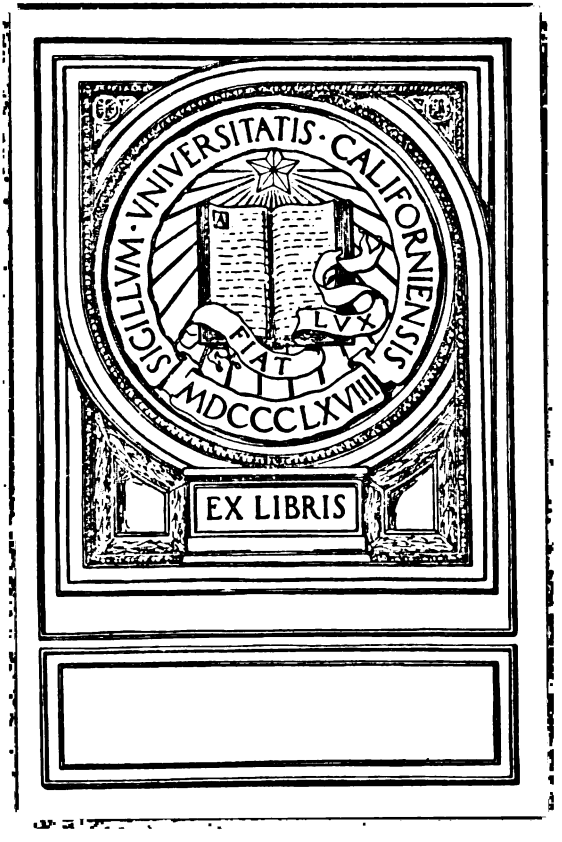
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THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF JAPAN.

VOL. XIX.

TŌKYŌ:

THE HAKUBUNSHA.

1891.

PRINTED AT THE "HAKUBUNSHA," NO. 1, SHICHŌME, GINZA, TŌKYŌ.

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THE DEPTH OF THE PACIFIC OFF THE EAST COAST OF JAPAN, WITH A COMPARISON OF OTHER OCEANIC DEPTHS.

(With Map)

BY

GEORGE E. BELKNAP, REAR-ADMIRAL, U.S.N.

(Read 15th October, 1890.)

In the late spring of 1874, I had the honour of laying before your learned Society a paper on Deep Sea Soundings. H.M.S. *Challenger* was at that time engaged in making her famous voyage of deep sea exploration round the world, and the U.S.S. *Tuscarora*, under my command, had just arrived in this bay on a similar work, so far as pertained to depths, currents, character of bottom soil, and ocean temperatures.

The main object of the *Tuscarora* expedition was, however, to determine the feasibility of a cable route across the mid-North Pacific from the coast of California to this port, *viâ* Honolulu and the Bonin Islands; and on the homeward run to survey a second route from a point on the East coast of Japan on a great circle running through the Aleutian chain of islands, and ending at Cape Flattery at the entrance of Puget Sound.

The mid-Pacific line of survey had been successfully run, and the *Tuscarora*, entering Yedo Bay on the morning of the 22nd April, anchored off Yokohama that afternoon,

a welcome haven of rest after much hard work and anxiety.

After a few weeks of needed recreation on the part of the officers and crew, and after the season favourable for resumption of the survey had arrived, the *Tuscarora* put to sea on the 10th of June, to begin the line of soundings on the Northern route. From what had gone before it was anticipated that the work ahead would prove to be comparatively light and easy, and all hands were jubilant over the thought of the holiday promise that seemed to be in store. No excessive depth—the greatest 3,287 fathoms—not quite $3\frac{3}{4}$ statute miles, had been found in the line just completed, where, if in any part of the Pacific, it might have been expected very deep water would be disclosed; and from the Bonin Islands to the entrance of Yedo Bay the greatest depth found was 2,435 fathoms. It was also known that up to that time the soundings of the *Challenger* in the South Pacific had not exceeded 2,900 fathoms; indeed, in all her deep sea work in that region of ocean she never sounded beyond that depth.

But a rude awakening was soon to occur, for hardly had the ship gotten a fairly good offing when, at a distance of only 100 miles from the coast, a sounding was made in 3,427 fathoms, the water having deepened more than 1,800 fathoms in a run of 30 miles. The next cast was still more startling; for when 4,643 fathoms of wire had run out it broke without bottom having been reached.

This was in the *Kuro Shiwo* or Black Stream of Japan, and the current was so strong that the wire, in spite of all that previous experience could suggest, was swept under the ship, finally parting under the strain. The purpose of the survey and amount of wire on hand forbade continued experiment, nor was it believed a cable could be laid in such deep water, encountering so strong a current. The ship was therefore headed in shore to run up the coast and begin a new line. The great circle was taken up again in lat. 40° N., but here the water also deepened rapidly, and at the third cast from the initial curve of departure the

lead dropped to 3,439 fathoms, followed by depths of 3,587 fathoms and 3,507 fathoms, 40 and 80 miles further on. Then in the next 40 miles the lead was found to drop to the great depth of 4,340 fathoms, and the Miller-Casella thermometer came up a perfect wreck from the resultant pressure. The next six soundings at intervals of 40 miles apart revealed depths of 4,356 4,041, 4,234, 4,120 4,411 and 4,655 fathoms respectively. The total time occupied in making a cast in 4,356 fathoms, and getting back a bottom specimen, was 2h. 26m. 57s.

Good specimens had been brought up from four of these depths, and in one other the specimen cup had struck solid rock.

At the last two and deepest of these casts the wire had parted. In the first instance the accident was due to over confidence and carelessness in reeling in, but in the last and deepest cast the wire fairly pulled in two, being part of a new batch of wire received at Yokohama, and not so strong as the wire originally supplied. In view of these remarkable depths developed the conclusion was irresistible that the great circle route would have to be abandoned, and a new line of less depth adopted if it could be found. It was therefore determined to run back to Hakodate for a fresh supply of coal; then to skirt the Kuriles for a considerable distance before heading over for the Aleutian chain.

These deep soundings had been made under exceptionally favourable conditions—light wind, smooth sea and gentle swell. No sinker could have dropped straighter into a well than the wire ran down in these four and five miles depths:—

"Deeper than e'er plummet sounded"

had no meaning here.

The great bard wrote at a time when the depth of the sea was an impenetrable mystery. Yet his fine dictum remained good until within the latter half of this century, for from the beginning until within a very recent period the ocean depths had remained an unanswered problem which

in every phase and epoch of civilization had baffled the skill and patience of the seaman, the quest and genius of the philosopher, the curiosity of the idler, and the impracticability of the dreamer.

But now the veil had been lifted, and the problem had been happily solved.

The appliances in use to-day for measuring the depths are so simple, so accurate in their working, that no doubt lingers to question the results obtained.

Hakodate was left on the 30th of June, and, skirting the Kuriles until Lat. 48° N. was reached, the course was laid across to Aggatou of the Aleutian group. But again the water deepened rapidly, and a depth of 3,754 fathoms was found about 110 miles west of Cape Lopatka, whence the bed rises and forms a ridge between that point and the Aleutians, like the "Dolphin Rise" on the so-called cable plateau in the North Atlantic. The depression near the Aleutians and only 70 or 80 miles from land, revealed a depth of 4,037 fathoms, thus giving us another surprise on the Northern line. The depth on the summit was 1,777 fathoms.

Turning back now to the series of depths, ranging from 3,500 fathoms to 4,600 fathoms and upwards to the southward and westward of this ridge, it is seen that a trough or basin of extraordinary depth and extent is developed along the east coast of Japan and the Kurile Islands, and under the Black Stream of greater extent than any similar or approaching depression yet found in any other region of the great oceans.

In her passage from Yokohama to Honolulu in 1875, the *Challenger* found a depth of 3,750 fathoms, some 200 miles due east from Cape King, and 3,650 fathoms, some 200 miles further on. Thence eastward 1,700 miles, or until nearly up to the Meridian of the Hawaiian Islands, her soundings were all less than 3,000 fathoms.

Her first two soundings after leaving Yokohama probably indicated somewhere near the beginning of this great depression of the ocean bed at its southern part, and an

inspection of the chart with the positions of all these deep soundings plotted, leads to the reasonable inference that this deep submarine valley extends along the coasts in a parallel direction for more than 700 miles, with a probable width of some 250 miles.

Now, taking the deepest cast of 4,655 fathoms, or 27,930 feet, which is something more than five and a quarter statute miles—the deepest water yet found—its marvellous character will be more vividly apprehended if we consider the fact that could the great mountain of Japan—the noble Fujiyama—be slid off into this deep basin, another mountain of like mass and height might be piled on top of its peaks and yet its doubled height would be nearly two-thirds of a mile under water!

But interesting as are the facts so far disclosed in the development of this wonderful valley in the ocean's bed, the story is by no means yet complete. Further research would doubtless reveal still greater depths; define the boundaries of the great depression; and determine the varying directions, strength, depth, breadth, length, and temperatures of the great Black Stream.

For many years the Government of the United States employed its Naval officers and officers of the Coast Survey in investigating the extent, depth, and other physical characteristics of a similar river in the ocean—the Gulf Stream, which sweeps along its Atlantic coast.

Many facts and phenomena of interest and importance were thus added to our knowledge of the physics of the sea, and much credit accrued to all engaged in that research.

The officers of the Japanese Navy would confer like lustre upon their own service and country, and benefit to the world, were they permitted to do a similar work in their own *Kuro Shiwo*.

In surveying the coasts and harbours of the empire they have made an excellent showing; the exploration of the *Kuro Shiwo* and the deep valley under it, would undoubtedly yield rich results; it would also add notably to the experience of the Japanese officers and men in hydrographic work,

and give them a confidence in that direction possibly not heretofore felt.

This region of the Pacific has been named by the German geographer Petermann "The Tuscarora Deep," and there would seem to be no more promising field for oceanic investigation than these waters laving the east coast of Japan present to-day.

There surely could be no better school for seamen than prolonged cruises for deep sea research.

In passing to a comparison of other ocean depths with this deep water off the Japanese coast, let it be noted that at the eastern end of the Aleutian chain, a depression similar to the one discovered at its western extremity was developed though not quite so deep. The *Tuscarora* found there a depth of 3,664 fathoms, and in 1888 the U. S. Fish Commission steamer *Albatross* sounded some 200 miles W.S.W. from the position of that cast, and parallel with the coasts of the Aleutians, in a depth of 3,820 fathoms. These soundings, eighty and ninety miles from the land, represent depths of over four miles, and from the rugged formation of the group and the facts which recent hydrographic researches have established, *it is more than probable that this depression skirts the entire length of the chain on its southern or Pacific side.* This, therefore, is another section of the North Pacific that would likely well repay further investigation.

To account for the soundings quoted from the Fish Commission, let me digress here a moment to say that the United States Commission of Fish and Fisheries have two steamers, the *Fish Hawk* and the *Albatross*, engaged in the Atlantic and Pacific, to determine the species, the habits, haunts and breeding places of the finny tribes inhabiting the waters within the jurisdiction of the United States and in neighbourly proximity thereto, and in the transplanting of food fishes from one locality to another whenever the necessary conditions will admit of it.

These vessels are manned by officers and men of the Navy; and soundings, trawling, dredging, the taking of

temperatures and the multifarious duties of the naturalist, go on continuously. Hence it comes about that in the prosecution of this beneficent work much hydrographic information is furnished to the Government.*

As stated in my paper read before your Society in May, 1874, the deepest reliable sounding made anywhere in the ocean up to that time, was one obtained by the *Challenger* in a depth of 3,875 fathoms some 80 miles north of the Virgin Islands, in the North Atlantic.

In 1876 the U.S.S. *Gettysburg* got sounding in that immediate locality in depths of 3,595 fathoms and 3,697 fathoms. Two or three years later, 75 miles west from the *Challenger's* deep cast, and 70 miles north of Puerto Rico,

* Since presenting this paper to the Society, intelligence has been received of the arrival of the "Albatross" at San Francisco on the 26th ultimo, from a season's exploration in Behring's Sea.

Lieut. Comdr. Tanner, U.S.N., commanding that vessel, reports that the principal work done was the examination of the cod fish and halibut banks in that sea from Ounimak Pass to Bristol Bay, and the determination of the 100 fathoms line along the Northern coasts of the Aleutian Group, carrying it Westward to the 175th meridian.

The return trip was made along the Southern coasts of the chain, and deep sea soundings had, "off and on," confirmed the theory advanced, to the effect that there is a submarine trough or valley running parallel with the Aleutian Group on its Pacific side from 3000 fathoms to 4000 fathoms in depth.—This trough Commander Tanner estimates to be some 30 miles in width.

He also says "When the discovery of the deep water near the Eastern end of the Group was made by Captain Belknap in 1874 it was quite a mystery.—It was a question with Geologists whether it was an isolated hole or a trough lying parallel with the islands."

On that point the writer would remark that from the great depths found at both ends of the chain in 1874, he has never had any doubt but that systematic investigation of the depths in that region of the North Pacific would disclose a deep depression of the ocean bed along the South coasts of the Aleutians similar to the great submarine valley developed by the lead along the East coast of Japan.

It may not be amiss to add that, the "Albatross" found the cod banks to cover a very extensive area in Behring's Sea along the shores of the Alaskan peninsula, and that the fish will compare favorably as to quality with the Atlantic species, beside covering a much greater extent of range of ground.

the U.S. Coast Survey steamer *Blake* brought up a good specimen of the bottom soil from the extraordinary depth of 4,561 fathoms or only 94 fathoms less than the *Tuscarora's* deepest sounding off the coast of Japan. The *Blake* also got other depths in that vicinity of 4,529 and 4,223 fathoms. This deep depression in the North Atlantic, apparently circumscribed in extent, has been named the International Deep. A few years since a German ship-of-war got a depth of 3,825 fathoms about 500 Smiles E. by E. from Bermuda. No other depths approaching by a thousand fathoms this great depression, have so far been found in any other region of the Atlantic either north or south of the equator. About midway between Bermuda and the Virgin Islands a depth of 3,370 fathoms has been found, and less than 40 miles west of Bermuda a depth of 2,650 fathoms has been measured. The greatest depth yet sounded in the South Atlantic is 3,284 fathoms. That depth was found by two ships of the United States in different localities—the *Essex* and the *Wachusett*.

There are perhaps no other regions of the great oceans where the depth and contour of their bed have been so thoroughly determined and mapped out by the lead as the sections of the North Atlantic comprising the enclosed seas of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean. This exploration, which included trawling, dredging, and the determination of currents and temperatures, and other points of scientific interest and value, was mostly conducted by Commanders Sigsbee and Bartlett, U.S.N.. Associated with Sigsbee for two or three seasons was Mr. Alexander Agassiz of Cambridge, Mass., upon whom the mantle of his illustrious father, the late Prof. Louis Agassiz, has so worthily fallen.

In the western part of the Gulf of Mexico, a comparatively shallow body of water, there is an extensive basin of 2,000 fathoms depths and more.

The western part of the Caribbean, too, has a long, narrow, submarine trough with depths of upwards of 3,000 tfahoms, and not more than 25 miles from the island of

Grand Cayman, in this locality, the great depth of 3,428 fathoms exists. These depressions have been named the "Sigsbee" and "Bartlett Deeps" respectively.

Some of the channels leading into the Caribbean through the West Indian chain of islands from the Atlantic, disclose wonderful depths. At the entrance of the Anegada Passage, for instance, there is a depth of 3,045 fathoms or $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles.

For some two and a half years past H.M. surveying ship *Egeria* has been engaged in surveying certain sections of the South Pacific. Captain Wharton, R.N., the Hydrographer to the Admiralty, states the purposes of the survey to be as follows:—"The time having arrived, in the general interests of navigation, for a systematic examination of the bed of the Pacific Ocean between New Zealand and the Sandwich Islands, in order to verify or disprove the many doubtful dangers reported, as well as to fix the positions of, and to survey, such groups of islands as lie on the track between the British possessions of Canada and Australasia, there being a growing desire to see these countries united by sub-marine cables, H.M. surveying vessel *Egeria* was selected for this service, and arrived in New Zealand, April, 1888." *Vide* Reports, Hydrographic Department, Admiralty, 1888-1889.

The *Egeria* has achieved remarkable results. Up to the period when she began work, the deepest water yet found south of the equator, either in the Atlantic or Pacific, was a sounding of 3,367 fathoms, or a depth of $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles, off the coast of Peru in July, 1881, by the U.S.S. *Alaska*, then under the writer's command. This cast had been made about 100 miles west of Callao Bay. But now the *Egeria* was to take away the palm for such supremacy, for in August, 1888, that vessel, then under the command of Captain Pelham Aldrich, R.N., had the good fortune to sound in a depth of 4,428 fathoms, Lat. 24° 37′ South, Long. 175° 08′ West. Twelve miles south of that position the ship got another cast in 4,295 fathoms.

These soundings were in the vicinity of the Friendly and

Cook Islands, the nearest land, Tongatabu, being some 360 miles distant. The total time occupied in making the deepest of these casts, and hauling back the specimen tube, was 3 hours 15 minutes. In June of the next year, 1889, the ship, now under the command of Commander C. F. Oldham, R.N., found the still more remarkable depth of 4,530 fathoms. This was in Lat. 17° 04′ South, Long. 172° 14′ West, or about 170 miles N.E.¾E. from the nearest island of the Friendly Group. On this occasion the satisfaction of bringing back a sample of the bottom soil was not had. The sinker would not detach, and the wire broke from the excessive strain when an attempt was made to reel it in. Only those who have experienced similar mishaps in deep sea sounding can take in and appreciate the disappointment and vexation of such untoward moments and happenings!

The *Challenger* had, in March, 1875, found a depth of 4,475 fathoms in Lat. 11° 24′ N., Long. 143° 16′ E., or about 150 miles S.W. by S. from Guam of the Ladrone Islands, the deepest water found in all her researches of three and a half years in the great oceans. The next deepest water found by her in the North Pacific was about 500 miles north of the centre of the Hawaiian Group, where a cast was made in 3,540 fathoms. North of that position, and in a distance of 600 miles, she made four other casts in considerably lesser depths, the deepest and most northern in 3,125 fathoms. The sounding line used on board the *Challenger* was of the best Italian hemp, specially prepared for the expedition. The No. 1 size, mostly used, was one inch in circumference with breaking strain of 14 cwt.

The *Egeria* discarded the hempen line, and used galvanized wire of guage 20. To those who have seen the workings of both line and wire in great depths, there can be but one conclusion, viz: that the soundings with wire are the more accurate and are made with greater facility, together with a saving in time and lessening of labour.

Perhaps there is no need to recall the fact that the

Tuscarora in making her survey, used the admirable machine invented by Sir William Thomson of Glasgow University, for sounding with piano wire, the first extended use of the apparatus after its conception and construction by its distinguished inventor.

That machine, in modified forms, is now used exclusively for deep sea work on board the vessels of the United States, whether of the Navy, Coast Survey or Fish Commission services.

It may be said in passing, that every man with the least strain of genius in his composition is a bit of a crank. No sooner does such a man get hold of an invention or creation of another, than he sets about at once to improve, tinker, or modify it.

This simple machine, devised by Sir William Thomson, forms no exception to such practice, though, from the experience of the writer, but few modifications of the machine were needed for its beautiful working, except in the direction of strength, which the inventor himself recognized after he had once experimented with it at sea.

Some of the modified machines now in use are so different from the original apparatus that Sir William would hardly believe the sense of his own eyes could he see them, but the principle which governs them all and gives to them their incomparable value, is a conception solely his own.

The *Tuscarora* had been at first supplied with a duplicate apparatus for sounding with rope. It consisted of a heavy iron reel and dynamometer with donkey engine, accompanied by forty odd miles of rope of varying sizes. Its use was soon discarded.

The modest little Thomson machine, in its snug iron tub, seemed absurd in contrast, but like David and Goliath of sacred story, the little drum, which with five miles of wire wound upon it weighed no more than 140 pounds, was the easy victor.

Lieut., now Lieut. Commander, Geo. A. Norris, personally attended the management of the machine, and one never

tired watching the working of the reel at its place in the gangway, so noiseless and perfect in its action, and the wire so fine that it could hardly be seen from the poop deck in cloudy weather or when passing clouds threw shadows over the ship. Sometimes at the approach of evening the writer stood in the cabin doorway watching in the deepening twilight the movements of the drum, and could detect instantly the moment of striking bottom, although the revolutions could only be distinguished by certain discolorations on the sides of the drum as they struck the eye in passing round. At night too, the gleams of the lantern flashing on the drum, only needed for the reading of the counter and the noting of the splices, recording the amount of wire out, revealed its motion at the far ends of the ship equally well.

The apparatus for the automatic detachment of the sinkers when bottom is struck, and the tubes, cups or cylinders for bringing back specimens of bottom soil, in use on board the ships of Her Majesty and the United States, are the inventions of British and American naval officers, and others of their respective services.

Every now and then it is announced in the newspapers and periodicals that eight and nine miles depths have been found in the Indian Ocean. Such announcement is based on the reports of sporadic attempts at deep sea sounding some thirty-five or forty years ago, when guess work entered largely into the efforts of that period.

As a matter of fact, the Indian Ocean is shallower than the other great oceans.

The deepest water, indeed, that has been discovered in that ocean, save one depth of 3,080 fathoms off the coast of Sumatra and near the Keeling Islands, is in the great bight that indents the south coast of Australia. Soundings made by a German ship of war in that region developed depths of from 2,800 fathoms to 3,063 fathoms and quite close to the land.

In my former paper I said:—"The theory has been that the greatest depth in the Pacific would be found in the

Eastern part, but, so far, the line of soundings run by the *Tuscarora* across the mid-North Pacific, would seem to prove to the contrary, the deepest water having been found near the Bonin Islands."

I may say now that up to this sixteen years later period, the greatest depths have all been found in the *western* parts of both the Atlantic and the Pacific. The theory then by the demonstrations of the lead, must be regarded as reversed. Another theory was also broached some years ago to the effect that great depressions in the ocean bed, probably correspond to elevations of like extent on the great continents and in proximity to them.

From the great mass of data—clear and indisputable—now in our hands, I venture the opinion that such proposition must be amended to conform to the evidence now before us, that, *as a rule, the deepest water is found, not in the central parts of the great oceans but near or approximately near, the land, whether of continental mass or island isolation.*

The popular belief has doubtless been that the greatest depths would naturally be found in mid-ocean, but the results of deep sea exploration, notably during the past twenty years, show that such belief is incorrect.

As has been intimated in other parts of this paper, different sections of the great oceans have been given special nomenclatures on Physiographic Maps published since the completion of the explorations of the *Challenger, Tuscarora, Blake,* and other vessels. The German geographer Petermann introduced nomenclatures as follows, viz: *Challenger Rise, Challenger Deep, Nares Deep, Thomson Deep, Jeffrey's Deep, Carpenter Deep, Tuscarora Deep, Belknap Deep, and Miller Deep.* To a Physiographic Map in Appleton's Physical Geography, published in New York in 1887, the writer suggested the following additions to such nomenclatures, viz:—*Enterprise Rise, Barker Rise, Alaska Rise, International Deep, Alaska Deep, and Norris Deep.* The suggestion was adopted.

Glancing back in review, it will be seen that the *Tsuca-*

rora found the first depths of 4,000 fathoms and approaching 5,000 fathoms: that the *Challenger* discovered the great depression considerably upwards of 4,000 fathoms in the bed of the North Pacific; that the U. S. Coast Survey steamer *Blake* developed the 4,500 odd fathom depth in the North Atlantic, at a locality first indicated by the *Challenger's* soundings; and that lastly, the *Egeria* now comes forward with her great depths of more than 4,000 fathoms, discovered in the South Pacific.

These four vessels are the only ones that, so far have discovered such deeps, but the work of oceanic survey is progressing in some quarter of the globe all the time, and in order that the primacy in the depths may be maintained for the North Pacific off the coast of Japan—so far as our searchings with the lead over the vast waste of waters can determine it—the suggestion is again urged upon the officers of the Japanese Naval Service to take up the waiting threads of investigation that seem to beckon them to action along their own coasts—in waters of rare interest and rich promise.

The impartial student of ocean literature will accord merited prominence to Great Britain and the United States in what has thus far been accomplished in deep sea exploration, whether as regards the amount of work done, its scope, scientific grasp and value, commercial importance of results or thoroughness of execution.

It seems hardly necessary to add that this breaking of the spell of the depths, and successful interrogation of its secrets, has been due principally to the diligent effort, dogged purpose, undaunted energy, inventive genius and ready adaptation of ideas and methods from whatever source, towards the accomplishment of desired ends, so notably characteristic of the kindred peoples of the British Isles and of the United States.

"I'll put a girdle round about the earth"

was no idle boast; it has already been practically done. To-day, over the continents and along through the deeps, runs the fine girdle of copper wire through which flash the

happenings of the day and the forecasts of the morrow. "On the wings of the morning" our questions may fly through its magic thread to the uttermost parts of the earth, and the shades of evening bring back reply!

That we are enabled to do this wondrous thing is due, in great part, to the happy solution of the problem of the depths, and to the fact that the contour of the ocean bed and the character of its soil have been so satisfactorily made known to us. For this achievement in the compelling of one of the great and mysterious forces of nature to minister to our daily use and welfare, our thanks, it is submitted, are due to the seaman as well as to the scientist.

NOTE: In the accompanying sketch map of the routes of the *Tuscarora* and *Challenger*, only the more interesting depths are entered, and especially those referred to in the paper.

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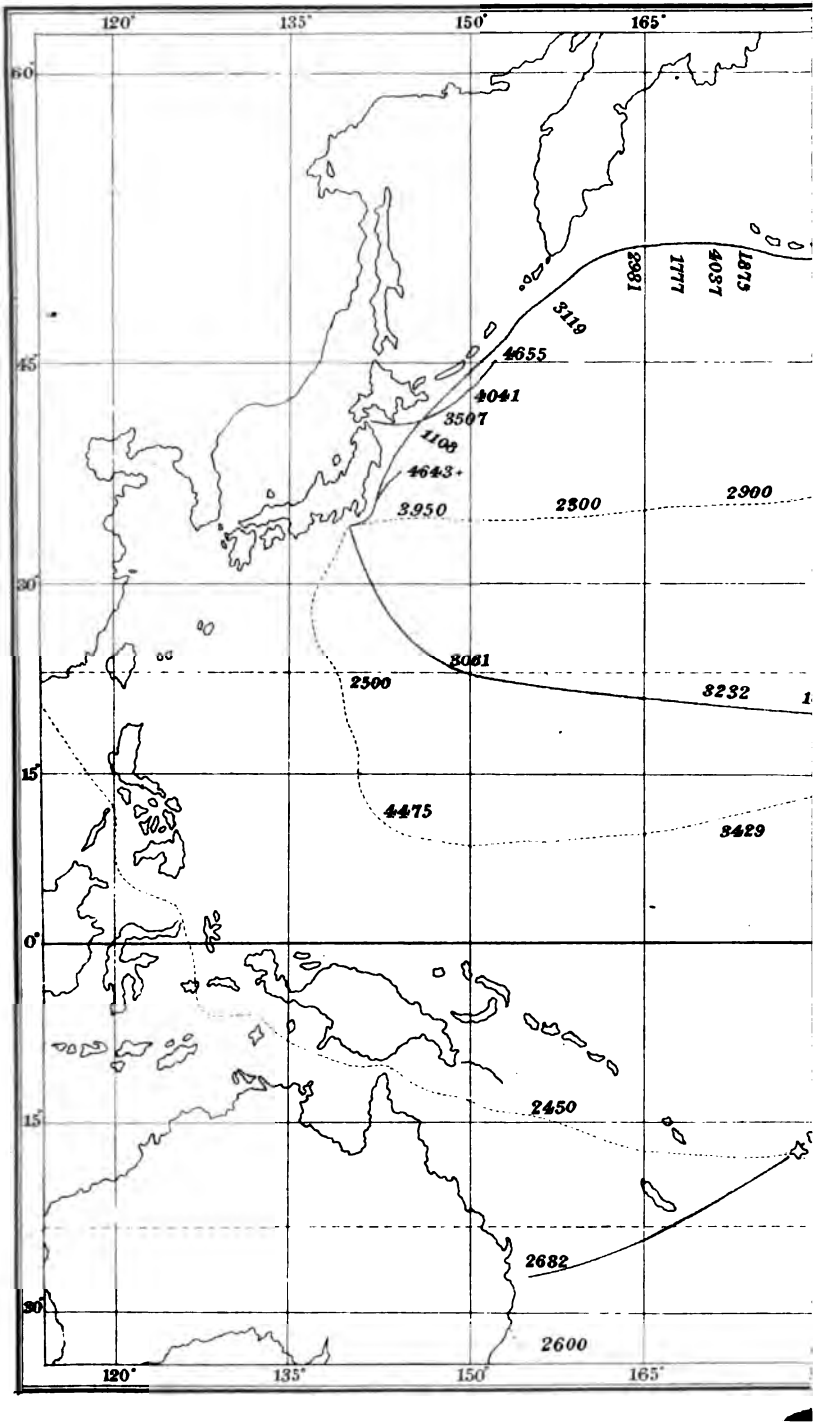

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MENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE JAPANESE.

BY

WALTER DENING.

(Read 12th November, 1890.)

The aggregate of circumstances combining to form the character of any fairly educated human being is so complex that anything like a complete analysis of them is a work of great difficulty and delicacy, demanding intellectual powers of the highest order. Our greatest novelists have undoubtedly owed their pre-eminence to mastery of the art of delineating subtle traits of character, of detecting connection and relation where ordinary observers would never have dreamed of looking for anything of the sort. We realise how difficult is this art when we bear in mind that there is hardly any living person concerning some essential part of whose character entire agreement exists even among his intimate acquaintances. Our observations and generalisations can only be carried on in a rough way. The whole subject of ethology, or the science of character, is so intricate that even the most expert literary artist finds it necessary to confine his investigations to an extremely limited area. When from the study of the character of individuals we pass to that of nations, we perceive the variety of type to be so great that generalisation and classification become increasingly difficult. It is obvious that little more can be done than to indicate the most prominent and remarkable of traits. This I purpose doing in the case of the Japanese; and my excuse, if, indeed, excuse be needed, for drawing the

attention of this Society to the subject just at present is that, if I mistake not, these prominent mental characteristics will exercise no small influence in moulding the events of the next few years. Mental habits and prejudices that have taken ages to form are not to be rooted out in one or two generations. No amount of popular representation and parliamentary government will prevent the Japanese from acting as their national proclivities dictate. What the most pronounced of these are I now propose to inquire.

The first prominent mental characteristic inviting notice is the early *precocity* of Japanese youths. In discussing theories, in advocating or combating political opinions, the Japanese boy of twelve or thirteen shows a proficiency altogether beyond his age. Doubtless various causes have combined to bring this about. The most potent seems to be the nature of the education imparted. The books which infant students have been first taught to read—the Japanese "Peep of Day" and "Line upon Line," so to speak,—have been the Confucian classics. Fancy one of our infants repeating after his teacher at his first lesson such sentences as the following:—"What the great learning teaches, is, to illustrate virtue, to renovate the people, and to rest in the highest excellence. The point where to rest being known, the object of pursuit is then determined; and that being determined, a calm imperturbability may be attained."* We in the West commence to teach our boys and girls simple little facts about cats, dogs, cows, and daisies. Not so the normal Japanese. He commences with abstract ideas. He puts into the young scholar's lips words whose full meaning some of us take more than half a lifetime to acquire, and not infrequently fail to master even then. "Great Learning;" "illustrious virtue;" "highest excellence;" "the point where to rest!"—why, these are subjects that occupy our subtlest metaphysicians. This early superficial acquaintance,—for it cannot be

* We quote from Dr. Legge's translation.

more,—with abstract questions and principles, with theories of life and morals, produces a certain kind of mental precocity. I have often been utterly astounded at the logic-chopping power of Japanese youths of twelve or thirteen years of age. But as an educational agency the early study of the sages of antiquity has done more harm than good. It has evolved a theory-loving, unpractical state of mind; a habit of endeavouring to reach abstract truth by other than the proper method—a careful study of the concrete. Forwardness is attained at the expense of thoroughness, which has a decided tendency to produce conceit. Indeed, in a very large number of cases that proves to be the result. I have repeatedly conversed on this subject with Japanese interested in education, and they seem unanimous in thinking that such early precocity should be discouraged, and that the mental condition of Japanese youths should be brought into greater conformity with that of the Western boy.

The characteristic we are considering is the real source of a good deal of the wild journalism and hare-brained political oratory so conspicuous in this country during the last ten years. No land contains such troops of boy-politicians as Japan. One is sometimes astounded on being introduced to individuals who have been figuring as journalists and stump-orators to find that they are of an age when if Englishmen they would hardly know whether they had any political opinions at all; or if they had such opinions, would deem it the essence of audacity and conceit to make them the subject of a public speech or a newspaper article. It is only in Japan that young men are to be found audacious enough to write a lecture to grey-haired statesmen in reference to their foreign policy, such as the *Kokumin-no-Tomo* contained some time ago. There are few countries where irresponsible flippant speech and writing are so much indulged in as in Japan; few countries where men having no practical knowledge of politics can so easily gain a reputation for profundity by the skill with which they theorise.

Allied to the characteristic I have noticed, and for the most part inseparable from it, is another conspicuous quality of Japanese minds—*unpracticality*. It has often been referred to by both Japanese and foreign writers. Mr. Fukuzawa is of opinion that this characteristic, like the last, is the result of the system of education followed until very recently. He maintains that the lack of interest in industry, agriculture, and commerce, so apparent among Japanese young men, is the outcome of the training they have received. The books that youths have hitherto been taught to hold in high esteem treat of subjects far removed from the every-day life of men of business. It is to be hoped that the educational system now pursued in Government schools will do much to remedy this evil. Certain it is that in the past, agriculture, commerce, and industry have been for the most part handed over to the tender mercies of men whom ignorance, prejudice and superstition render alien to reform of all kinds. Until a more practical state of mind characterises the educated portion of the Japanese people, the accumulation of national wealth must necessarily be slow.

I pass on to notice a still more fundamental difference between Japanese and foreign minds; a difference the removal of which seems to us absolutely necessary if Japan is to compete successfully with Western nations. I refer to the distaste that men of education and refinement entertain for money-making pursuits. This is something distinct from the characteristic referred to above. To lack the qualifications for business is quite different from holding business pursuits in contempt. A man competent to win wealth may yet shrink with repugnance from the attempt. Such is the case with certain typical Japanese. The life of bread-earning appears to them to be a gloomy existence which men may be driven to pass but would never voluntarily choose. They dream away their days amid dwarfed trees, miniature lakes, and imaginary *Fuji*. They are of opinion that Occidentals are nothing the better for their big machines and appliances; that, on the contrary,

by perpetual toil, bustle, and worry they render themselves unfit to enjoy the pleasures which nature places within their reach. They deem it a mistake to suppose that the chief object of human life is toil.

This sentiment the Japanese have inherited from their ancestors; it is far too deeply ingrained to admit of speedy eradication. From a philosophical point of view there is much to be said in its favour. Considering the brevity of human life, it does seem an anomaly that most of us should live at high pressure during the greater part of our existence; that, during the time when our senses and our minds are at their best, we should be obliged to spend most of our energy on mechanical work, should have to rush along at railway speed without time to reflect what this life is or is not capable of yielding. Viewed from a philosophical standpoint, the lives which we Westerns lead—have to lead indeed, for the keenness of competition leaves us no choice—will not bear comparison with the life of the Japanese man of taste and quiet pleasure. We grind at our professions till either physical weakness or mental weariness incapacitates us for the enjoyment of hardly earned leisure. The faculties of enjoyment, like all other faculties, are apt to grow atrophied by disuse. And so it often happens that even the most successful among us having acquired much to retire *upon*, have nothing to retire *to*: our capacity to enjoy the exhaustless loveliness of nature has been irrecoverably lost. The spirit of the age forces us to sacrifice life to *living*—the end to the means. Moderation is forbidden to those who would succeed. Only those who can bear the longest strain stand a chance of rising above mediocrity. Thus amid all our bustle, we are conscious that the Japanese view is right; that our habitual neglect to cultivate the faculty of enjoyment, though a result of events and circumstances over which we have no control, is calculated to transform us into mere machines, warranted capable of being worked so long, but condemned to be laid by at last as so much useless lumber. Every now and again one of our own

philosophers reminds us that man is designed for higher enjoyment than he experiences. "That life was given us to be enjoyed," writes one of our modern idealists, "few men in their sober senses, not distracted by unendurable anguish or rendered morbid by a perverse theology, have ever seriously dreamed of doubting. The analogy of the lower animals confirms the consciousness. Human infancy holds the same language. The brutes that perish, but never speculate and the young whose native instincts are not yet marred by thought, alike listen to nature, and alike are joyous. The earth is sown with pleasures, as the heavens are studded with stars—wherever the conditions of existence are unsophisticated. Scarcely a scene that is not redolent of beauty; scarcely a flower that does not breathe sweetness. Not one of our senses that, in its healthy state, is not an avenue to enjoyment, not one of our faculties that it is not a delight to exercise. Provision is made for the happiness of every disposition and of every taste—the active, the contemplative, the sensuous, the ethereal. Provision is made for the happiness of every age, for dancing infancy, for glowing youth, for toiling manhood, for reposing age."*

So have thought the Japanese from time immemorial, and so they might go on thinking were they content to remain isolated. It is the extreme complexity of our lives, our craving for conveniences and luxuries never missed because never known by the normal Japanese; in a word, the conventionality of our lives, that renders incessant toil an absolute necessity to us. And Japan will have to follow suit in this, as in so many other things. Once having entered the comity of Western nations, she will have for a while to sacrifice her poetry and romance to the stern necessities of the new situation. It is no longer a question of choosing the more exalted, the more desirable kind of life. She has to determine what kind of life is best suited to successful competition with the nations that now

* "Literary and Social Judgments," by W. R. Greg.

control the destinies of the world. Hence the national characteristic on which I have been dwelling is undergoing a process of gradual but sure eradication. For that reason I think it worthy of a place among the archives of this Society.

Our analysis of the anti-sordid characteristic of the Japanese mind would not be complete without showing its connection with chivalry, and without pointing out how it affects the conduct of individuals and public bodies in modern days. Some of the mental characteristics of nations may be called primary, that is, they have been prominent ever since the dawn of the history of those nations. "The French of the nineteenth century," Professor Ribot remarks, "are in fact the Gauls described by Cæsar. In the *Commentaries*, in Strabo, and in Diodorus Siculus we find all the essential traits of our national character: love of arms, taste for everything that glitters, extreme levity of mind, incurable vanity, address, great readiness of speech, and disposition to be carried away by phrases. There are in Cæsar some observations, which might have been written yesterday. 'The Gauls,' says he, 'have a love of revolution; they allow themselves to be led by false reports into acts they afterwards regret, and into decisions on the most important events; they are depressed by reverses; they are as ready to go to war without cause as they are weak and powerless in the hour of defeat.'" * Unfortunately in the case of the Japanese we have not the advantage of being able to compare observations made by an intelligent foreigner more than eighteen hundred years ago with what we see to-day; but we may safely say that as far back as history carries us contempt for the business of mere money-making was a prominent characteristic of the Japanese people. There is hardly an authentic tale of any length that does not furnish facts proving this. The merchant, the usurer, the middleman, were regarded as the pariahs of ancient Japanese society,

* Heredity, p. 110.

to the level of whose life the noble *samurai* would rather die than descend. An age of chivalry has always produced this feeling: but not in every country has the sentiment shown the same tenacity as in Japan. The prosperous days of chivalry may be said to have closed with the accession to supreme power of the first Tokugawa Shōgun. Yet thenceforth, during two hundred and fifty years, the old spirit lived on, despite a perpetual dearth of events calculated to preserve it. And to a large extent it has even withstood the influences in operation during the past twenty years.

Associated with this absence of sordidness are some noble traits: a keen sense of honour; great independence; extreme generosity and unselfishness; a taste for simplicity of living: love of espousing the cause of the weak and the oppressed—virtues to all of which in the case of the vast majority we fear we shall have to say *ave atque vale*. For as the spirit of commerce and the thirst for gain become more and more prevalent, such virtues inevitably grow more and more rare. Happily we still encounter instances where the display of these traits is conspicuous. The spirit of independence among a certain class of Japanese is as strong as ever. Numerous are the instances in which it leads men to throw up lucrative posts rather than further policies of which they disapprove. In fact we may go so far as to say that there is no virtue more highly esteemed in Japan to-day than the absence of servility. A man may have serious defects and still be immensely popular if he will show himself independent. But like other virtuous traits, this characteristic is apt to develop into a vice. When carried to excess it becomes the source of endless dissension, and leads to the formation of innumerable cliques and cabals. The disintegration that Japanese political parties have undergone of late years owing to the undue prevalence of this spirit has been such as to render successful cöoperation a task of almost insuperable difficulty.

It should not be forgotten that the contempt which the Japanese gentleman feels for mere money-making finds a parallel to some extent in the aversion with which our country and town gentry in England, to say nothing of our nobility, regard the tradesman who has retired on a fortune. But with us contempt is aroused not so much by the occupation by means of which money is made as by the vulgarity and pompous display too often accompanying its expenditure.

Let us pass now to notice another mental characteristic; which, though partly derived from the trait just considered, has other sources as well. I refer to the *levity* which the Japanese display on occasions when a foreigner would be grave and concerned. They bear great pecuniary losses and sore bereavements with an equanimity that is astounding. Where money is concerned the general feeling in reference to it, as described above, accounts for the unconcern with which its loss is borne. But since the Japanese are by no means lacking in domestic affection, how is it that to us foreigners they appear so stoical when the death of near relatives takes place? Various views on this subject have been held by students of Japanese psychology. Some maintain that such levity in the presence of bereavement is only apparent; that the Japanese feel quite as keenly as we do under reverses, but that they consider it a breach of good manners to be demonstrative on such occasions; in fact, that it is deemed a proof of great strength of mind and character to be able to suppress emotion and show a calm front at times when there is strong temptation to give way. Those who hold this view maintain that there is a marked difference in the manner in which men and women bear misfortune in Japan. Among the latter the display of feeling is quite as violent as that of their Western sisters when similarly circumstanced. But the men have inherited from their warrior ancestors power to control the strongest emotions. Such a power was not one of their original endowments, but was developed by centuries of training; and according

to this view the stolidity of the Japanese savours more of the nature of etiquette than of actual lack of emotional feeling. Others there are who maintain that the levity and unconcern so noticeable in the Japanese is real and deep-seated; and that it is the result of the fatalism and scepticism which form so prominent a feature of Japanese thought. The *shikata-ga-nai** feeling, these critics affirm, permeates everything, and reconciles the Japanese to events that would cause Westerns the gravest concern. Moreover, say they, the Japanese, having no belief in a hereafter, look upon death with *sang froid*. Did they, in common with Christians believe death to be but the entrance to another existence, the close of life would be regarded by them in quite a different light.

These considerations, though doubtless they have something to do with the characteristic we are considering, do not seem to us to wholly account for it. The fact is that the tastes, education, and whole life of the Japanese tend to produce light-heartedness, and conspire to prevent their taking to heart events which Westerns feel keenly. In the first place, they have cultivated a most intense enjoyment of nature. No people revel in a fine spring or autumn day more than the Japanese. Over many Western minds a gloomy theology and a philosophy that scrutinises closely the darker aspects of human existence have cast a deep shadow. To such influences the Japanese are as a nation entire strangers. The teaching of religionists about a future life possesses little interest for them; no fear of future retribution interferes with their festive mirth. Their speculation has never gone very deep. They have not reached the strata of stern facts on which our best poets and our best prose writers are wont to dwell. Dr. Newman's lines:

> "Dim is the philosophic flame
> "By thoughts severe unfed,"

* Lit. "there is no help for it."

understood in a wider sense than their author designed them to bear, well describe the habitual seriousness of our western minds. The groaning of creation, the disappointed hopes, the melancholy evanescence of all the best of things—these and similar sad features of human existence have forced themselves imperatively on our attention. But the Japanese are in a state of happy unconsciousness as regards the gloomy aspects of life, and hence are able to enjoy to the full the world's sunshine. How long it is possible for them to retain this childlike simplicity amid the numerous influences now working in their midst, we cannot pretend to say. Being an extremely imitative people, it is not improbable that in a few centuries they will be as grave as we.

An alleged characteristic which calls for a short notice; is *fickleness*. The impression which the Japanese have left on a large number of observant foreigners is that they are fond of new things, that they love change for change's sake. An American observer remarked not long ago that there is nothing fixed in Japan but change. That this is a mental characteristic of the Japanese as we know them to day I have no doubt; but the question is: how far is it the result of recent events, and how far is it an original trait of national character? I am inclined to think that this peculiarity is accidental, not inherent. For centuries prior to the revolution, the Japanese in all essential respects steadfastly adhered to one mode of life, to one way of thinking. There was no lack of permanence in their laws, institutions, and pursuits in the days of their isolation. They borrowed much from China, but they assimilated what they borrowed with great persistency of character. In modern times they have found themselves suddenly introduced to an entirely new world; it would be perhaps more correct to say, to several new worlds. Their attention has been attracted by such a multitude of things apparently far superior to any thing they already possess that they have found great difficulty in making a judicious selection. Thus the changes suc-

ceeding each other so rapidly and in so many directions in this country have not, in my opinion, been usually dictated by mere fickleness, but have resulted from the wish to prove all things with the view of eventually holding fast that which is good. Naturally great difficulty has been felt in adapting foreign systems and institutions to local conditions. Hence when success has not been attained by one method, another has been tried. In endeavouring to decide on what are and what are not national traits, it is hardly fair to take events that have transpired during a period of transition and under extraordinary circumstances as evidence of permanent mental characteristics. In my opinion, therefore, it is premature to say that fickleness is a permanent trait of Japanese national character.

A back number* of the Journal of the Japanese Education Society contains an extremely interesting paper from the pen of Mr. Nose on the subject which we are now discussing. Though I do not in every case agree with the conclusions at which Mr. Nose arrives, I welcome the paper for the sake of the facts it contains, and think it worthy of being reproduced in summary here. As a statement of Japanese national characteristics as they appear to a native well acquainted with Western thought, it has a special value of its own.

After remarking that every nation has distinctive characteristics, produced by its soil, climate, history, and traditional customs—manifesting themselves in physical and mental peculiarities, in different modes of dress, in different diet, and great discrepancy of taste—Mr. Nose observes that it is desirable that every country should endeavour to preserve intact, as far as possible, its peculiarities, its national individuality; since it is for its possession of elements of character not found in the same degree in other nations that it will gain the respect and deference of foreign countries. Independent development of national

* November, 1889.

characteristics and powers is what elicits the admiration of neighbouring countries. The principal national virtues of the Japanese, according to Mr. Nose, are loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, chastity, and personal cleanliness. He maintains that the contention of some writers that these virtues were originally derived from China or India is not warranted by facts. Though the terms now in use to express them are in many instances Chinese in origin, the virtues themselves are national heirlooms. Had there been no national virtues prior to the spread of Buddhism and Confucianism in this country, the writer contends, it would have been impossible for the nation to maintain its independence. For twelve or thirteen hundred years, says Mr. Nose, with the exception of disturbances among the Ainos, there was no rebellion against the established authority, and in those early times emperors with but few attendants frequently travelled long distances with perfect safety. This the writer attributes to the loyalty of the people. It was a long time even after the arrival of Buddhism and Confucianism before those creeds gained any influence over the lower orders; and even after their tenets had been studied and adopted by a large portion of the educated, the latter had a code of honour known as *memboku*, which was quite distinct from the teachings of foreign creeds, and the due observance of which often cost them their lives. Under the Tokugawa regime the Chinese classics were diligently studied, but more for the sake of their general teaching on politics than as furnishing a standard of morals. For the latter, Mr. Nose maintains, the Japanese invariably fell back on their national sentiment, on the moral instincts they had inherited from their forefathers. Mr. Nose adds that even those who were best acquainted with Confucianism never regarded its moral precepts with anything like the veneration which the Christian feels for the teaching of the Bible.

The writer next proceeds to define more precisely what he conceives to be the purely national elements of Japanese virtue. These, he says, are extreme aversion to disgrace,

and a high regard for unspotted honour, loyalty to superiors, dutiful feelings towards parents, straightforwardness, cleanliness, and chastity. "In other countries," observes Mr. Nose, "ethical terms are derived from sacred writings; the terms in vogue in China come from the classics; those of Europe from the Bible; those of India and Turkey from the Koran or Buddhist scriptures; but in Japan the words which are best known as expressive of moral states, actions and feelings are, with few exceptions, purely native, and have no connection with any religions creed whatever." Mr. Nose gives the following twelve specimens of words not derived from Chinese classical literature and yet expressing moral ideas:—*ai-sumanu* (inexcusable, improper, wrong); *memboku-nai* (ashamed, crest-fallen); *fu-todoki-semban* (audacious, insolent); *mottai-nai* (wrong, improper); *kinodoku* (concern for others, regret); *appare* (splendid, admirable); *furachi* (unprincipled, lawless, wicked); *kawai* (lovable, dear, pretty); *otonashii* (quiet, obedient, meek); *muri-no-nai* (just, reasonable, right); *fugyōseki* (wicked or immoral conduct); *taisetsu shigoku* (of the greatest consequence, of the highest value); *ikiji* (obstinacy, an unyielding temper); *ritsugisha* (an upright, straightforward person); *buchōhō* (ignorant, awkward, bungling); *kuchioshii* (a thing to be deplored or regretted).

This list it, will be perceived, contains words derived from China, but such terms are mere adaptations, in Mr. Nose's opinion. His argument here is far from convincing. It would have been better had he excluded from his list all Chinese words. There would be no surer way of finding out what precisely were the ethical notions of the ancient Japanese than by making an exhaustive list of all the moral terms in use prior to the introduction of writing. This could be done by a careful examination of the *Kojiki* and the book of poems known as the "Collection of a myriad Leaves." This latter work was published in the middle of the eighth century, and it embodies the most ancient forms of speech. Mr. Nose contends that the above terms refer to no standared

of right and wrong outside the minds of the people who use them; that when, for instance, an ancient Japanese uttered the word *sumanu*, he did not employ it in the sense of our word "unchristian," nor did he refer to a standard set up by individuals like Confucius or Mencius. He spoke and thought of impropriety in the abstract, in the nature of the action of which this quality was predicated; and when he spoke of himself as *membokunai*, the standard of conduct which rendered him crestfallen was a purely national one, and had nor eference whatever to a supposed divine revelation. Mr. Nose asserts that the feelings of ancient Japanese on such matters were well expressed by Sugawara Michizane when he wrote.

"*Kokoro dani*
Makoto no michi ni
Kanainaba,
Inorazu totemo
Kami ya mamoran."—

"As long as the heart is in harmony with truth, even though there be no praying, God will protect."

For the chastity of her women, for the loyalty and bravery of her great heroes, for the moral obligations which even the most uneducated of her sons feel themselves under, Japan, Mr. Nose affirms, is indebted to no religious creed, but to those inherent moral sentiments that have characterised her people ever since they have been a nation. He proceeds to show that though the terms for many of her virtues now in use are Chinese in origin, the qualities denoted by such terms are purely native. And he maintains that the loyalty of her sons and the chastity of her women are at once distinct and superior to anything found in China. The objection to second marriages, which was so strongly felt by the Japanese women of former days; the native disregard of death when obligations had to be fulfilled, which was so conspicuous in the men—all this the writer contends finds no parallel in Chinese morals.

Mr. Nose admits that the ambition to die honourably rather than live in disgrace was in Japan in excess of what is desirable; but nevertheless contends that as an exhibition of strength of moral purpose it was very remarkable, and adds that the determination which enabled men to die without regret when duty demanded the sacrifice of their lives, would, had it been rightly directed, have sufficed to enable them to bear the shame to which they were exposed and to commence afresh life's battle. He thinks that the fundamental difference between Japanese and foreign mental characteristics is in the value put upon life. He admits that the fortitude which enables a man to survive disgrace and attempt to regain his lost reputation is of a higher order than that which nerves and sustains him in the hour of self-destruction, and hence that the foreign view is preferable to that of the ancient Japanese.

Mr. Nose passes on to discuss the vendetta. He does not attempt to deny that this practice received the moral sanction of the nation for many centuries. But this, he says, was owing to the imperfection of the laws of those times. The justice which should have been administered by the State was dispensed by private individuals. But the desire to punish the wicked and to avenge the death of relatives was in itself highly virtuous. After the manner of most Japanese writers on this subject, Mr. Nose dwells on the loyalty to the throne manifested in Japan as something entirely unique.

Mr. Nose, at the conclusion of his paper, laments that there are at present so many signs of deterioration in the moral feelings of the Japanese, and points out that upon the increased cultivation of these depends the future prosperity of the empire. He remarks that the old disregard of death, the willingness to sacrifice life to the country's honour, is occasionally seen now-a-days, but that it no longer gains the respect of the nation, owing to the ignorance and bigotry with which it is associated. Mr. Nose maintains that it is quite possible to find all that is

required in the way of an ethical standard in the hereditary moral sentiments of the nation, and thinks that if these sentiments be nurtured in the family and the school, a type of character inferior to none of those said to be the result of religious teaching in the West will certainly be produced.

Mr. Nose, in a work entitled *Kiōiku-gaku*, treats the subject of Japanese mental characteristics at still greater length. His point of view is that of an educationalist, but the conclusions which he reaches are of deep interest to the student of Japanese psychology. The following brief summary of his views taken from a notice of the work which I prepared for the *Japan Mail* some time ago I think worth inserting in this paper.

The temperature, the climate, the physical characteristics of the country, the fertility of the soil—these are all conducive to high development. But unfortunately, for the three hundred years that preceded the *Meiji* era,* the beneficent effects of these physical influences were counteracted by the baneful nature of the social and individual agencies at work. Mr. Nose maintains that it was hardly possible to find an atmosphere less congenial to mental development than that which existed under the grinding despotism of the Tokugawa Shoguns. All forms of original thought, all attempts to encourage independent investigation, were suspected and suppressed. He is of opinion that it will take some generations to eradicate the evil effects of the social influences of old Japan. They are still to be traced in the fundamental ideas of the agriculturalist and the mechanic; they account for his lack of enterprise, and for the fatalistic manner in which he clings to his environment, as though it were unalterable. Not less are the effects of these influences manifested in the lives and thoughts of the learned classes of society. With the majority learning is no more than a pastime. It is pursued with no practical end in view, and is valued more as a polite accomplishment

* The name of the present era.

than as an organ of enlightenment and a means of ameliorating the condition of suffering humanity. The mental qualities which, according to Mr. Nose, need most cultivation in Japan are tenacity and stability of purpose, and a determination to bring to a consummation that which has once been commenced.

As I have already observed, I am not prepared to endorse Mr. Nose's views. I think that his main contention that the fundamental ethical notions of the Japanese were not derived from China is incontrovertible. But the native origin of the ethical ideas of the Japanese is not to be elevated to the rank of a distinguishing national characteristic. When Mr. Nose tells us that the terms in vogue in China came from the Classics; those of Europe from the Bible; those of India and Turkey from the Koran or Buddhist Scriptures, but that in Japan the words which are best known as expressive of moral states, actions and feelings are, with few exceptions, purely native, and have no connection with any religious creed whatever, he confuses two distinct things, namely ethical notions and the language in which those notions are expressed. It is no distinguishing mark of Japan that she had a stock of moral ideas long before she came into contact with a foreign civilization. Nobody imagines that the Bible, the Koran or the Buddhist scriptures could be rendered into the language of a people utterly devoid of all moral notions. The thoughts, in however vague and indefinite a form, must have been present in the minds of the people whom these sacred books have furnished with terms. But this does not make the obligation we are under to the writers of the books anything the less. And the same may be said of Japan. We think that Mr. Nose under-estimates the influence which Confucianism and Buddhism have exercised in giving shape and definiteness to the ethical creed of the Japanese as we find it in their best books. The list of what he deems adopted terms might be confronted with a still fuller list of purely Chinese terms. Japanese ethics owes much to China. Had the

native system been allowed to develop itself unaided by foreign thought, it would to-day be no less meagre and effete than the Shintō creed.

What I have said about the lack of peculiarity in the ethical language used by ancient Japanese applies to the notions themselves as stated by Mr. Nose. Nations have distinguishing marks, doubtless, but they do not consist of discrepancies in fundamental moral notions. What Mr. Nose designates the principal national virtues of the Japanese: loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, chastity, and personal cleanliness are virtues possessed by all nations who pretend to any kind of civilisation. These qualities are not then to be reckoned as distinctly national virtues. The regard in which the Japanese hold the person of their Sovereign is supposed by Mr. Nose and a crowd of other writers to be unique. But we all know that extreme veneration for sovereignty is a universal characteristic of nations in the earlier stages of their development.

While valuing many of the facts with which Mr. Nose furnishes us, we think that the inferences which he draws from them are by no means warranted.

I have done no more than trace the outlines of a great and interesting subject; confining myself for the most part to jotting down the results of my own observations, extended over many years. I may return to the discussion on a future occasion. It would be interesting to know how far the views expressed in this paper are shared by other foreign students. I say *foreign* students, as it is of course plain that distinguishing marks of nationality must be more discernible to a foreigner than to a native, on the principle that to few is it given to see themselves as others see them.

I have purposely omitted from this paper the notice of some traits to which my attention has been frequently called by foreign observers, for the reason that I have my doubts whether the number of cases in which such characteristics are displayed is sufficiently large and sufficiently typical to warrant my including them in a list of

distinctively national traits. As I observed at the outset, the subject is one that requires very delicate handling and one in which, perhaps, it is impossible to do more than arrive at an approximately correct opinion. Nevertheless I think it worthy of the attention of this Society, and trust that, since it is a topic on which all old residents must have formed some definite notions, this paper may induce such to give the Society and the public the benefit of their observations.

NOTES ON LAND TENURE AND LOCAL INSTITUTIONS IN OLD JAPAN.

EDITED FROM POSTHUMOUS PAPERS OF DR. D. B. SIMMONS.

BY

JOHN H. WIGMORE.

(*Read December 10th*, 1890.)

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I. PREFACE BY THE EDITOR.

The character and career of Dr. Duane B. Simmons, the author of these Notes, are too well known to residents of Japan to need any preliminary notice. For the benefit of others, however, it will be necessary, before referring to the Notes themselves, to speak briefly of the personality of their author.

Dr. Simmons was a native of Glens Falls, New York, and was born about 1834. He began his medical education in 1852, studying in his native town with Dr. M. S. Littlefield. He then spent two years attending medical lectures in Albany, and in 1854 went to New York, where he graduated, in 1855, at the College of Physicians and Surgeons. The next year he served as Assistant Surgeon at King's County Hospital, and the year 1856 was spent in medical studies at Paris and in travel on the Continent. On his return he settled in Williamsburgh, New York, to follow his profession; but in 1859, feeling (as his diary says) that his sphere was too limited for his temperament, he accepted an offer to accompany as surgeon a missionary body sent out by the Dutch Reformed Church of New York. From November 2, 1859, when he landed in Kanagawa, he made his home in Japan, practising his profession and becoming undoubtedly the most eminent physician in the country, and perhaps (among the Japanese, certainly) of all foreigners the one whose name was best known. During an absence of a year or so, in 1862-3, he took the opportunity to continue his medical studies in Berlin, under Virchow and von Graefe. In 1869 he was offered the directorship of the Imperial Medical School and Hospital, then newly established in Tōkyō, but for some reason it was declined. Not long afterwards he established the Jūzen Hospital in Yokohama; and the instruction

which he offered to voluntary classes of Japanese practitioners was of lasting benefit to the cause of medical education here. In addition to the duties of this post, he filled the positions of Sanitary Adviser to the Provincial Government, Sanitary Inspector of the Port, Surgeon to the Police Hospital, and Chairman of the Foreign Board of Health. In 1877 cholera was under his direction treated for the first time in Japan with the methods of modern sanitary science. In 1881 his health broke down, and he returned to America. But after a few years' absence his love for Japan proved irresistible, and he returned to its shores, with his mother, in 1887, his plan then being to spend the best part of his time in the study of Japanese social institutions during the feudal period. With this object he began, with some system, to seek information from the scores of educated Japanese whom he counted among his friends, to have books translated, and to make copious notes upon a wide range of subjects. At the end of 1888, however, aggravated symptoms appeared of Bright's disease, which had long threatened him. He began with new vigor to arrange the materials he had been collecting, but it was now too late, and in February, 1889, he passed away.

Among the Japanese his friends could be numbered by the hundred,—cabinet ministers, government officials, doctors, priests, scholars, local officials, farmers, merchants, rich and poor, old and young. His travels in the interior made him known everywhere among the people, and his medical services, usually gratuitous, caused him to be remembered by them. It has been said that there was hardly a village in Japan where he did not have a friend or an acquaintance.

He was loved by the Japanese who knew him as no other foreigner in Japan, with perhaps one or two exceptions, ever has been. It was the earnest request of his Japanese friends, after his death, that they alone might have the privilege of following his body, as it was carried from his house in Tōkyō to the railway station; and the hundreds

who joined the procession formed a gathering of eminent men in all departments of life such as probably never occurred before in the capital.

During his twenty-five years' residence he was continually making inquiries and absorbing information. His sympathy had the widest range, and his queries embraced innumerable subjects, from *daimyō* to beggars, from games and festivals to crime and immorality. In later years it would seem that his chief interest lay in the direction of land tenure and local institutions, which form the principal subjects of the Notes here collected. His reading on those topics was, perhaps necessarily, not extensive, and his eagerness to explore each new subject that opened before him resulted continually in unfinished work which lacked the scientific value that it might easily have had. He had the enthusiasm for facts as facts which characterizes the true scientist, and it seems to have been an excess of the same quality which has deprived his study of the stability and coherency that it should have had. He himself recognized the direction of his failing. During his last year or two, he often expressed a hope that some younger man, some one with a fresher acquaintance with modern science and with a capacity for systematization, would come across his path and would share his labors, moulding into form the material, written and unwritten, which he had collected, and carrying out the unfinished investigations which he had begun. Undoubtedly this was exactly his need; and undoubtedly, through his failure to meet with such good fortune, science has lost irretrievably. The man was unique, and his opportunities were unique, and the portion of knowledge which is contained in these Notes and in his still unpublished manuscripts, is, like the unsubmerged peak of an iceberg, but a small portion of what might have been secured for science.

Of the special opportunities which he had for observing and investigating, he himself writes as follows: "The social and domestic condition of a people can only be studied by a long life among them and by actual residence

for a longer or shorter time in some of their representative households. My long residence in Japan afforded me frequent opportunities for doing this. My knowledge of the language and my profession of physician brought me on these occasions into the most confidential relations, disarming suspicion, relieving from restraint, and thus enabling me to arrive at facts and conclusions which under less favorable circumstances would have been sure to be marred by exaggerations on the one hand and by concealment on the other. One of the most remarkable features in the rapid development of progress in Japan was the eagerness with which all classes and more especially the higher and educated sought the advice and aid of foreign physicians. For many years in charge of one of the largest hospitals, my opportunities for becoming familiar with all classes of the people were exceptional. Certain families were in the habit of coming long distances almost every summer to my Hospital and of taking rooms and living in it as if at a sanitarium. With many of them I formed lasting relations of friendship, and was frequently invited to come to their homes and stay as long as my convenience and inclinations dictated. Some of these invitations were gladly accepted from time to time. Whenever journeying in the country I constantly met old familiar faces of whose whereabouts I had had no knowledge. My arrival in a village, especially if I remained all night, was sure to be the occasion of a general reception from old patients and their friends, partly complimentary and partly to obtain my medical advice. Among them most conspicuous would be the village doctors. Some of them had been my students; others had on various occasions brought their difficult cases to me for consultation. In this manner I became acquainted with the domestic and social life of the rural population and the large landed proprietors.

"Much in the same manner I was brought in contact with the higher and ruling classes. As one of two or three pioneers of western medical science, the gates of feudal lords were thrown open to me,—gates which had

ever been closed against the foreigner, and within which all was deep mystery to those who came here from the western world during the centuries of Japanese national hermitage. By frequent visits to these families, I was enabled to see and study the social life of old Japan in places where the customs and usages of centuries past were preserved in all their purity. The opportunity was well timed, for already there had begun to appear the signs of a civil strife resulting ultimately in overthrow and destruction so sudden and so thorough that at this date only a trace remains of the pomp and circumstance of feudal pride."

Of the passing away of the old customs and of the necessity for a diligent and speedy use of fast disappearing opportunities, he says: "Some of the most attractive subjects to the student, the organization of society, the institutions of the family, and especially the system of rural government forming the whole superstructure on which the nation was built, have in Japan up to this time been comparatively little studied by foreigners. This is chiefly due, first, to the difficulty of investigating without a good knowledge of the language, and, secondly, to the want of opportunities, by close relationship with the people, to appreciate the spirit as well as the form of their institutions. But the subject of the laws and customs of old Japan is fast becoming a matter of history only. Since the abolition of feudalism in 1871 and the restoration of the Mikado to power, great and marvellous changes have been going on in the social and political condition of the country. The historic oriental forms of social life and government are being as fast as possible remodeled on western principles, and if the present rate of change continues, the time is not far distant when the main features will have disappeared or will have become so modified by mixture with western ideas and methods that it will be difficult to separate the old from the new. Already there is a younger generation ignorant of most of the customs characteristic of the feudal and rural life of old Japan. Not even

the names of the books from which chiefly I have drawn my information are known to the younger educated Japanese. Their contents are known to but few of even the older Japanese. Many of the written laws especially, and the records of the customs on which they were based, were till the fall of feudalism preserved in manuscript form only, and of these manuscripts numbers are now to be found only after much search in old booths or junk shops where they are held at a value little more than that of waste-paper. Even though these may be rescued and preserved for the use of future students of Japanese history their extreme brevity and simplicity will fail to convey the spirit of the institutions and customs of the times to which they refer. The present day therefore is one of great importance in researches of the kind. Now the living representatives of the past times may be reached; now the opportunity exists for personal inquiry from those who were not only familiar with the laws and customs of those times but who were, as officials, the only possessors of the manuscripts containing the records, laws, and decisions. Some of these persons I am fortunate enough to number among my friends, but their gray hairs and tottering steps warn me that no time is to be lost if this source of information is to be utilized. In addition to this, the fact that I am one of a dozen at most of living foreigners who have been actual observers of the forms of society and government in old Japan makes me feel still more the importance of pushing on with the work which I have undertaken. In what I write I shall not pretend to have exhausted the subject, but shall aim only to give a brief outline of it in a connected form as a basis for farther and more extended observation by myself and other more able students."[1]

1. The author of the *Chihō Seido-tsū* says: "All intelligent people regret keenly the sweeping away of ancient customs that ensued after the *Meiji* Restoration. Good or bad, they were all included, on the score of being opposed to free institutions. There were numerous customs which performed an important service in preserving social

He felt a natural satisfaction in the fact that he was the first to study these phenomena of local institutions and to bring to light facts of such interest and importance to science. "As showing the great importance and value to the student of anthropology of the Village Communities wherever they are still living institutions, Sir Henry Maine remarks in his 'Village Communities:' 'For many years the discovery and recognition of the existence of the Village Communities of India has ranked among the greatest achievements of the Anglo-Indian Government.' I must admit, therefore, that it was with no small degree of satisfaction that I discovered, now some years ago, the Village Communities of Sir Henry Maine to exist in Japan. I say 'discovered,' because I am not aware that they had been recognized by any previous observer. Be this as it may, it matters little to me, as long as I have at last the leisure and the opportunity for their study." This was written shortly before his death. While it is necessary to refuse assent to the exactness of the parallel here predicated between the Japanese community and those sketched by Sir Henry Maine, it is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that the study of the Japanese Village Community approaches if not equals in scientific importance that of any other such communities outside of Western Europe.

It is unnecessary to speak here of the circumstances under which his manuscript came into the hands of the

order, but these were carried away in the general inundation, side by side with the really pernicious institutions. Among the former were the observances in regard to the common meadow and forest land. These, before the Restoration, were public property of *mura*, *han*, etc., and were preserved from destruction by salutary regulations. But after that great event the authority of the old rules was weakened, and evil consequences followed. Now that the hand of control was loosed, people began to act as their wish dictated. Before long the subdivision of commons, even their sale, came to pass. It is much to be lamented that at the present time little or no trace of the old law on this subject can be found. Here and there, in *mura* lying in mountainous districts, some traces remain, for the people of the mountains are conservative in their nature, and are not ready to suffer sudden changes in their old customs."

editor, except to say that it was by the kind permission of those who had the authority to dispose of it. A few words, however, must be said about the material for the Notes. The manuscript left by Dr. Simmons included nearly one hundred notebooks and packages of loose papers, containing memoranda, jottings, extended notes, half-begun articles, plans for books and essays, etc. etc., covering scores of topics, and utterly without index or arrangement. It was necessary to find out what portions of this material were homogeneous, and then to extract and arrange selected passages, and to attempt to put them in a form fit for publication. One result of this condition of things was that the material going to make up these Notes was found scattered in perhaps a thousand separate passages, now woven into continuous text, and that the editor has been obliged to take the responsibility of arranging this material, of correcting hastily written passages, of amplifying memoranda, and of condensing the frequently occurring repetitions. The hasty and unfinished nature of the writing made this in most cases a necessity. It was thought better that the reader's attention should, if possible, not be distracted by formal inadequacies which the author, had he lived, would never have allowed to remain. For the sake of presenting the individuality of the author as closely as possible, much has been retained the form of which did not commend itself to the editor personally. On the other hand, perhaps one third of the whole material is in the language of the editor; though for the sake of the credit of the author it is to be regretted that it was impossible clearly to distinguish those passages for the wording of which the editor alone is responsible. Another consequence of the chaotic condition of the papers is that it is out of the question to make certain distinctions bearing on the scientific value of the statements made. (1) It was impossible, in all but a few minor instances, to assign dates to passages; that is, to ascertain whether they represented the earlier or the later views of the author. (2) It was next to impossible to determine whether a given passage was based on observa-

tion, on the translation of a book, or on statements by Japanese friends, and, in the last case, to determine the source of the statements. This drawback is of the less consequence, however, for this reason. On the subject of local institutions and land tenure, Dr. Simmons' customary informant (other than his provincial friends, ex-officials, etc.) was a Japanese scholar, Ōtomo Rokujirō by name, occupying a high place, though not the highest, as a student of those subjects. This scholar (whom he calls "my teacher" in some passages) gave him the full benefit of his researches and attainments. The largest part of these Notes may be taken as based on the authority of Mr. Ōtomo, or of Japanese books translated by him for Dr. Simmons and therefore stamped with his authority. Mr. Ōtomo died a few months before the author of these Notes, and we are unfortunately left without the light which he could throw on the sources of information in detail. Mr. Fukuzawa, who lent Dr. Simmons a number of Japanese books and shared his interest in the subject, had no direct companionship in his studies, and can give no help on this point. (3) Many obscurities remain, which no collation of passages and no effort at inference can dissipate. These must be accepted as inevitable.

The Japanese works on which Dr. Simmons seems to have drawn most largely were two; 1) *Jikata Hanrei-roku* (collection of provincial regulations), a work containing a great deal of miscellaneous information on the subject of local rural institutions. Written at some unascertained time by Ōishi Ijūrō, a scholar of some standing and a local official of Takasaki *Han*, who died about 1794, it was first brought to light about 1840, when Mizuno Tadakuni, a feudal noble, made an effort to collect rare and valuable books. A scholar named Tōjō Kō (using the *nom de plume* of Kintai) formed the intention of revising and completing it, but political imprisonment interfered with his purpose and it was not carried out until 1871, when the completed work was published in twenty small volumes. It is probably the

best known book on the subject, and the amount of original material which it contains makes it particularly valuable. 2) *Jikata Ochibo-shū* (collection of fallen rice-ears in the provinces), an anonymous collection of notes on land tenure and local institutions, written about 1799.

From one point of view these Notes have the highest importance. They mark the first step in the study of local institutions in old Japan, and they have opened the way for more extended study. They are largely the results of investigation made on the spot and under specially favorable opportunities, and may be taken to represent, in any given instance, the actual practice among the people, rather than the theoretical rule. From another point of view the value of a large portion of them is but temporary and their authority only provisional; for later students will be able to consult much better written authorities, to reach wider conclusions, and to construct sounder theories. In any case we must be deeply grateful for the enthusiastic spirit and the sympathetic observation which has given us this valuable nucleus and has made us aware of the richness of the field of investigation.

The foot-notes are invariably those of the editor. The Japanese authorities there cited are as follows: 1. The *Chihō Seido-tsū*, an account of the local government system of old Japan, in two volumes, written about 1878. The author is said to have been a Mr. Murata, of the *Genrō-in* (Senate); the copy used for reference was in manuscript, and is the only one known to the editor: 2. The *Sendai Han Gun-shi-son-chō Seido-kō*, a manuscript account of local government in the fief of Sendai, written within recent years by officers of the new province of Miyagi (which contains the town of Sendai), under the direction of Mr. Yamada: 3. The *Yamato Hansei*, a manuscript volume, copied from a manuscript now at the Nara *Gun-yakusho* (office of Nara county), giving a short account of the local institutions in the old province of Yamato. The authors were certain officials of the *Gun-yakusho*: 4. The *Den-yen Jikata Kigen*, an account of

the origin and history of various institutions connected with land tenure; written by Mr. Asakawa Teigo, and existing only in manuscript: 5. The *Dai Nihon Fudōsan*, a history of real property in Japan down to the time of the Restoration; written in 1888 by Mr. Yokoye Tokifuyu, a Tōkyō scholar of eminence: 6. The *Minji Kwanrei-ruishū*, a collection of local customs relating to land tenure, contracts, etc., made about 1878 by officials in the various provinces under the supervision of the *Shihō-shō* (Department of Justice): 7. The *Shoyen-kō*, a history of *shoyen* or manors, by Mr. Kurita Kwan, of Mito.

The first four were kindly loaned for translation by Mr. Matsuzaki Kuranosuke; the sixth by Mr. Ishii.

For the translation of the third and sixth of these the editor is indebted to Mr. Ushiba Tetsuo, a student of the School of English Law; of the first, fifth and seventh, to Mr. Nagashima, a recent graduate of the Keiōgijuku College; of the second and fourth, to Mr. Kambe Torajiro, a student of the Law Department of the Keiōgijuku University; and for the translation of the fourth *Kumi-chō* in the Appendix to Mr. Ishii Kikujirō, a graduate of the Law Department of the Imperial University. For explanations on many points of translation there is a special indebtedness to Messrs. Ushiba and Ishii. Several Japanese scholars of high rank have also been consulted for criticism of the conclusions reached by Dr. Simmons, and where an opinion was of special consequence it has been mentioned. Chief among these were Mr. Konakamura Kiyonori, professor of Ancient Japanese Law in the Imperial University, and one of the three or four leading authorities upon the subject; Mr. Kurita Kwan, curator of the Shōkō-kwan Library at Mito, editor and reviser of the national history *Dai Nihon-shi*, and author of numerous works on old Japanese law and custom; Mr. Miyazaki Michisaburō, professor of Roman Law in the Imperial University, and a thorough student of early Japanese institutions; Mr. Matsuzaki Kuranosuke, assistant professor at the Imperial University and one of the best of the younger

Japanese scholars; and Mr. Komeyama Yasusuke, professor of Old Japanese Law in the Keiōgijuku University. It is a matter of extreme regret that there does not exist among these and other scholars, foreign and native, greater co-operation in the investigation of early and mediæval institutions.

For the meanings of the various Japanese terms the editor and his translators are responsible, though for convenience sake the meanings are usually placed in the text itself. Thanks are due for assistance in this matter and in that of etymologies to Mr. J. H. Gubbins, the learned Japanese Secretary of H. B. M.'s Legation.

A table of equivalents for Japanese measures is here appended for reference.

1 *ri*	=	2.4403	miles	Linear measure.
1 *chō*	=	357.92	feet	
1 *ken*	=	1.9884	yards	
1 *shaku*	=	11.9305	inches	
1 *ri*	=	5.9552	square miles	Square measure.
1 *chō*	=	2.4507	acres	
1 *tan*	=	0.2451	acre	
1 *tsubo*	=	3.9538	square yards	
1 *koku*	=	4.9629	bushels	Dry measure.
1 *to*	=	.496	bushel	
1 *shō*	=	.1985	peck	
1 *gō*	=	.0199	peck	

II. NOTES OF DR. SIMMONS.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

1. *The spirit of local institutions.*

We think of government as a kind of instrument or machine for making laws, and, when they are made, as charging itself with their enforcement. In fact not an inconsiderable portion of society in the West regards the law as its enemy. In old Japan society was a law to itself. Its civil rules went out and up from the people instead of down and upon them. Customs matured by centuries of growth and experience took the place of written codes of laws (except in the case of criminal laws) and a system of arbitration took the place of courts, judges and lawyers. The rural communities were highly organized and within certain broad limits were independent and democratic in the conduct and administration of their municipal affairs. The government of these was social rather than political, their head men advisers, not rulers, arbitrators, not judges.

The governmental methods of rural Japan were a product of the growth and development of tribal customs and usages, modified by edicts and laws promulgated at various epochs from the central sources of power, the Mikados and the Shōguns or military chieftains. The customs and laws of the village communities as they existed before the restoration of the Mikado (1868) had their origin in three sources; 1st, The traditions and customs of the early periods; 2nd, The beliefs and practices imported and developed by the Buddhist missionaries; 3rd, The edicts promulgated from time to time by the Mikados, Shōguns, and *daimyō*. It seems to have been the policy of the Shōguns (the originators of military rule), commencing with Yoritomo, to change as little as possible, when

coming into power, the laws and customs affecting the agricultural population. Especially was this the case with the Tokugawa Shōguns, the general principle being carried out that any custom of the rural districts which had existed for 50 years or more should be respected and recognized as law. This points to a conclusion just opposite to what has been often asserted, that the laws governing the Japanese people were unknown to them, their perusal being allowed only to the *Go-rōjū* or Council of State. The fact is that the *Go-rōjū* was more a high court of appeal from the decisions of the rural and municipal chief magistrates than a source from which laws were promulgated for the people at large. The laws for the government of the feudal lords and their retainers (with which, of course, the people had little or nothing to do) must not be confounded with those affecting the common people, especially the laws relating to titles to land, to the collection of taxes, to irrigation, and to the thousand and one questions involving the rights and privileges of an essentially agricultural community. Instead of there being an ignorance of the laws and hence of individual rights, there was probably no country in the world where the mass of the people, down to the smallest farmer in the possession of a few square yards of land, were more familiar with their rights and duties than in Japan. In fact it will be seen that in a vast majority of cases the people themselves, by means of a system of arbitration which they were encouraged to employ instead of appealing to the established courts, were the executors of their own rights.

There was a Kyōto saying "*Tenka-hatto, mikka-hatto*" —government-made laws are but three-day laws. All laws, that is, and all officials are constantly changing, are not fixed on solid ground. The government of the people by themselves—*mura-hō*, village rule, *chō-hō*, town rule, *ka-hō*, family rule—these are the true sources of order, of the permanent and deep-seated modes of action which constitute true government.

2. *Local Government from above.*

The whole organization of the government[2] was based on a plan of national and social economics having no parallel in any other country in the world. This we find especially marked in the administration of the agricultural districts. Having decided, especially since the commencement of the Tokugawa regime, on a policy of seclusion and of non-communication with the rest of the world, the problem gradually evolved as to how a constantly increasing population on a comparatively small space could be kept supplied with the necessities of life. It is doubtful whether this problem was completely formulated by the founder of the 270 years dynasty. But the plan having been adopted of isolation, of permitting no emigration or immigration, no commerce, no exchange of hand labor or machinery for products of other countries, the solution of the problem developed by successive gradations and gave rise to certain natural expedients for effecting the purpose. The profound peace eliminated the destruction of life in battle and the various concomitants of war and want. The laws enforcing storage of rice and other products, against the accidents of failure of crops, etc., tended to counteract the opposing tendency to over-population.

The result was a wonderful system of agriculture and an economical use of the products of the soil and the necessities of life. One of the fruits of this is seen in the simplicity of the dwellings, mode of life, etc., which is still to be obser-

2. A fact to be kept in mind in studying the political institutions of Old Japan is the separate and distinct character of the life of the common people and that of the rulers. The distinction has until recently been so much neglected that it can hardly be too much emphasized now. It was clearly recognized by Dr. Simmons, and was always present in his mind. In order, therefore, to understand where the line of separation (of course not by any means a sharp one) began to be drawn, it was thought best to place first those portions of the Notes giving an account of the local officials of the feudal lords and the central Government, and of their functions; the reader then passes to the portions bearing more directly on the land laws and the internal aspect of local life.

ved. In most other countries simplicity of life has tended towards carelessness and neglect of cleanliness, but here the opposite is the case.

The chief local administrative official was known as *gundai* (district-deputy) or *daikwan* (deputy-official). These were appointed by the central government, whether Shōgun or *daimyō*. They were in reality different grades of the same office. The district under them was of varying size. For the *daikwan* it ranged from an assessed production of 50,000 *koku* of rice downwards. For the *gundai* it ranged from 50,000 to 100,000 *koku*.[3] In the daimiates the officer was sometimes called *kōri-bugyō*.[4]

The office may be briefly described as that of revenue-officer-in-chief of the executive authority, judge in criminal cases, and court of appeal in civil cases. The house of the *daikwan* with jail, office, and court room, was called *jin-goya* (or *jin-ya*) or camp (lit., army-little-house). The assistants were taken from the merchant class, because of the experience of such persons in money matters. The staff of a *daikwan*, in a 50,000 *koku* district, averaged eighteen men, with, say, seven more as staff-bearers, etc. The salary of the position varied in different places from 136 to 556 *koku per annum*. The assistants received no fixed salary, but were allowed a compensation at the end of the year.[5]

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3. In Kōriyama *Han* (Matsudaira Kai no Kami) the three *daikwan's* districts included 65, 62, and 65 *mura* respectively (*Yamato Hansei*). In the district of the *daimyō* Yagyū Tajima no Kami, which was no more than 10,000 *koku* in size, there were four *daikwan* (*Yamato Hansei*). It was not always, perhaps not usually, true that these offices were the same, varying in name only according to the size of the district. In a number of instances the *gundai* was at the head of the administration, with one or more *daikwan* under him. This was so in Kōriyama, in the territory of Tajima no Kami, in that of Izumi no Kami (*Yamato Hansei*), and in Sendai *Han* (*Sendai Han Seido-kō*).

4. District-superintendent. *Kōri* and *gun* are the respective Japanese and Sinico-Japanese terms, and are expressed by the same ideograph.

5. In the *Chihō Seido-tsū* the constitution of the *daikwan's* office is described as follows: "In the office of the *daikwan* were the following officers. 1. *Daikwan*. He was appointed by the Bakufu, (a name for the Shōgunate) and had full control of the subordinates. His salary, 84

The first *daikwan* under the Tokugawa rule were Ina Bizen no Kami and Hikosaka. They were celebrated in the history of the country as the organizers of the Tokugawa system of taxation and agricultural adminstration. This system, first applied in the territories of the Toku-

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koku yearly, was paid by the Bakufu. 2. *Motojime-tedai* (source-office deputy). These were 2 in number, and had charge of financial matters, under the direction of the *daikwan*. The salary was 52½ *hyō* (bundles) of rice (1 *hyō*=about two fifths of a *koku*). 3. *Hira-tedai* (common deputy). These were 8 in number and had charge, under the direction of the *daikwan*, of miscellaneous matters. The salary was 20 *ryō* of money and 18 *hyō* of rice (for one grade), 15 *ryō* of money and 13½ *hyō* of rice (forthe other). 4. *Kaki-yaku* (writing office). These were 3 in number, and their occupation was the writing and copying of letters. The salary was 7 *ryō* of money and 9 *hyō* of rice. 5. *Yō-nin* (chamberlain, more literally, business-person). This officer attended to the household affairs of the *daikwan*; his salary was 7 *ryō* of money and 9 *hyō* of rice. 6. *Samurai*. Three *samurai* attended the *daikwan* constantly, to do his bidding. The salary was 4 *ryō* of money and 4½ *hyō* of rice. 7. *Chūgen* (servant). Seven of these servants waited on the *daikwan*. The salary was the same as that of the *samurai*."

The statements of Dr. Simmons as to the supplies of the office are apparently based on an imperfect reading of the *Yikata Hanrei-roku*, and may be corrected by comparison with the following quotation from the *Chihō Seido-tsū*. "If we take a district of 50,000 *koku*, the total amount of supplies from the Bakufu for that office would be yearly 550 *ryō* of money and 315 *hyō* of rice, the rate being 110 *ryō* and 63 *hyō* for every 10,000 *koku* of assessed value. Districts of less than 30,000 *koku* but more than 10,000 *koku* were to receive the supplies of districts of 30,000 *koku*. Districts of less than 10,000 *koku* but more than 5000 *koku* were to rank as of 10,000 *koku*. For every 10,000 *koku* over 50,000 *koku*, an extra supply of 50 *ryō* and 81 *hyō* was granted. But this schedule applied only in the region east of Harima; west of that the rate was as follows: In the districts called Sanin-dō, Sanyō-dō, and Nankai-dō, for every 10,000 *koku*, 124 *ryō* and 63 *hyō*; in the district of Saikai-dō (Kyūshū), for every 10,000 *koku*, 140 *ryō* and 63 *hyō*."

Apparently there must have been some conversion of money into rice, for the sum total of the Bakufu allowance does not tally exactly with the sum of the salaries above described. There was doubtless a large margin in the allowance which went to pay for incidental expenses, and perhaps in some cases to line the *daikwan's* pockets.

It must be added that in Dr. Simmons' statement the salary of the *daikwan* is evidently confounded with the supplies of the office.

gawa family, was afterwards adopted throughout the dominion of the Shōgunate, and was imitated in the domains of *daimyō* and temples. Hikosaka afterwards became governor of Yedo, and developed a general system of city government which was retained in all important features until the Restoration of Meiji.

The office was generally hereditary, usually in an old family of the locality. Still the length of any one incumbency was about five years only. Usually a small *hatamoto*, often a *gōshi*, occupied it. The occupant was never called on to do military service as a bearer of arms; he served, if at all, only as commissariat officer. The directions given in the *Jikata Hanrei-roku* are that these officials should be men trained to the keeping of accounts, should have a general knowledge of civil and criminal law, and should be familiar not only with the customs of the locality over which they presided, but also with those of adjacent regions. Their education was especially in the line of finance, particularly in early times. Other than themselves and the *bōzu* (priests) few had education enough to fill the position of tax collector and accountant. Thus they really formed a special class trained for this life.

The office was not subject to political jobbery, I am told, though there is reason to believe that this was not always the case. The position was in some degree patriarchal in the respect which it received, and though its incumbents were subject to removal for corruption and bad management, such an occurrence was comparatively infrequent. As has been said, the policy of the Tokugawa Shōguns, especially of Iyeyasu, was to change as little as possible the established customs of the different localities. The advantage of the system was a thorough acquaintance by the officials with the districts and the special requirements of each. Again, in the little-changing population of those times the *daikwan* came to be the nominal supreme authority. The people heard that there were such persons as a Mikado, a Shōgun, a *daimyō*, but to them the *daikwan*, whose family had in many cases been the governors of

their ancestors for generations, became, to their limited view, *the* Government.

He took supervision of all minor cases of crime and of disputes in regard to land. Important cases, however, were sent to the nearest *machi-bugyō* (city-governor). The decisions of the *daikwan* in all matters respecting individual rights were open to appeal to the highest court of the country, a privilege especially used where rights to land were in question. The power of the *daikwan* and their exercise of it may be said to represent the character of the government of the country. They were the medium through which the sole revenues of the Shōgun or *daimyō* must come. In this respect they were the instruments of the lords whom they represented. Yet great latitude was given to them in all matters of a local nature outside of the established revenue which they were expected to return to the Shōgun or *daimyō*.

Still this was not left to the caprice or avarice of the lord alone. Thus I found in the *Jikata Hanrei-roku* the following directions as to the spirit in which the *daikwan* should exercise his function: His duties were to adjust the boundaries of large divisions of land, such as *mura* (which in mountain districts because of imperfect surveys often became the subject of dispute), and of individual holdings; to assist in the complicated and difficult management of water supply for irrigation, of the repairs of dikes and of embankments; to carefully inquire into and equitably adjust the causes of failure, partial or entire, of crops from overflow, winds, insects or insufficient supply of water, and to make a just re-assessment of taxes on such land; to see to it that the local officials advised with the farmers about the kinds of seed and their quality, about improvements in methods of cultivating various kinds of land, about ploughing and manuring, and about everything pertaining to the best method of agriculture. Especial attention was recommended to the adjustment of the regular assessment on land of all kinds according to its productive power, to the quality of the soil, to its exposure,

favorable or unfavorable, to the prevalence of destructive winds, to the quality of unfailing water supply, in fact to every possible thing which could affect the quantity and quality of the products of the soil,—the official thus shielding the farmer from unjust assessments, and at the same time securing to the lord the just return in taxes. In prosperous times the farmers were to store up (against failure of crops, epidemics, etc.), without removing the husks, such grains as did not spoil. This the officials were to encourage and urge the people to do, so as to prevent alarm on the approach of dry weather or of epidemics. They were to be encouraged also to plant wet land with trees and shrubs, and also to plant trees to protect the fields from the winds.

In the administration of affairs by the *daikwan*, their instructions were based on high moral and philosophical principles. In the books used as their guides Confucian maxims are plentifully introduced. Equity and justice seemed to be aimed at in all cases. Rarely should an old, well-established custom be changed—such were the instructions—but if found to be very bad the change should only be made after careful consideration by the old local officials and the farmers. For example, when Iyeyasu took the province of Kai, no change was made in the old customs and rules. Politico-economic questions were to be carefully studied, to secure the prosperity of the farmers and to equalize the interests of both the Government and the people without detriment to either. Recently (says the writer of the *Jikata Hanrei-roku*) the farmers have become extravagant. The *gundai* and *nanushi* should admonish the farmers in this matter not to wear fine clothes, build fine houses, or be ambitious to become officials or *samurai*, or merchants, but to fulfil diligently their duties in the honorable cultivation of the soil. But, says the essayist, the *daikwan* and his officials should not be severe or dictatorial, or the people will be irritated and obstinate; nor should they be too familiar and indifferent, or the people will lose respect for their superiors. A

dignified middle course should be aimed at by the *daikwan* in all their dealings with the people. However skilful officials may be in applying the technicalities of legal administration, if they have not sufficient regard for justice, if they neglect to take into careful consideration all extenuating circumstances, if they are unnecessarily strict, they will not have done their duty. Even if people seem to be prosperous, technicalities should not be in all cases insisted on as if it were praiseworthy to do so. The spirit of all administration of land revenue is to give the farmer the benefit of all doubts and not to insist on technicalities. His prosperity should excite the satisfaction rather than the cupidity of the lord.

No short-sighted policy governed the Tokugawa administration, nor any consideration of temporary gain by severe taxation. The *daikwan* who by his sharp practices in collecting revenue or in drawing the line against the farmer to the utmost limit in order to gain special favor, was almost sure to come to grief sooner or later. The *hyakushō-tsubure* or "farmer-destroyer" was a role utterly opposed to the economic policy of the founder of the dynasty and of his successors. Taxation might be pushed to the utmost ability to pay, but it was never permitted to go beyond this and to force an industrious farmer into bankruptcy or to borrowing on a mortgage. If he could not pay his taxes and live in a fair degree of comfort, a careful and impartial investigation was instituted into the causes for this, and all reasonable extenuating circumstances were considered. As by far the greater part of the revenues were drawn from rice cultivation, every encouragement was given to secure an abundant product. More than this, the abandonment of rice cultivation by a farmer was not permitted, or at least, he was never so oppressed by taxes as to make it necessary. Everywhere in the dealings of the Shōguns with the farmers the importance of the latter's function was recognized. They were allowed more latitude than any other class of persons and were ranked next to the *samurai*. A decided and firm appeal

against injustice was nearly always successful. The individuality and independence of the farmer were cherished and carefully preserved by the Government.

On the other hand the farmers sometimes carried their idea of their rights to a chivalrous degree. Uniting in bands they at times assailed the tax office of the *gundai*, and even the small castle-less *daimyō*, regardless of consequences. These were rare occasions, but when the oppression had grown to such a magnitude as to arouse them, they went to claim their rights as a soldier goes to battle, taking their life in their hands. When a gathering of from 50 to 100 after serious deliberation joined in this forlorn hope and appealed for mercy from the tax collector, there was no resisting them; for if the petition was refused and the matter came to the ears of the authorities at Yedo, it became a scandal upon the administration of the *daikwan* or the *daimyō* which usually brought retribution. A *daimyō* who used violence, if he was not one of the eighteen great ones, was surely punished by a removal to a less profitable domain. Examples of this are well known. In order, however, to prevent too frequent or unreasonable demands for reduction of taxes, it was forbidden by law for the farmers to combine to make such demands; but, whatever may have been the punishment indicated for this offence, extenuating circumstances were allowed to annul the punishment or secure a pardon.[6]

The steady policy of the government was to preserve and protect the tillers of the soil. The merchants were below them in the respect and consideration awarded them by the lords of the empire. Indeed a farmer was not permitted to become a merchant without the consent of the Government, the idea being that this was a lowering of his position and that the dignity of the cultivators of the soil should be preserved.

Taxation as understood or felt by people of most

6. On this point, see further the notes under "Local Justice and Procedure," *infra*.

countries is a burden imposed, a kind of robbery of the results of hard-earned means of the people; but it was as a rule quite differently regarded by the people of Japan. The payment of taxes did not seem to be regarded by the peasantry as a burden, but as a loyal duty, in which they took more or less pride. It was an offering, as the word *mitsugi-mono* signifies.

The time of the annual payment of the rice at the collectors' storehouses where each farmer's rice was submitted to inspection, instead of being an occasion of sorrow and irritation, was more like a fair where each vied with the other in presenting for official inspection the best return of rice. It was always a source of mortification for any one when his rice was rejected or declared improperly cleaned for market. Prizes were awarded for the best quality and yield of rice which stimulated the farmers in its production. The tax rice was regarded as a precious thing not to be defiled. A story illustrating this is told of the third Shōgun, who became for a time the real ruler of Japan. Stopping one day at a farmer's house he inadvertently sat down upon some bags of rice which had been carefully prepared for transportation to the collector's storehouse. The farmer immediately in an angry tone ordered the Shōgun (whom he did not know) to get off, saying that was the lord's rice and was not to be defiled or treated in a disrespectful manner. The story goes on to state that the great chief, in admiration of this spirit of the poor farmer in his loyalty to his lord, rewarded him by calling him to a place in his service. An old friend, the son of a former provincial governor, has given me his recollections of the annual collection of the tax rice, when he used to go with his father to see the delivery at the government depot. The farmers seemed to vie with each other in the neatness of the straw package and in the quality and cleanliness of the grain. In each bag was a tag of wood on which were written the names of the farmer and of his *mura*, so that any attempt at fraud in weight or quality could be easily

traced. Another tag or slip of bamboo was fastened to the outside of the package, for convenience of identification. The bags were made of rice straw coarsely braided, cylindrical in shape and nearly flat at both ends. They were not tied as bags of cloth were, but were fastened by interweaving straw cords. The whole was very firm and quite durable and easy to handle.

This much may be said of the administration of the Tokugawa territory and that of the immediate vassals of that family. While the form of the administrative system elsewhere was not essentially different, there was nevertheless in many cases a great disparity between the condition of the people within the dominions of the Shōgunate and those without, and this disparity flowed largely from a difference in the spirit and manner of administration. In several it may be said that the more independent and powerful the *daimyō*, the more severe his treatment of the people, and the worse their condition. In the provinces of Satsuma, Chōshū, Higo, Tosa, Inaba, Akita, Nambu, and Tsugaru this distinction was especially marked. In all these provinces there was great severity. Perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to compare the condition of the farmers with that of the negroes in the United States under slavery. The general principle in those provinces was, "Tax up to such a point that just enough for subsistence remains." The division of the product in the Shōgunate domains was, to the government, five parts, to the farmer, five parts: in the other daimiates, to the *daimyō*, six or seven parts, to the farmer, four or three parts. Humiliation and sumptuary restrictions were systematically imposed. Even the use of umbrellas, socks, and clogs was often forbidden.[7] Practically every item not included in the most restricted manner of life was a privilege and had to be bought. These privileges were usually given in return for a forced loan. Money loaned would perhaps be cancelled by such a privilege. This

7. See the "Rules relating to the station in life (*bungen*) of farmers," Appendix.

practice, however, never obtained in the Tokugawa dominions. The Tokugawas, too, never taxed mulberry, tea, paper and sundry other minor staples; in fact if they had done so the farmers would have destroyed the plantations with salt, ashes, seaweed water, etc., and abandoned the cultivation. But among the independent *daimyō* taxes on these staples were laid and were collected. Such was the favorable reputation of the Tokugawa administration, in contrast with other regions, that the farmers always objected to the handing over of their fief to a *daimyō* (perhaps by exchange or in consequence of some bargain), and their stout protest sometimes prevailed. In Echigo was found perhaps the best condition of things outside of the Shōgunate territory. Here several causes combined to produce prosperity.. Much of the land was originally swamp land and was very rich. The rivers often overflowed and renewed the fertility of the soil. The land had never been exactly measured, and the farms were usually of greater extent than was called for by the tax-register. The *daimyō* of the region did not possess extensive domains, and, being less powerful, were less arbitrary and less oppressive than elsewhere. Finally, as the products of the soil were plentiful, the *daimyō* were rich, and were less inclined to levy exorbitant taxes. There were few small independent land owners; yet the condition of tenants and farm laborers, compared with many other districts, was very good.[8]

8. The contrast between the condition of affairs in the large daimiates, as here sketched by Dr. Simmons, and in the Tokugawa territory, as set forth in such a favorable light a few pages previously, must suggest, to any one acquainted with Japanese history, the unlikelihood of so marked a difference. There can be little doubt that the impression received from the description of the Tokugawa administration is an over-favorable one. It is true that under the great *daimyō* the people fared as is here set forth. It is true also that a decided contrast must be drawn, favorable to the Tokugawa administrators. But we may safely say that in spirit they were far from possessing that anxiety for the well-being of the farmer, that unselfish interest in his prosperity, that sense of a moral duty on his behalf which the Confucian maxims

inculcated. It is the suggestion, if not the express assertion, by the author of the Notes that such a spirit moved their actions; and this is apt seriously to mislead. There is no reason to doubt that on the whole the statements in the text with reference to the care lavished on the farmer's success, the anxiety to maintain him in full vigor, the pains taken to prevent his bankruptcy, his desertion, his discontent, are entirely true; but all this was done for the same reason that a race-horse receives the most lavish care that money can procure,—for reasons of policy, not of affection or of duty. Just as there were among the slave-holders of the South many who found that good treatment of the negroes was in the long run more profitable, merely as a matter of self-interest, so the genius of Iyeyasu lay in his far-sighted agricultural policy,—a policy which believed that a dozen prosperous and contented farmers were a better possession than twenty poor and oppressed ones. It was a part of the singular force of character which marked Iyeyasu that he was able amid the remnants of anarchy and war to establish a system of administration based on this policy, and to settle it so firmly that for two centuries and a half it was carried out substantially on the lines he had laid down. In the results achieved by him in this respect we need not hesitate to compare Iyeyasu's genius with that of Frederick the Great. It is a noticeable fact that the crown lands of Prussia before this century, like the Shōgunate possessions in Japan, were in a far better condition than the districts of the territorial nobles.

But if it was a far-sighted policy, and if necessarily the creation and maintenance of a prosperous and contented agricultural community was a part of it, yet this policy was none the less a calculating and a cold-blooded one. Licensed to live in contented humility, the farmer was crushed without a scruple when he attempted to assert himself or dared to be dissatisfied with the role of a well-fed, plodding beast of burden. The law cited later, by which the punishment of death might be inflicted on farmers taking part in an armed protest, is only one instance of this. In many passages of these Notes will be found further evidence of the sagacious but thoroughly selfish point of view from which the administration was conducted. Attention may be here called to one or two illustrations not contained in the Notes. In a form of petition (translated in Dr. Simmons' papers) to be forwarded by the *daikwan* for Government assistance in case of drought, flood, etc., occurs this passage: "The river X has overflowed many times this summer, its banks are broken through in many places, and the whole of the rice-land in the villages Y, Z, etc., over which I preside was seriously injured, the houses being submerged and the rice-stores of last year carried away. The people are now starving and are coming to me for food loans. I have examined the condition of affairs, and have ascertained the number of persons really in need of food, omitting

those who have means to provide for themselves. I have of course explained to them that even though their present suffering be relieved by a loan of food, they will find it difficult to repay the loan, and that it will be better for them to obtain the means of subsistence in some other way, if possible. But they have absolutely no means of providing for themselves, and unless the Government supplies food, they will go starving, *and hence may become unable to cultivate their land.* It will not do, under the circumstances, to withhold the loan." Observe the real cause for alarm on the part of the Government, that the land will remain uncultivated, and hence the tax-rice unproduced and unpaid.

Again, in the code known as *Kujikata Osadamegaki*, Book I. Art. 35 (*Mittheil. d. D. Gesells. Ostas., Heft* 41, p. 54) we find this provision: "Farmers have always been strictly forbidden not only to indulge in gaming and the like, but also to take part in any other time-wasting occupation or to learn bad ways; *for thus they come to neglect the cultivation of their fields.* These orders shall now be renewed." Here the habit of gaming and sundry unmentioned vices are seen to be reprehensible, from the Tokugawa point of view, because they lead to a diminished agricultural production.

In both of these instances the books from which the passages are taken were intended for the private use of officials, and considerations of policy could be freely expressed.

II. LAND LAW.

1. *Division of territory.*

The common terms relating to the division of the country were:

1. *Kuni* or *koku* (province).
2. *Kōri* (in compounds *gōri*) or *gun* (district.)[9]

9. On the origin and early history of *kuni* and *gun* Mr. Kurida writes as follows, in *Shoyen-kō*.

"The learned Mabuchi explains *kuni* as meaning 'circle,' and derives it from *kune*, a fence. We find in the early records that the titles of *kami* or so-called 'gods' often contain the word *kuni*, as, Kuni-tokodachi, Kuni-satsuchi, Toyo-kuni-nushi, etc. In some cases we find the term *wake* occurring,—Awaji-no-ho-no-sa-wake, Toki-yori-wake, etc.—where the *kami* was the son of the original pair Izanagi and Izanami. This word *wake* signifies "divide," "apportion," and seems to indicate that the *kami* were assigned to various regions, and we may infer that a *kami* was assigned to each *kuni*, and that thus the term *kuni* became a part of the title. Such an arrangement (the governing of *kuni* by nobles whose title contained *wake*) was at any rate in existence under Keikō Tennō (A. D. 71-131), and probably existed earlier. There are moreover records which expressly mention that when Jimmu Tennō defeated the savage aborigines and conquered their country, he placed officers called *miyatsuko* over *kuni*,—Utsuhiko as *miyatsuko* of Yamato *kuni*, etc. This practice was followed until the time of Kōtoku Tennō (A.D. 645-655). A *miyatsuko* was appointed for every *kuni*, and the office became hereditary. The *kuni* at that time, however, was a very small district, perhaps not larger (in most cases) than a *gun* of to-day. This accounts for the large number said to have existed (144) in the reign of Keitai Tennō (A.D. 507-534). But in the next century there came about a fixing of boundaries and a making of surveys which altered the extent of the early *kuni*, and we find in the reign of Mommu Tennō (A.D.697-708) that there were apparently 58 *kuni*, which in extent and in names corresponded in general to the *kuni* of to-day. Several changes were afterwards made, but in the course of the next century or so the number of *kuni* came to be 66, and no alteration afterwards occurred.

"The *kuni* were divided into *agata*, and the record of this subdivision appears as early as the time of Jimmu Tennō. The learned Motoori explains the etymology of *agata* as follows: '*Agata* is formed from

3. *Machi* (town). *Jōka-machi* was a town at the base of a castle or feudal lord's residence. *Shuku* was a post-town on one of the *kaidō*, (great roads). *Ryōshi* or *ura* was a fishing town.
4. *Mura*, *sai-gō*, or *kō* (village, agricultural community). *Zai-machi* was a trading village, the population being half farmers, half merchants. *De-mura* was a branch village. *Mago-mura* or "grandchild-village" was a similar term frequently used.

The early method of fixing the boundaries of the terri-

aga, higher, and *ta*, land; that is, it is high land where no irrigation is needed.' To substantiate this he produces a good deal of evidence; but Kurokawa Harumura rejects his evidence, and offers the following explanation. 'The *agata* is not land which does not need irrigation. The term seems originally to have been *nari-kata*, fruitful region. This became *ari-kata*, and then *akata* or *agata*. It is of course land which pays tribute or tax, but not high land.' There can be little doubt that *agata* included the various kinds of land,—vegetable-land, forest, etc. The *agata* in Yamato were called *mi-agata* (honorable *agata*), for the vegetables used by the Tenno were there raised.

"The chief official of the *agata* was called *agata-nushi*. There were two classes of *agata*, and the *nushi* of the two classes were called respectively *ō*-(great)-*agata-nushi* and *ko*-(small)-*agata-nushi*. But in the case of some of the largest *agata* the official was called *agata-miyatsuko*. Under the *agata-nushi* came the *inagi-nushi*, and under the *inagi-nushi* came the *mura-nushi*. The changes in the establishment of *agata* were endless; but the whole number seems to have been about 590.

"In the reign of Kōtoku Tennō A.D. (645-655) a change took place, and officers called *kuni-tsukasa* and *gun-tsukasa* were substituted for *kuni-miyatsuko* and *agata-nushi*. The *kuni-tsukasa* were chosen from the Tennō's court on the basis of merit, while the *gun-tsukasa* were appointed from those who had been *kuni-miyatsuko*, and the members of their families who were capable and efficient were appointed to subordinate positions in the *gun* office. My friend Mr. Konakamura Kiyonori has suggested to me that the *kuni-tsukasa* existed before the time of Kōtoku Tennō, and corresponded to the *kokusai* mentioned in the *Kojiki*; that his authority was at first subordinate to that of the *kuni-miyatsuko*, and that as he came by degrees to surpass the latter in influence and to reside permanently in the *kuni*, it was easy to effect the change made by Kōtoku. For this suggestion I am greatly indebted, and it is certainly an ingenious one. But although it is perhaps not possible to fix a date for the establishment

torial divisions was the natural one of taking the physical conformation of the country. Thus, mountain ranges and large rivers were taken for the great divisions; hills, valleys, and small streams for the secondary divisions. For practical purposes this was all-sufficient. Surveying instruments, though possessed by the Japanese (who borrowed from China) were not used for the general survey of the country. They were brought into requisition only in the case of boundary disputes between feudal lords or local communities.

In the survey of farm land the method was the primitive one of driving a number of stakes at the outer margin and stretching a straw rope around it. Each piece or plot of land, however small, had its name, and was indivisible in ownership. The name, with that of the owner, was written on a map of large scale, with different tints for different portions, a copy of which was kept in the office both of the *nanushi* and of the *daikwan*.

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of the change, and although it is doubtless true that there were *kuni-tsukasa* before the reign of Kōtoku and as early as Nintoku (A.D. 313), still it must be pointed out that this officer was at first known as *kuni-mikotomochi*; and, notwithstanding the same ideograph is used for that term and for *kuni-tsukasa*, there was a real difference of some kind between the earlier and the later periods, for the former term means merely 'one who executes the commands of the Tennō,' while the latter means 'the ruler of a *kuni*.'"

Mr. Satow has a note upon *kuni* and *agata* in "Ancient Japanese Rituals," (Trans. As. Soc. Jap., VII, pt. 2, pp. 129—30, notes 32, 39). In the *Nōsei Zayu* (Reference Book for Laws relating to Agriculture) of Mr. Komeyama Masahide it is noted that *shū* and *yō* were Sinico-Japanese equivalents of *kuni*, and that *ken* was similarly used for *agata*, before *gun* came into use. See also Dr. Florenz's article quoted in Appendix VII.

Between *kuni* and *kōri* the *han* has here been omitted. This word may be rendered by *fief*. *Kōri* or *gun* were subdivisions of the *han*; for it would seem that as a rule *han* indicated a district held by a territorial lord having some administrative independence, and appointing his own executive officials. The actual arrangement of *han*, the feudal geography, so to speak, of the whole country, seems hitherto not to have been explained by any foreign investigator, and should receive a thorough study.

The spirit of liberality shown in the treatment of the agricultural class, which has from earliest times characterized Japanese rule, has tended to prevent re-surveys of land except on rare occasions. The tax collector was not called upon to question the ancient measurements of the farms, which often had been for two or three hundred years in the same family. Had they done so, the farmers would have been in the vast majority of cases greatly the losers, as the approximate figures which had stood so long on the official maps were sure to be found favorable to themselves; and this they well knew.

The last attempt at anything like a correct estimate of the size of individual holdings was made by Hideyoshi. The work was begun in southern and western Japan, and carried to the Hakone range of mountains, when Hideyoshi's death put an end to the work. Owing to Iyeyasu's policy of disturbing as little as possible all preexisting laws and customs, especially those affecting the agricultural classes, the re-survey of that portion of Japan north and east of the Hakone range was never completed, and through the whole period of supremacy of the Tokugawa Shōguns the farmers of that region greatly profited thereby.

So far as the land survey was concerned, the farmers of northern and eastern Japan would have resisted stoutly, even with their lives, any attempt to re-make it. Indeed, there were several reasons why it was next to impossible to change the title deed measurement: 1st, the lack of easy communication with distant places; 2nd, the opposition of the farmers, who would have fought in a body; 3rd, the probable bribery of the *daikwan*.

2. *Size of holdings.*

It seems from the laws of the ancient code *Taihō-ryō* that in the 7th century the system of parcelling out the land into small holdings of 2 *tan* (half an acre) to each male, and $\frac{2}{3}$ of a *tan* ($\frac{1}{3}$ of an acre) to each female, would give to an average family of 5 persons between 2 and 3

acres of land. In the well known book from which I am now largely quoting, substantially the same thing is stated, though the authority is not given.[10] The statement is that in early times the Mikado gave to all males of 20 years of age one *hyappo* or from 2½ to 3 acres. This was given to the head of a home, or to an eldest son, regardless of the number of daughters or other sons. After the age of 16, other sons received 25 *ho* (about ½ an acre), and when the younger sons married, which was at the age of about 30, 75 *ho* was added to the share of

10. The author of the Notes here begins to erect a fabric of inference, which, while it corroborates the views expressed in the preceding and following text in regard to the agricultural policy of the rulers of Japan, must be regarded as unsound. It will be necessary to call attention to material errors underlying the assertion that there existed in fact an agricultural unit of one *chō* or thereabouts. At this point, however, it will be sufficient to notice the statement that the possession of a family in the earlier times was a plot of 2½ or 3 acres. It does not appear what book is here referred to. It will be remembered that 10 *tan*=1 *chō*, and that 1 *chō*=2.4507 acres.

In the first place the statement that ⅔ of a *tan* is ½ of an acre is of course an error. Taking ½ of an acre as the true extent, we find that the average family of five, even allowing three of its members to be males, would possess only 1⅔ acres. This result does not tally with the 2½ to 3 acres of the succeeding passage. Furthermore the amounts prescribed for distribution by *Taihō-ryō* were several times changed by subsequent legislation. Last, and more important, the family of the *Taihō* period was beyond all doubt not the family of the present day, but a much larger body, a household containing certainly more than two generations, together with collateral relations and slaves. The constitution of the early Japanese family is a subject of great interest upon which we do not as yet know all (See Weipert, "*Japanisches Familien und Erb-Recht*," *Mittheil. d. D. Gesells. Ost.*, *Heft* 43, *passim*) but we may be sure that it was of the patriarchal type peculiar to certain primitive communities, and not of the type of to-day. An illustration happens to be at hand. An extract (quoted in *Fudōsan*) from a register of the *Taihō* period shows the following members in a certain family; "Total number of members in the Ishitari family, 13: The head, Ishitari, a soldier, age, 33; Kunitari, an elder brother, age, 34; Yasunobu, a son, age, 6; Takashima, a younger brother, a soldier, age, 27; Yasomaro, a younger son, age, 2; Kuromaro, a younger brother, age, 25; Ōkuma, a younger brother, age, 20;

each one, making the 100 *ho* allowed for a household or family. This 2½ or 3 acres, the endowment of a single family at that period, is nearly the average size of the holdings at the present day. It seems, from these statements and from those of the *Taihō-ryō*, that, from time immemorial, about half an acre has been the amount of land regarded as sufficient for the support of one person.[11] Again, in the *Jikata Hanrei-roku* it is said that in 1721 the Shōgun Yoshimune forbade a family possessing only one *chō* or less to divide it among the members of the

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Hirokuni, a younger brother, age, 19; Tomoka, a younger brother, age, 18; Nasimaro, a nephew, age, 10; Maname, the mother, age, 37 (?); Shiyata, the wife, age, 32; Anime, a child of Ōkuma, age, 2." In another extract, the family is seen to consist of seven men, eight women, and a child. Of course in these cases any such reckoning as that now under comment must fall to the ground. It is for many reasons out of the question to believe that at any early period the land was divided into holdings of equal or nearly equal size; but the subject is one which cannot be settled in a few words, and what has been said must suffice merely to warn against implicit reliance on the statement of the Notes.

Some explanation of "*hyappo*" is necessary. The word is a contraction of *hyaku-ho* (100 *ho*). The *ho* was 36 *bu* or *tsubo*, one-tenth of a *tan*. According to the *Fudōsan*, *ho* was a measure in the Chinese system on which the Japanese measurements were founded. But it does not seem that the *ho* itself was adopted. Between *bu* and *tan* no other unit corresponding to *ho* seems to have been used until *se* came into vogue in the sixteenth century. Perhaps this might be considered as casting suspicion on the value of the statement relied on by Dr. Simmons. Moreover one *hyappo* would be 3600 *bu*, or one *chō* of that date; but as the *chō* (since the time of Hideyoshi) contains now but 3000 *bu* or *tsubo*, one *hyappo* would be ⅚ *chō* or 3 acres, not "2½ or 3 acres."

11. If some of the Japanese writers are to be relied upon, the amount of land regarded as sufficient for the support of one person was about one half of the area here stated. In the *Tokushi Tōron*, an authority quoted in the *Den-yen Jikata Kigen*, it is said: "In ancient times one *tan* consisted of 360 *bu*, because the rice produced from one *bu* furnishes sufficient food for one person for one day." In the *Toku Nōka Kwanko* also quoted in the *Den-yen Jikata Kigen*, we read: "In ancient times one *tan* consisted of 360 *bu*; and from one *bu* was produced one *shō* of unhulled rice, or from one *tan* 360 *shō*, that is, 3 *koku* 6 *to*, which would make 1 *koku* 8 *to* of hulled rice. According to the

family.[12] In other words 1 *chō* or 1½ acres was still fixed as the land necessary to support a single family. One *chō* of land, therefore, seems to have been the economic unit. These facts serve to throw light on one of the interesting problems of Japanese land tenure, the origin of the present system of small holdings, and of the patchy appearance of the cultivated land throughout the country. Though a large body of land may be seen under cultivation at a given place, not more than 2½ or 3 acres of any part of it is cultivated by a single family;[13] and the broad rice-fields of a mile or more in extent are the property of hundreds of peasant proprietors. Where a large landowner possesses in a compact body several acres of ricefields or other cultivated

old calendar, in one year there are 360 days. So that 1 *koku* 8 *to* (the produce of one *tan*), that is, 1800 *gō*, divided by 360, would 5 *gō* for each day, and in our country 5 *gō* per day is a proper amount of food." The table of dry measure is; 10 *gō*=1 *shō*, 10 *shō*=1 *to*, 10 *to*=1 *koku*. It seems from these authorities that one *tan* produced sufficient for the support of a single person for a year; so that 5 *tan* (or 1½ acres) would produce more than enough for an ordinary family of two adults and three children. This would dispose of another of the supports for Dr. Simmons' belief that the average holding was 2½ or 3 acres.

12. This law I do not find, but the statement in the text is corroborated by the twenty first article of the anonymous *kumi-chō* in the Appendix. Yet the extent of this ultimate indivisible holding was variable; in Kaga it was fixed at 50 *koku* (the *Minji Kwanrei-ruishū*), that is (as will be shown shortly) a piece of land of at least 2½ *chō* (or over 6 acres) in area; in the Kōriyama *kumi-chō* (see Appendix, art. 37), the minimum amount is 10 *koku* land; in the Chiba *kumi-chō* (see Appendix, art. 2), the minimum amount is 20-*koku* land.

13. This is, perhaps, the best place to notice the assertion made in the above sentence and in the preceding paragraph, that the ordinary holding of later times, down to the present day, was from 2½ to 3 acres in area. It is at the present day not true that even the average of all holdings (if this was what Dr. Simmons meant) *per* family is 2½ or 3 acres. The reports of the *Naimu-shō* (Home Department) show that the average of *per capita* holdings in different provinces is ½ to 2½ acres (giving *per* family from 2½ to 12½ acres), with an average for the whole country of from 5 to 10 acres. But even if the statement of the text were true, it would be immaterial, if it referred merely to the average of all holdings; for the theory advanced by Dr. Simmons is that the unit of agricultural

land, it is found to be worked by a number of tenant families, the share of each being 2½ or 3 acres. The 2½ or 3 acres, however, do not always lie in one compact body. They are often in broken patches, quite distant from each other, an arrangement which is apparently a source of inconvenience and loss of time to the farmer.

Of the causes to which this small size of the holdings is to be attributed, perhaps the chief one is the historical prevalence of small holdings, as just explained. Another is said to be the limited extent of land which can be cultivated by a single family. In the *Jikata Hanrei-roku* it is stated that 8 *tan* of rice-field or 6 *tan* of dry land (upland) is all

division has been and is about 2½ acres, and if this is so, all the holdings, taken individually, must be shown to be units of this size or multiples of it, just as in England the units of the acre and the virgate can be traced today. Dr. Simmons' theory strictly requires something more, for it is part of his contention that as the Government has judiciously managed to keep for each family enough to support it, and to preserve the holdings at a level neither too high nor too low, the holdings with few exceptions are very nearly 2½ acres in area, and are not even multiples of that unit. This is not the place to attempt a complete disproof of that contention, but the evidence of the Chibadera *kumi-chō*, set out in the Appendix, may here be noticed. The richest citizen, the *nanushi*, is credited with 39 *koku*, (omitting fractions); there is one person with 25 *koku*, two with 19, several with 10 or more, and a large number with less than 1 *koku*, besides six having no land at all. What extent of land corresponded to these assessments? From various authorities cited in the *Fudōsan* and in the *Den-yen Jikata Kigen* it appears that the product of one *tan* of wet land of the first quality was expected to be, in the time of Hideyoshi (Bunroku, 1592—1596) and previously, from 1 *koku* 5 *to* to 2 *koku*. At the present day the average yield is placed at 1 *koku* 5 *to* (Kinch, "Agricultural Chemistry of Japan, Trans. Asiat. Soc. Jap. VIII, 396) We may estimate the holding of the *nanushi*, then, at 2⅔ *chō* or nearly 7 acres; of the next richest, at 1⅔ *chō*, or 4 acres. Only ten approach the 2½ acre holding of the author of the Notes, the rest being far below in the extent of their holdings. We do not know, it is true, whether the land was wet or dry, was of first, second, third, or fourth quality; nor do we know how correct the assessment was. But the great range in the sizes of the various holdings has a significance which does not depend on our knowledge of those circumstances; and it indicates the improbability of there having been, in the last two hundred years, any uniformity in the size of individual holdings.

that one family of 5 persons can properly cultivate. Another is the prohibition placed upon the transfer of land, to be referred to later. A third cause must not be forgotten. The perpetuity of the family being the basis of the social fabric, the inheritance of the family received a peculiarly sacred character. The integrity of the inheritance received from the ancestors was to be preserved at all cost. No one generation had a right to the exclusive use of it. It belonged to the line, and no one should divert it by sale or by devise. There was therefore a strong dislike on the part of the great majority to dispose of their landed property.

A reason for the division into very small patches is the advantage to be gained in irrigating and in the economic use of water. Another is the fact that the possessor of only 2 or 3 acres is obliged to plant a variety of products in order to equalize the chances of the failure of any given crop. Another reason is that the cultivation of land in Japan is in its spirit and its methods horticulture, not agriculture, gardening rather than farming; and with this exists a tendency towards diversity of crops and cultivation in small patches. Still another reason is the great importance attached to the exposure of land. The order of preference is: South, East, North, West. Hence the possession of small pieces of land of different exposures equalizes the value of various holdings, and hence the advantage of not having all of one's holding in one location.[14]

14. It is to be regretted that here, too, one is compelled to dissent from the author's views of the origin of this division into small patches. We are as yet not in a position to form final opinions as to what is to be deemed the true origin. It may be said, however, that there seems to have been originally a laying out of the land into units of small size (fifty or sixty feet square, for instance), and an apportionment of these units among the various freemen, tenants, or slaves, according to some system of rotation. It may be supposed that a state of things still exists here, which has left its traces in England and else where,—the ownership of scattered tracts, containing an agricultural unit or a multiple of it, by each of the various landholders of a *mura;* and that this arrangement may be traced back, as it has been by Mr. Seebohm in England, to a method of measurement and distribution peculiar to early times. But this is as yet hypothesis only. Still the considerations mentioned

To return to the influence of the prohibition against the transfer of land. We gather from the laws promulgated in the 7th century (the *Taihō-ryō*, already referred to) that the principle of peasant proprietorship had in effect been established, though perhaps not with design. The spirit of the legislation can be interpreted only as aiming at a provision against extremes of wealth and poverty. The same spirit finds expression in the laws of the Tokugawa Shōguns, particularly that one prohibiting the sale of farm lands, passed in 1643 (20th year of Kwansei). The purpose of the prohibition is thus described in the *Jikata Ochibo-shū*. "If farmers are permitted to sell their land, a *rōnin*, *samurai*, merchant, rich farmer or other person might become the possessor of a whole *mura* or *kōri*, and thus be able to defy the government and sow the seeds of disturbance. Again, poor and indolent men for trivial reasons might be tempted to sell their land and thus lose their homes and their positions as cultivators of the soil, and become the dependants of rich men. This would be a great misfortune." If the law was transgressed, the offender was imprisoned or banished. If he had died, his son suffered the same punishment. The buyer was fined and his land confiscated, and, in case of death, his son suffered instead. If there had been a witness to the sale, he was fined, but his son was not responsible.

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by the author do not seem sufficient to explain the facts, although it is not improbable either that they operated to influence the original distribution, or that they assisted in preserving it when its origin had been forgotten and reasons were needed for perpetuating it.

That the land is so divided into small patches is a fact which any one can verify; and that the practice has serious drawbacks is indubitable. One of the problems with which the Department of Agriculture and Commerce (*Nōshōmu-shō*) is now occupied is the question how these patches may be so exchanged and consolidated as to facilitate the employment of modern agricultural methods.

To give to those who have not had an opportunity to observe a Japanese field some idea of its arrangement, a map has been prepared and will be found in the Appendix.

The *nanushi* of the *mura* was ordered to resign his office.[15]

The land laws of Japan show an intention to make the cultivation and ownership of large tracts by a single proprietor, or even by tenants of such proprietors, cumbersome and of little profit. This was especially the case for non-resident proprietors. The executors of the

15. I do not find in the revised code the *Kujikata Osadamegaki* any note of this law of 20 Kwansei. In 2 Gembun (1737), however, the prohibition was repeated, and a law forbidding the mortgaging of land for more than ten years (for mortgages seem to have been resorted to as a means of evading the prohibition upon sales) was promulgated at the same time. (See the *Kujikata Osadamegaki*, II, Art. 30 *Mittheil. d. D. Gesells. Ost.*, *Heft* 41, p. 73), "Punishment of those who sell their land in perpetuity or without giving proper notice.")

The statement of the author of the Notes, that "the spirit of the legislation can be interpreted only as aiming at a provision against extremes of wealth and poverty," so far as it applies to the Tokugawa legislation, is refuted by the extract from the *Ochibo-shū* immediately following. It there appears clearly enough that what the Shogunate feared was a disturbance of the feudal equilibrium which they had established and with which they were well satisfied. The history of land tenure in previous epochs had been a history of the passage of land from the poor to the rich, from the small to the great, and it was seen that at any time new concentrations of landed property might occur and new centres of disturbance be created. To keep matters as they were was the proper policy of the Tokugawa family, and the prohibition against the transfer of land was one of the means they adopted to that end. Mr. Yokoye, in the *Fudōsan*, touching on this subject, says: "The Tokugawas knew well that when the rich acquired large territories, they would become powerful and would be able to muster large bodies of retainers, with which they could defy the Government."

But the question presents itself, if, as seems probable, this was the first time that an order was addressed to the common people, forbidding them to sell land, how was it that this had been reserved for the Tokugawa Government to provide for, and that it had not been done before? Or, to question a little deeper, if the sale of land by the common people had from the beginning been free, is it not impossible to suppose that there had not been, before the Tokugawas, some similar prohibition which helped to stem the tendency to consolidate land and turn small owners and tenants into laborers? The answer to these questions seems to be that up to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the mass of the cultivators had been serfs: that the bonds of this serfdom were tho-

laws were instructed directly or given to understand that the principle on which their judgment was to be based in any conflict of the rich and the poor was to give the latter the full benefit of any doubt. Custom and public opinion recognized the broad principle that the possession of property, especially in land, was the inherent right of the many, not of the few. The products of labor

roughly loosened in the internecine conflicts of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; that as the seventeenth century dawned, the cultivators were beginning to feel an independence, to deal with the land of their ancestors as if they were owners; that this tendency it was which then, and then for the first time, it was found necessary to check; and that it had not been the subject of legislation before Iyeyasu's time because it had not existed, because serfdom had until then been a hard and fast system. On behalf of this view it may be said that no previous prohibition regarding the common people seems to have existed. This fact alone would perhaps be colorless. But it may be coupled with the fact that during the five hundred years preceding the Tokugawa ascendency the gentry and nobility from time to time suffered certain restrictions in regard to the transfer of land, as shown by the codes Shimpen—, Shingen—, and Kemmu Shikimoku. Moreover among numbers of early deeds of the period, quoted in full by Mr. Yokoye, in the *Fudōsan*, and selected quite at random (with reference to this point), we find one or two only, in the earliest centuries, signed by members of the *plebs*, while in the later centuries the number increases. These are but straws; yet they serve to indicate that there is evidence of the existence of an *adscriptio glebæ*, the *adscripti*, as a matter of course, not having any voice whatever in the transfer of the land, but being transferred with it. What is needed, of course, is an examination of a representative collection of deeds of the times. It is well known that the deeds of the monasteries of France, Germany, and Switzerland have made clear the concentration of land in the hands of the nobles after the ninth century, simply because there appear few donations or none at all from the small proprietors. Possibly the Temple Tōdaiji, with its deeds, may prove the S. Gall Abbey of Japan.

It is certain that the law prohibiting the sale of land had no force in some districts, though it is impossible to mark out distinctly the boundaries of its validity. It appears from the *Minji Kwanrei-ruishū* that the sale of land was permissible in Uzen and Izumo; that in Tosa it was permissible as to *shin-den* only; that in Kubiki *gun* of Echigo it was permissible to sell to fellow-villagers; while in Uwonuma *gun* of Echigo all sales of land were forbidden. There was therefore no common custom and no generally enforced law upon the subject. Even within a single *kuni* the practice varied.

of any kind were the heritage of the toiler to the extent of leaving him a reasonable support, without regard to the share of the employer. If any one was to be sacrificed, it was more likely to be the landowner than the cultivator. Any surplus which the former might have accumulated in times of plenty was by custom to be returned as a loan to the latter in time of distress, or else a rebate in the fixed rental was allowed, sufficient to enable the producer to support himself and his family. Eviction was almost unknown. A few days ago the Prime Minister told me that he had bought a place on which were living a few poor people who were keeping small tea-houses. He said he had been trying for some time to get them to move, as they had no legal right to remain; but he found it impossible. The general principle was that no one could beggar another by the exercise of his legal right to do so as owner or proprietor of land. There was therefore little opportunity for men to possess themselves of broad acres. The few large landed proprietors seem generally to have acquired their possessions, not by purchase from bankrupt farmers, by the foreclosure of mortgages, or by allotment of government land, but by the drainage and reclamation of lakes, swamps, and river-bottoms.

On the other hand it may be said that there was little inducement for the peasant farmers to advance or to accumulate. The comparative security of their position, with a reasonable amount of industry, would leave them in the position of pensioners, with provision for their support as long as they might live. The difference between then and now is radical. Now the land tax leaves little or no profit for the farmer. So it was then also; but in the old times there were no bankruptcies; the patriarchal principle governed and society did not recognize evictions; the homes were perpetual; and the landlord or the tax collector, when necessary, returned what had been taken, in loans which were paid when good times came again. Now the unfortunate is evicted, and all paternal care is withdrawn; the

money lender or the capitalist takes the homes, and the poor farmer goes out to subsist as best he can. The rich become richer and the poor poorer.[16]

3. *Classes of land.*

The classes of land were as follows:

1. *Ta;* rice-producing low lands.
2. *Hata, hatake;* arable uplands or dry land.[17]
3. *Hara, shiba-chi, makusa-ba;* grass land, meadow.
4. *Taku-chi, yashiki-chi;* building land.
5. *Hayashi, mori;* forest.
6. *San-rin;* mountain land.
7. *Shin-den;* new land, reclaimed land.

Taku-chi, yashiki-chi. By a very old regulation the amount to be used as a building site, to be covered by the house and out-buildings, and to be used for threshing and drying grain, was fixed at 150 tsubo for every holding of 3000 tsubo. The object of fixing the amount was to prevent overreaching the tax-collector, for building land was exempt from taxation. No proprietor could increase the extent of this land or erect buildings outside of it, without special permission from the *daikwan*. In southern and western Japan this land was inseparable from the cultivated land; in the northern and eastern region it was regarded as distinct.

Hayashi, mori. The latter name applied specially to forests owned by temples.

Shin-den.[18] This included hill land, swamps, land

16. The Japanese Government is now engaged, with the help of the various provincial officials, in a thorough investigation embracing the whole subject of the distribution of land ownership, the condition of the agricultural class, and kindred topics, and when the information collected is made public we shall be in a better position to judge of the correctness of the statements here made.

17. There were also special kinds called *yama*-(mountain)-*hata*; *no*-(waste or moor)-*hata*; and *kawa*-(river-land)-*ta* (*Den-yen Jikata Kigen*).

18. *Shin-den* was known as *kon-den*, in the *Taihō-ryō* period. It was regarded at first as private, untaxable property for three generations only, but it gradually became a permanent holding.

subject to periodic overflow, shallow inlets, sea marshes, etc. There were various systematic methods of reclaiming it. Swamps repaid a large profit, as their lands were always rich, and required less manure. Sometimes a *daimyō* had the work done, advancing money to farmers. At other times the members of a *mura* joined in reclamation. In this case the land was worked by the *mura* and the profit divided. Sometimes the reclaimers acted for their individual benefit. Those engaging in this kind of work had a rebate of taxes for a certain number of years, the number varying with the expense attending the work. Special encouragement was held out for the restoration of rice lands, as they brought increased revenue to the government.

The richest farmers of the country are found occupying restored land. The vicinity of Tōkyō contains a great deal of rich *shin-den*, and the farmers are among the most prosperous. In Echigo there are large areas of *shin-den;* in one place an entire lake has been drained. To this day the whole province is one of the most fertile and prosperous in the country.

4. *Classes of landholders.*

Gōshi or *yuisho no hyakushō*, (country-*samurai;* origin-farmers). The origin of this term dates back to the times before Yoritomo and the beginning of the military government (1192). *Gōshi* were *nanushi* or *mura* chiefs who were ambitious, and by taking up a family feud, or otherwise, extended their influence over neighboring *mura*, and finally emerged as territorial lords or *daimyō*. These by degrees became independent of the Mikado's government and stood out against it, and the result was the feudal system. I find it stated that they held land originally without a title from the Mikado, but paid a tax. Afterwards they bought a title from the Mikado, and thenceforward paid no tax. Not only did almost all *gōshi* become *daimyō;* a *daimyō* often became *gōshi*.

That is, a military chief, with his adherents, ceased fighting, withdrew to his land, and became a farmer, keeping his rank as *samurai*, but paying a tax to a *daimyō* or the shōgun like any farmer.

In the southern region the *gōshi* had small holdings, as a rule; but in the northern provinces—Echigo, Musashi, Shimōsa, Sagami, Dewa, etc.—there were very rich ones, having in some instances estates of 100,000 *koku*. The great *gōshi* of Dewa was Homma, probably the largest in Japan, who owned more land than his lord. During the Ashikaga period he had been a *daimyō*.

The *Jikata Hanrei-roku*, vol. 4, gives the following account of *gōshi*. "In early times the division of *hyakushō* and *samurai* was unknown; all were farmers (*nōfu*). During the wars the strong farmers went to fight, and the weaker ones remained to till the land. Finally, between 1321 and 1334, the commencement of the Ashikaga period, when the greatest internal confusion existed, the separation between the farmer class and the *samurai* class occurred. From this time *gōshi* and *samurai* formed the sword-bearing class. Thus the *gōshi* of to-day represent the source from which farmers and *samurai* alike sprang. The *gōshi*, however, did not become warriors and receive an income from a territorial lord. They owned and cultivated their own lands. They were not subject to military service, except for the defence of the province. They differed on the other hand from ordinary farmers, and were quite above them in rank. The *gōshi* had the privilege which distinguished the upper classes of being addressed in public by his family name. The family of Iyeyasu was of *gōshi* descent. He was the eighth in line of an adopted son of Matsudaira Tarozayemon, a *gōshi* of Mikawa. The family of Satsuma and, in fact, those of most *daimyō*, were of *gōshi* origin."

Under the Tokugawa régime the *gōshi* occupied the the position of squires or even of petty nobles. They could become feudal nobles by forming a feudal attachment to some central power,—a *daimyō* or the shōgun.

They had all the rights of nobility, but were subject to none of its restraints. They could assume the state belonging to their rank, or they could lay it aside and go about as commoners. They had the right to wear swords, to ride on horse back, and to carry spears before them. As a class existing under the Tokugawa rule, they probably represented those large land-owners and minor territorial lords who did not take any part in the wars attending the rise of Tokugawa and on submitting were left in possession of their land.

A farmer well-off was sometimes rewarded by the Tokugawa government, for services rendered, by the title and rank of *gōshi*. The record of this was always kept in the office of the *daikwan*. This differed from the bestowal of *samurai* rank for e.g. charitable action in time of distress, repairing a dike, etc. Rich men, in hopes of receiving this honor, often performed such work. The title was for life only, not hereditary, as that of *gōshi* was, and the technical name was *Ichidai taitō-gomen* (one-life-wear-sword-permission).

In the province of Izumi, in the village of Kaizuka, there was an old man named Bokwan, who hid Iyeyasu after a defeat which occurred during his struggle for supremacy. The latter afterwards offered to make him a *daimyō*. The old man refused, for he preferred his quiet and humble life. Iyeyasu then offered him the land that could be included in the waving of his stick, with the title of *gōshi* and this he accepted. The *karō* of Sasaki, in Ōmi, were made *gōshi* by Iyeyasu. It happened in this way. When Nobunaga wished to go to Kyōto, he asked Sasaki's assistance, and on the latter's refusal, he turned to Iyeyasu, who sent several hundred of his best men, took eighteen of Sasaki's castles in one day, and thus opened the road to Kyōto. After the battle of Sekigahara, the *karō* of Sasaki were conciliated by making them *gōshi*. In Kai, when Katsuyori, the fourth son of the famous Takeda Shingen, was overthrown by Nobunaga, the adherents returned to their homes, and either settled down there as farmers or

took up new land. In the wars of Iyeyasu which followed, they took no part against him, and as a return he made them *gōshi*, and allowed them to retain their land without taxes. It was in Kai, in fact, that the largest number of *gōshi* existed. The *gōshi* of Mino, Ōmi, Kai, and Gōshi *gōri* in Yamato, received their land under the *go-shuin* or great red seal of the Shōgun, and those who derived their title in this way paid no taxes.[19] Outside of those *kuni* there were comparatively few. In 1333, when the Mikado Go-daigo, attempting to take the reins of government into his own hand, was defeated, he fled to a poor mountain district in Yamato. There he lived, supported by the landowners. When Iyeyasu came to power, he made some of the largest of these owners *gōshi*, under the red seal, in honor of their service to Go-daigo. In Ise there was a *gōshi*, Itō Kuranosuke, who owned an entire town, Kuna, and paid no taxes to any one. Nobunaga had for some reason granted him an immunity from taxation, and this grant had been confirmed by Hideyoshi and by Iyeyasu.

After the Restoration of 1867, the estates of the feudal nobility were confiscated and the titles abolished. The *gōshi*, however, retained their land, though they lost their titles.

Gō-zamurai. The *gōshi* must be distinguished from the *gō-zamurai*. Having probably the same origin, they came to differ somewhat. The *gō-zamurai* or *nō-shi* (farmer-*samurai*), or *inaka-zamurai*, were true *samurai*, rendering military service, but owning land and cultivating it with *kerai* (servants), and not living at the *yashiki* or *jōka* of their territorial lord. Their position was more independent than that of the ordinary *samurai*, and sometimes approached that of a *gōshi*. They had the right, as true *samurai*, to give to their retainers while in their service the right to wear two swords, and this the *gōshi* had not.

19. In the *Fudōsan* this rule is corroborated, that land granted under the red seal of the Shōgun paid no taxes.

Gō-zamurai were plentiful in Satsuma, Higo, Chikugo, Saga, Tosa, Yamato, Sendai, and some other provinces. In Satsuma, in fact, all owners of land were *samurai;* those in the country were *inaka-zamurai*, those in the towns *jōka-zamurai.* In Sendai these *gō-zamurai* varied greatly in possessions; some were very poor, others lived in the style of nobles. In this region they did not confine themselves exclusively to the cultivation of land; they spent the time alternately in the country and in the *jōka.*

In Hachiōji there were a thousand or more families of them; they had as a charge the guarding of Nikkō against fire, each serving three years at a time.

The general term for farmer was *hyakushō*, (or, in Sinico Japanese, *nōmin*).

Taka-mochi[20] were large land owners, renting farms to others. They were not necessarily of high position in the community. Farmers who were originally *mizunomi* or *kosaku* sometimes became rich, much more so than the *kusawake.* Then perhaps would come a strife for position by the use of money: a marriage, for example, or an adoption into the *kusawake* was bought. In such a case they were called *deki-byakushō* (come-out farmers).

Kusawake (grass-divider, that is, pathfinder). These formed a class higher than even the *ne-oi*, and were the original reclaimers of the land, the pioneers. Sometimes a whole village was made up of from two to six families of them. Motomachi, in Yokohama, was such a quarter, and contained only six families. Sometimes these took up land which was out of the reach of the tax-collector, and lived in patriarchal fashion for years. They became the respected landholders of the community; and when others joined the village, the descendants of these pioneers were for generations the *nanushi* and

20. *Taka* means the amount of produce for which a farmer or a *mura* was assessed, the full term being *koku-daka. Taka-mochi* (*taka* possessing) signifies "one who is assessed for a large amount."

toshiyori. In old times these *kusawake* became *gōshi*, then *daimyō*, etc.[21]

Ne-oi (root-born) *hyakushō* were farmers born in the *mura*, and owning and cultivating their own land. These comprised the vast majority of the farming class. Many of them had inherited their possessions for several generations, and not a few were unable to give one any idea of when or how their ancestors came into possession of their homes. Their title was perpetual as long as they paid the government tax. Confiscation for failure to pay the tax was rare. If sickness was the cause of failure to pay, first the relations, next the *kumi*, lent aid until the means of payment could be obtained. The transfer of nobles from one province to another did not affect the farmer directly; he belonged to the land. The *ne-oi-byakushō*, or owners of land, were the only ones who had the right to participate in the local government.

Koshi-saku (cross-over cultivation). This was a term applied to land-owners who lived in one *mura*, but owned land in another also. This additional land was oftenest obtained by the lapsing of mortgages. They had civil rights only in the *mura* where they lived. They were comparatively few. A *mura* disliked to have members of other *mura* own land within its territory when acquired in that way. Rather than permit this, the *mura* often paid the mortgage and became owner of the land.

Kosaku or *jikari-byakushō* (small-cultivation; land-borrowing) was the general term for a renter of land. *Kosaku* used by itself, and not as part of a compound, signifies a renter born in the *mura*. Many of them changed about from one landlord to another. Eviction of short-term tenants for good cause was not infrequent; but throughout the country generally a farmer who had rented a piece of land for twenty years or more was difficult to

21. According to Professor Komeyama, the term *kusawake* was restricted to the pioneers themselves; and this seems very probable.

eject for any cause.[22] *Yei*-(long time)-*gosaku* was the term applied to a *kosaku* who had occupied rented land for an indefinite period or for generations. It should be added that if the produce returned by the tenant was insufficient to cover even the tax, eviction could take place at once. *Jiki*-(next)-*gosaku* was a mortgagor who attorned as tenant to the mortgagee. *Betsu*-(different)-*gosaku* was any renter of mortgaged land other than the mortgagor. *Iri*-(enter)-*gosaku* was a renter of land who lived in another *mura*.[23]

Mizunomi (water-drinking) were farmers who for various reasons—poverty, family troubles, etc.—had emigrated from their native *mura*, and going to some other *mura* had hired out as workmen or as farm hands. After a time their masters, pleased with their good conduct, would conclude to take them into permanent service or would allow them to rent a portion of the land. They would then build a house on the *yashiki-chi*, or, by permission of the *daikwan*, on a piece of unproductive hillside, surrender their former *nimbetsu-chō*, send for a satisfactory certificate from their former *nanushi*, and receive a *nimbetsu-chō* in their new home. When thus established, they were called

22. On this point the *Jikata Hanrei-roku*, quoted in the *Fudōsan*, says further: "When such a tenant fails to pay his rent, he may report the fact to the proper officer, and the latter should urge him to pay his rent, if possible; but the tenant cannot be deprived of his land for that cause." The author of the *Hanrei-roku*, however, attributes this permanency of tenure to the *yei-gosaku*, and states that those who had been in possession for twenty years were assimilated to the position of *yei-gosaku*. This seems to have been the correct statement of the principle. In the case of *Kimoto vs. Ando*, in the Supreme Court of Japan, in 1881 (?), it was held that one who had for twenty years held land as *kosaku* obtained by prescription the rights of *yei-gosaku*. (*Minji Hanketsu-roku*, vol. II, p. 300). There is at present a general desire on the part of the proprietors of land subject to these perpetuities to rid themselves of such tenancies, and this has expressed itself in litigation. It has created for the legislators a special difficulty in the adjustment of proprietary rights. See M. Boissonade's remarks in the *Projet de Code Civil, livre* II, *1re partie*, pp. 293-297.

23. Other terms are mentioned in *Jikata Hanrei-roku*: "*Mei-den-*

mizunomi-byakushō. Their descendants however, became *kosaku* proper.

Though eviction for misconduct, etc., was, as has been said, not infrequent, the tenant was so rarely dispossessed for non-payment of rent that this may almost be said not to have occurred. If the yield, from whatever cause, was a bad one, the landlord accepted a rebate as the necessary consequence of the bad luck. Though no law prevented him from dispossessing the tenant (on the contrary, the law sanctioned such a proceeding), so strong was the popular sentiment against summary measures of this kind that they were next to impossible. The landlord occupied a position more like that of a patriarch; his tenants were as his children, and he their guardian. Kindness, generosity, forbearance, and all the parental virtues were expected in the conduct of the landlord toward his tenants. In cases of sickness or distress the latter immediately sought their landlord and he never turned a deaf ear. In the large cities it was the custom after a fire to give the land rent free for 100 days or such other reasonable time as sufficed for building another home.

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gosaku was a tenant who farmed land that was too extensive to be cultivated by its owner personally. *De-saku* (go-out farmer) was the term applied to the *iri-gosaku* by members of the *mura* where he lived. *Iemoto*-(house-manager)-*gosaku* was a lesse who acted as agent for the collection of rent. A man who had a great deal of land, and was also too much occupied with other matters to attend personally to its leasing, would employ another to take charge of the matter, a piece of land being let to him gratuitously by way of salary."

Small owners of land were sometimes called *hira-byakushō* (lower farmers) or *ko-byakushō* (small farmers). *Kosaku*, meaning literally "small cultivators," seems to have suffered a change of meaning. *Mizunomi* was sometimes used contemptuously by the upper classes of the village as including both *kosaku* and *mizunomi* proper. Professor Komeyama says that in some cases the *kosaku* class represented the descendants of the early serfs, who had gradually risen in position; in other cases they were, as Dr. Simmons observes, merely *mizunomi* families who by long residence became able to look down upon more recent arrivals.

If a tenant was notified to leave, no rent could be collected from the day of the notice, no matter how long thereafter the man remained on the land.[24]

Jisha-ryō (temple-fief) *hyakushō* were farmers who cultivated the temple lands (*go-shuin-chi*) given by the Shōgun under the great red seal to various sects. The Nikkō and the Shiba temples have the most extensive holdings. These grants were greatly increased under the Tokugawa rule. The taxes on them were exceedingly low. The rate of the Nikkō land was three in ten. A curious fact which I observed at Nikkō was that the people on the temple lands were very poor, while those of the neighboring *daimyō's* domain, where the tax was severe, were thrifty and prosperous.

Communal ownership. Such common ownership of land as characterized a *mura* was in general of three kinds; first, temple lands, endowments given by the parishioners; second, *shin-den* reclaimed by the *mura;* third, grass land or meadow, for the most part perpetually fallow, and tracts of forest and mountain land. The meadows (*hara*) were often large, and frequently belonged to several *mura* in common. They were not cultivated as meadows; the grass was cut when needed. This land was often the source of quarrels and sanguinary contests between villages over the question of boundaries. Even a court decision was sometimes disregarded, and the police or the military were called in. Much of the waste land belonged to the towns and villages. No one had a right to cut the timber

24. The subject of tenancy is here touched upon only enough to stimulate our desire to examine further. It must be understood that the statements of the text probably do not apply outside the districts of the northeast under the direct influence of the Shōgunate administration. The individuality of the more distant provinces doubtless expressed itself in their customs with reference to landlord and tenant. In Satsuma especially, as well as in Tosa, and other southern regions, we must look for a special development. Fortunately the land tenure of Tosa forms the subject of an extended manuscript work, recently finished but as yet untranslated, by a local scholar; and it is reported that a similar work is under way in Satsuma.

or to use the lands without the consent of the villagers as a body. When a piece of the land was to be sold, the villagers were called together, the *nanushi* presiding, and a price agreed upon. This procedure is still in use. The *ko-chō* (head of the village) receives the price, and puts it in the hands of the government bankers. The villagers never receive it directly, and it is used to liquidate the yearly taxes.

No stranger coming to a village could take up a piece of new land for improvement without the written consent of all the farmers. In former times such strangers must have been farmers by occupation, but in recent times the privilege had been extended to men of means of other occupations; still in such a case permission was to be obtained from the *daikwan*.

In some places land was given to the *mura* for ferries and bridges. Land coming to the *mura* by confiscation, as described later, must also be noted here.

The *mura* also owned sometimes a place for burying dead animals. The cemeteries usually belonged to the temples, but in some places there were burying-grounds which belonged to the *mura*.

In some regions, especially where the land was *shin-den*, (obtained by draining a lake or a swamp), there existed a peculiar system of farming, still to be seen. The land owner had an establishment which in size almost equalled that of a *daimyō*. A large number of peasant families lived in a village within the enclosure set apart for residence, and were fed from a common kitchen. They worked the land as serfs, and many generations had preceded them in the same occupation. They paid some sort of a tax to the landowner. It is said that the purpose of this arrangement originally was to have about the farmer, in disturbed times, those who might protect him from robbers and predatory nobles. The *gōshi* maintained a similar body of dependants, and these became the nucleus of the power which ultimately made many of them *daimyō*. Today this system of cultivation may be seen in Echigo, Dewa,

Satsuma, Tosa, and a few other places. Some of the large merchants in western Japan also lived in the same way. The serfs were variously known, according to the locality, as *fudai*, *monya*, *niwago*, *kahō*.[25]

5. *Mortgages.*

Mortgages of land were controlled by quite different customs in different regions.[25] The following were the common rules.

All mortgages were to be recorded and sealed by the *nanushi* and *kumi-gashira*. When a *nanushi* made a mortgage, he had to procure the seal of another *nanushi*

25. The communities here noted would seem to be remnants of the manorial system of mediæval Japan, the cultivators never having been able to free themselves to the extent reached in other parts of the country. The localities where these communities are stated to have existed (localities removed from the possibility of frequent interference from the Tokugawa family or of indirect subjection to its influence) are those where that system and its incidents are likely to have remained longest. I have inserted here the notes on this subject simply for want of a better place, as it does not clearly appear that there was any community of ownership or even of cultivation among these serfs. At the present day much might be learned from a visit to the districts where the traces of the system remain.

For a brief account of some joint-family communities in Hida, see the Appendix.

26. The mortgage law, which seems to have been largely customary, is one of the most interesting topics for the student. It would be out of place to give here any further account of its details. The notes of Dr. Simmons, though they touch on a few points only, are substantially correct. But it is almost impossible to make general statements upon the subject of mortgage customs, for in no other department was there a greater divergence between the practice in different localities. It is worth noting that in some provinces there was evolved a double form of mortgages, corresponding almost exactly to the English common law mortgage, in which the ownership passed to the mortgagee, and the English mortgage as administered in courts of equity (or the ordinary mortgage in most of the United States to-day) in which the transaction simply gave the mortgagee a lien on the land, the ownership remaining in the mortgagor. Either of these forms could be used, as the parties wished.

or of a *toshiyori*. A portion of a name-land (each piece of land had a name) could not be mortgaged; for the name-land must not be subdivided. If payment was not made at the appointed time, the title of the mortgagor did not become absolute. Payment with interest at any time in 20 years after the making of the mortgage was sufficient. If the mortgage was for less than 10 years, only five years after the date of default were allowed for payment. Money was sometimes loaned with a provision for repayment whenever the borrower could raise it. In such a case ten years was taken as the limit. After that time foreclosure took place. Even if a clause provided for foreclosure one day after default, sixty days' grace was usually given. In the year 1721 a law of the Shōgunate fixed ten years as the maximum limit of a mortgage.[27] A second mortgage by the lender needed the consent and seal of the first mortgagor. If the land named in the deed did not correspond in description with the same land in the village register, the seller and all whose seals were on the deed were punished, if the matter came into court. If payments were made on the debt during the term but a final default occurred, foreclosure ensued without regard to the payments made. In case of foreclosure, the mortgagor had the first right to work the land (*jiki-gosaku*), if he was not an undesirable character. If temple land given by the government was mortgaged, the land was confiscated and given to another priest, and the offenders (borrower and lender) punished by banishment from the great cities.

27. For provisions relating to mortgages, see the *Kujikata Osadamegaki*, I, Art. 57, II, Art. 31 *et passim* (*Mittheil. d. D. Gesells. Ost., Heft* 41).

It is likely that in many districts there was no limit to the time within which redemption might occur, and that practically such a mortgage often became a perpetual or at least a life-long one.

6. *Succession.*[28]

The eldest son was the heir apparent to the father's title and to the homestead, and in certain professions—such as doctor, artist, and various others—he was expected, it is said, to follow that of his father. In the division of the property females received no share. An exception to this rule appeared, however, in the case of old families or large landed estates, when there was no male issue. The eldest [?] daughter was then betrothed to someone of the parents' choice, and the homestead then went to this couple. An instance of this happened in the family of a friend of mine. In this case the woman had the better business ability, and a large estate, including one of the best known hot springs, was managed chiefly by her; the husband found his pleasure in books and paintings. In the disposition of property, the will of the family members had no effect. A testament, if made, had to be signed and sealed by the *nanushi* and *kumi-gashira;* though, if land was not given by it, the names and seals of the members of the family or of relatives were sufficient.

If the land was less than one *chō* in area, it could not be divided.[29] If it was greater, the excess could be given as the testator pleased.

The usual mode of dividing an estate by will was this: The eldest son would receive the homestead and half the entire possessions of the father; the remainder would then be divided equally among the other sons. As an offset

28. The subject of Succession has already been systematically treated by Dr. H. Weipert, of the Imperial University, in his "*Japanisches Familien- und Erbrecht*" (*Mittheil. d. D. Gesells. Ost., Heft* 43, 1890). But, as Dr. Weipert remarks, "of the *misera plebs* and their legal relations the Japanese annals and laws make very little mention;" and it is because the information of Dr. Simmons was beyond any doubt acquired by oral relation and represented the customs in actual force among the commoners that it seemed best to preserve his notes on this subject. To fullness and system they of course have no claim.

29. See note 12, Chapter II, 2, *ante.*

to this apparent inequality, it must be said that the eldest takes virtually the place of father to the others. If at any future time one of the younger sons meets with misfortune, the elder brother's roof must always provide shelter for the younger one and his family. This assistance may continue for a longer or shorter time, until the unfortunate one can establish an independent home again; but in doing this, too, the elder is bound to assist. Sometimes the widow and children of a younger brother come to claim shelter. I had a friend who in this manner had eighteen of his relations to feed and shelter.

In case of a sudden calamity, such as fire, not infrequently all the other members of a family join in reestablishing the unfortunate one in a home and in replenishing his stock of goods, if he carries on such a business as requires one. The money thus given is sometimes called a loan; but it is a sort of perpetual loan; if the debtor can pay, he does; if he cannot,—well, it is all in the family, and no one complains. There is of course an end to forbearance and generosity; and if any member of the family is incorrigibly thriftless, he may be expelled from the homestead.

III. LOCAL RURAL INSTITUTIONS.

1. *The mura*[30] *in general.*

The size of a village was fixed by the *Taihō-ryō* at fifty houses or families. It would then have represented fifty holdings of land. The size at present, however, is variable. It ranges in size from a single street a quarter or half a mile long to a town of several hundred houses. The name of the *mura* is taken from the name of the principal cluster of houses in it. Scattered dwellings are the exception, even in the rural districts, the cultivators usually living in the village on the principal highway and going out thence to work in the fields.

The population is exceedingly stable, as a rule. The

30. This word is accounted for by Messrs. Satow and Chamberlain as follows, in explaining the word "*Imibe*," the name of a clan or family of priests often mentioned in early literature: "*Imibe* is compounded of *imi*—, to dislike, ... and *be*, said to be identical with *mi*, a contraction of *mure*, flock or body of persons, with which are connected *mura*, village, and *muragaru*, to flock together. "(Satow, in Trans. Asiat Soc. Jap., VII, pt. 2, p. 132, note 44.) "*Imibe* is derived from *imu*, to avoid,.....and *mure*, a flock or collection of persons, a clan," (Chamberlain, id., X supplement, p. 110, note 32.) "Muraji" in the *Kojiki*, with the meaning "chief of a tribe," often occurs.

Other terms were *yu*, *sato*, *zai-zai* and *gō*. *Gō* in later usage signifies usually a cluster of *mura*. In some places a natural cluster seems to have been meant; in other places an artificial grouping formed by arranging all the *mura* of a daimiate in several *gō*. According to a *kumi-chō* quoted in the *Chihō Seido-tsū*, there was in every *gō* a public storehouse for the tax-rice coming from the *mura* included in a *gō*. In the *Yamato Hansei*, *gō* is used as a collective name for all the *mura* of a *kan*; the *gō* was said to be divided into *ku* and *mura*.

The following explanation of the ancient terms *gō*, *ri*, and *sato* is given in Mr. Kurida's *Shoyen-kō*. His account (which is satisfactory as far as it goes, but does not for the purposes of research do greatly more than make plain the accepted uses of the terms) is an intricate one and has been paraphrased. "In the second year of Taikwa (A. D. 647) the *gun* were classified as follows: one of 30 to 40 *ri* was a great

villagers are for the most part engaged wholly or partially as cultivators of land, and in the vast majority of cases many generations of cultivators have been born and have died on the same spot. This I know from the almost numberless replies that I have received in answer to

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gun, one of 4 to 30 *ri* was a medium *gun*, one of 3 *ri* or less was a small *gun*. Now this *ri* was not the measure of length used today, but was a grouping of families, every 50 families forming a *ri*. But in the period Wadō (A. D. 708-715) the term *ri* was changed to *gō*. The country was thus divided into *kuni*, *gun*, and *gō* instead of *ri*. We find complete evidence of this in the comparison of the village names of the period as they are written in different books. The term *ri* (or *sato*, its equivalent) is replaced in the later books by *gō* and refers to the same districts. We find also from the same evidence that parts of the same *ri* or *sato* (afterwards *gō*) were called *mura*, as, Soni *mura* in the northern part of Narihama *sato*. But another change of terms took place; the *gō* was regarded as subdivided into *ri*; that is, *ri* and *mura* became equivalent, the word *mura* finally surviving. So that the subdivisions of *ri* and *mura* were afterwards called *gō* and *ri*, and then *gō* and *mura*. In the *Yōri-Zu-Chōkō* a book published in 1884 by Mr. Motoori-Uchito, there is a very good explanation of the reasons for these changes. He says: "In the survey and allotment of farm lands in early times, the terms *chō*, *ri*, and *jō* were used, 36 *chō* making one *ri*, and 36 *ri* one *jō*. When a piece of land was referred to, it was said to be in the second *ri* of the first *jō*, for example. But the term *ri* was also applied to the administrative subdivision of 50 houses. *Ri* therefore might refer either to an area of land or to a political district; and to put an end to the confusion which ensued, the word *ri*, meaning a district, was replaced by *gō*. In official documents thenceforth the terms *gō* and *mura* were used. But the people in private documents still continued to use *ri* in speaking of the political district; that is, they said 'X *ri* in Y *gun*,' But the term 'X *ri* in Y *gō*' might still be used to refer to a given plot of land, and the place of a person's residence was often expressed in this way. So that the *ri*, instead of being denoted by numbers, came to have special names, and there came to be a confusion between the political districts (called *mura* by the officials but *ri* by the people) and the plots of land. So that finally the use of the word *mura* exclusively was required in referring to the political district. We have no account of the boundaries of the various *gō* or their changes; but the total number seems to have been a little over 4000."

If we accept this explanation, we may suppose that the *mura* was a small settlement formed by the enlargement, in the course of years, of single families or small groups of families. The original family or group

inquiries. The answer usually is: "We do not know where our ancestors came from or when they came to live on this spot. Our temple-register (*tera-chō*) may tell, but we have never thought about the matter." If I ask when they became one of the *kumi* they answer that they do not

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of kinsmen may have established a home corresponding in the course of its development to the Germanic *Einzelhof*. Just as the *Einzelhof* (if we adopt one of the theories as to Germanic institutions) grew into a *Gehöferschaft* or cluster of farms, so the *ke* (single family) or *be* may have grown into the *mura*. It is not possible, without further information, even to speculate upon the question whether the *mura*, if it thus arose, was the growth from a true *Einzelhof* or free proprietorship, or was composed of *Hubengemeinde* or dependants. But it seems clear, apart from possible analogies, that in the beginning the *ri* was simply an arbitrary group of fifty families, perhaps widely scattered, and that, as time went on and the settlements enlarged themselves, they needed a new generic term; thus *mura* came to be the lowest political subdivision, and the expansion of the original settlement obliterated the old boundaries and made the *ri*, afterwards the *gō*, of minor importance.

It is obvious, however, that the explanation quoted by Mr. Kurida does not account for the choice of the particular term *mura*, in place of *ri*, and more light is still to be sought on this point. Other circumstances must have brought the word *mura* into use and must have made it a term to which resort would naturally be had as a substitute for *ri*. What were those circumstances? I believe that the true significance of *mura* is to be found in the etymology already given (*mure*, *be*, tribe, clan, collection of persons) and in related facts, and not in any direct connection with the administrative district *ri* of the *Taihō* period. If it is true, as I have been told by a well-known Japanese scholar, Mr. Katō Hiroyuki (now the President of the Imperial University) that it was the name for the clans of the common people only, the *dorei* or slaves, *ke* or *ka* being the term used for the families of the conquerors, who become the gentry, then the use of *mura*, as a word of later times, applicable presumably to newer groups or settlements, may furnish the means for tracing the settlements and colonies of slaves as distinguished from those of freemen. Dr. Ross, among others, has emphasized the necessity of distinguishing between the two; and, as in Europe, so in Japan, we must have clear notions on the course of development in this respect before we can solve the problems relating to land tenure and local institutions.

Since the above was written I have found that Dr. Florenz, in his "*Altjapanische Culturzustände*," confirms the foregoing signification of the term *be*, and his statements are given in full in the Appendix.

know; nor do they know when the *gonin-gumi* system began. "Our fathers and greatgrandfathers belonged to our *kumi*, and for all we know it has always existed. We never heard any one say when it began, or that it was ever very different from what it is now." The people of country towns and rural hamlets of whom these inquiries were made are no less wise on this point than the better-informed people of the great cities.

2. *The Gonin-gumi system.*

The chief feature in the arrangement of the *mura* was this *gonin-gumi* system. Every five families were united as a *kumi* or company.[31] In various places the mode of grouping differed, but the principle was always the same,—contiguity of residence. Sometimes every five consecutive houses on the same side of the street were united; but if the houses were two or more deep, this order would not be followed. Where the houses were scattered the grouping was more irregular, but was still done so as to unite adjacent homes in the same company. Sometimes the houses of a *kumi* were scattered among other houses, but this was rare and arose from the building of new houses between scattered homes originally united into a *kumi* at an earlier time. In such a case the old grouping was always preserved, and the new houses were arranged (by the *nanushi* and *kumi-gashira*) into new groups. The *kumi* were all numbered, beginning usually at the north or west end of the village.

In the formation of the groups no regard was paid to the class or condition of the individuals except that the *yeta* were always excluded. Thus it might happen that

31. Often the *kumi* consisted of six householders, as appears from the Chiba *kumi-chō*, in the Appendix. In the territory of Tōdō Izumi no Kami, in Yamato *kuni*, some *kumi* held more than ten householders. Probably in some cases an effort was made to restrict the *kumi* to a uniform size, while in others no care was taken and new homes were indiscriminately registered in old *kumi* without regard to the number already included.

a rich farmer with extensive possessions was grouped with his poorest tenant. A wealthy merchant would be found with a blacksmith or a cooper, the *nanushi* with a pauper farmer or the most humble mechanic or tradesman. Thus all classes, without regard to their possessions, occupations, or social standing, were brought together in a *kumi* on an equal footing. There was no room for choice. Each heir to the homestead accepted without question his associated neighbor in the *kumi*. He had received his place from his father, and he in turn from his ancestor, who in the extension of the *mura* or in the settlement of new land, centuries before, had been one of the original units allotted to this *kumi*.

One of the number was selected by themselves as headman (*go-chō*) or seal-bearer.[32] To this office would naturally be chosen the most intelligent or the wealthiest of the *kumi*. Other thing being equal, however, intelligence and antiquity of ancestry took precedence of mere extent of possessions. He was also called *kumi-oya*, (company-parent) or *ban-gashira* (watch-chief), and was required to be a land-owner, and, in a farming district, the owner of farm land. His seal was affixed to all written agreements or other documents in which the *kumi* was concerned. In certain cases this seal was necessary in order to establish claims against individual members of the *kumi*, e.g. in case of a mortgage of land. In fact the courts were slow to recognize a loan of any kind unless evidenced by the stamp of the *kumi* to which the alleged borrower belonged. Hence the private business of each member of the *kumi* came under the supervision and control of the *kumi* as a body. In this way the more shiftless were prevented from involving themselves improperly in liabilities detrimental to the *kumi*. For as a rule, the *kumi* as a body was responsible for the defaults of its

32. In Sendai *Han*, however, the heads of the *kumi* were appointed by the *kimo-iri* or chief of the *mura*. This illustrates the strictness and lack of liberty which were typical of the administration of *daimyō* in contrast with that of the Shōgunate.

members, and even of their wives, children, and servants. The carelessness or evil-doing of a single member meant full responsibility on the part of the other four also. If, however, any member persistently failed to conduct himself properly, he could be reported by his fellow-members to the *mura* officials.

The *gonin-gumi* system was not limited to any particular region. It penetrated to the most remote parts, into every corner of the land. It was if anything, more distinctive and less unchanged in the more distant regions. In Tôkyô it seems to have been less thoroughly kept up; but in Kyôto its integrity was complete.

As to the origin of the system no very satisfactory information exists. At the beginning of the Tokugawa régime, the system was thoroughly investigated and a search made to discover its origin, but no information was obtained. The author of the *Jikata Hanrei-roku* fails to give any authoritative explanation, but refers vaguely to a Chinese system of military organization in which five men seem to have been the unit of subdivision, and surmises that this furnished the model for the Japanese system. In the *Taihô-ryô* it is stated that the population was to be organized into companies of five each. As far as I am aware this is the earliest mention made of the system.[33] Though the passage in the *Taihô-ryô* might at first glance convey the impression that the custom did not previously exist, I think it is not assuming too

33. According to the *Chihô Seido-tsû* and the authorities cited therein, the *hô*, of the *Taihô-ryô* period, the original of the *gonin-gumi* of later times, possessed even at that date very similar features. It was composed ordinarily of five families, but there might be more or fewer. There was a *hô-chô* or chief of the *hô*, whose duty it was to oversee the conduct of its members "so that they should fall into no vices." When a stranger lodged at one of the homes of a *hô*, or when any of its members set out on a journey, due notice was to be given; and the responsibility for the conduct of the members seems to have rested on the *hô-chô*. When a member of the *hô* deserted his land, the others were to cultivate it for three years, at the end of which period it was confiscated.

much to believe that it was already in existence. In China there exists or existed the division of a town or community into groups of five, each of which furnished a soldier. A grouping for the same purpose now exists in Corea. In that country the purpose seems to be a military one only, while in Japan the military purpose, if it existed, has been entirely lost sight of. In view of the intercourse then existing between Corea and Japan and of the constantly accumulating evidence that a large number of the early customs of Japan, especially those relating to the governmental and military organization, were adopted from Corea, it is quite unnecessary to attribute the existence of five-groups in Corea and Japan to a mere coincidence. My own opinion is that the *gonin-gumi* system had for its object the furnishing of soldiers, and that it was copied from the similar system in force on the continent. Certainly, if this were its purpose, there need have been no objection on the part of this or that family to associate with those of widely different social conditions. Indeed the grouping of higher and lower classes together indiscriminately for military purposes would have a decided advantage, as it could easily be arranged by the richer members of the *kumi* to send one of the poorer members to the army. An investigation of the *kumi* system of Corea would throw some light on the origin of the Japanese system. In view of the fact that simple juxtaposition furnished the principle of grouping, it is impossible to conceive of its having been a voluntary organization as regards the method of grouping. The elements were too incongruous. As an illustration of this we may recall the impossibility now experienced of reorganizing the *kumi* which have been disbanded.[34]

34. The passage from the *Taihō-ryō*, given above, seems to show that even at that early date the *hō* (the *kumi* of later times) were regarded in the light of an administrative device for securing order and good conduct. This would seem to negative the supposition that there was a military purpose in the beginning. If it is true that the mass of the people were serfs, there may have been an incidental military

I have had no time to lose in the investigation of this subject from original sources, as the system, except in remote districts, has already gone into decay,—a result, of course, of the wide-reaching changes which have followed in the train of what is known as the "Restoration." What is most surprising is that thousands of the rising generation have never even heard of the *gonin-gumi*, and not one in a hundred of the educated classes has any idea of its past scope and importance. Yet it is beyond a doubt that the social importance of the *kumi* system was immense.[35] Characterized by a method of grouping whose tendency was to level all distinctions of rank, wealth, or person, the influence of the *kumi* in moulding and determining the form of society, especially

significance to the *hō*, for each owner of serfs may have been required to furnish a soldier from every *hō* or from some multiple of a *hō*. But the military services of a not much later period seem to have been calculated according to the production of the fief or holding, as in Europe, each soldier, horse, etc. being represented by and perhaps commutable into a quantity of rice. This would bear against the probability of a different system having existed in the *Taihō* period.

In an Appendix is given a translation of an article by Mr. Kurida upon the origin of the *kumi* system.

The continuance of the *hō* and *kumi* system throughout the middle ages, if it is a fact (and it is mentioned from time to time in the chronicles), tends to corroborate the view that the peasants of later times were the successors of the early serfs and that as late as the sixteenth century serfdom was only beginning to wear away. For the preservation, amid the changeful and stirring times of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when *daimyō* families sprang up by the score and any man might seize power and territory, of so rigid a system of local administration as the *gonin-gumi* system, shows in what subjection the cultivators of the soil must have been kept during the whole period.

35. The author of the *Yamato Hansei*, commenting on the *gonin-gumi* system as carried out in the territory of Yagyū Tajima no Kami, speaks as follows: "The *gonin-gumi* system, as administered here, was admirably perfect. A *kumi* was indeed like a family; its members felt a similar interest in each other, and the pains and pleasures of each were shared by the others in a wonderful degree. The welfare of each *kumi* was felt to have an important influence on the political importance of the fief."

in the rural districts, was marvellous and has no parallel in the history of any country with which I am acquainted. It was in fact one of the three foundation stones, so to speak, of the whole social structure,—the other two being the principle of ancestral worship and its derivative practices, and the institution of the *nimbetsu-chō* or temple-register.

The five-home grouping must not be confounded with another grouping of six, which was what might be called an informal one, for social purposes. It was not a fixed grouping, but was simply the cluster of houses nearest to each house. The idea was expressed by the popular saying, "*Mukō-sangen, ryō-donari*,"—"Three houses opposite, and one on each side." It was a conventional arrangement which represented and kept alive the spirit of neighborly friendship and assistance. When a family arrived in a neighborhood, it was customary to send to its three opposite and two adjacent neighbors from three to five boxes of buckwheat cakes, with a request for friendship.[36]

3. *Mura officers.*

Nanushi.[37] At the head of the *mura* was the *nanushi.* For the same office the term used west and south of Hakone was *shōya.* The *nanushi* of a *mura* subject to a small

36. This custom seems still to survive.

37. The origin of the terms *nanushi* and *shōya* is connected with some of the most difficult problems of Japanese history, the solution of which rests as yet on hypothesis only. A brief explanation must here be sufficient. Towards the end of what may be called the *Taihō-ryō* period (700-1150 *circa*) a larger and larger area of land came to consist of the tax-exempted holdings called *shōyen.* A process of concentration of land into the hands of the few seems to have been going on; small free tenures disappeared; and the distribution of the land became manorial in its character. *Shōyen*, indeed, so striking were the resemblances, both in origin and in incidents, may well be rendered *manor.* Professor Konakamura's statement is that those who were placed in charge of the *shoyen* by the *ryōke* (governing-family) or lord of the manor, were known as *shōji* or *shōya.* If there was a

hatamoto was sometimes given the flattering title of *dai-kwan*. The office of course varied somewhat in character and influence in different places, and, as will be seen, the chief differences occurred in the region where *shōya* was the title. But the office had the same distinctive character everywhere, and the term *nanushi* will here be

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shōya for each *mura*, the connection in the use of terms would thus be direct and clear. Whether the office of *shōya* under the Tokugawa was in fact a direct development is not clear; but the term had the above origin.

Shōyen consisted largely of *shin-den* or land newly cultivated. Such land had special privileges of tax-exemption, and the reclaimer gave his name to the plot reclaimed. Thus the term *myō-den* (name-land) arose. The manor lord whose domain was large was called *daimyō* (great-name[-land-owner]); one whose territory was small was called *shōmyō* (lesser-name[-land-owner]). The person placed in charge of any portion was a *myō-shu* (name[-land]-steward). Now the same ideograph represents *myō-shu* and *na-nushi*, the latter being the Japanese reading, the former the Sinico-Japanese. A *nanushi*, therefore, was not essentially different from a *shōya*. I may add that this etymology of these terms throws some light on the fact that *nanushi* was a term confined, as a rule, to the northern and eastern provinces; for these localities were settled at a later date, and would have been for the most part *shin-den*, so that the terms *myō-den*, *myō-shu*, and *nanushi* would naturally have been most prevalent in those regions.

Professor Miyazaki also holds to the above etymology. *Na*, furthermore, he states, still means in Tosa "a piece of land," and the farmers are called *na-ko* (children of the soil). In the *Shōyen-kō* Mr. Kurita corroborates the above opinions as to the origin of the term *nanushi*. The complete term, he states, was *nanushi-shoku*, and old documents are cited in evidence. The term *shōya* is not mentioned by Mr Kurita. Professor Komeyama asserts that this term did not come into use until the time of Hideyoshi (1590 *circa*), who in reforming the system of taxation replaced the *nanushi*, in many quarters, by *shōya*. This does not seem to me probable.

In the island of Kyūshū, in the periods *Keichō* and *Genna* (1596-1624), the title *bettō* was used (the *Chihō Seido-tsu*). In Sendai *han* the title corresponding to *nanushi* was *kimo-iri*. This word means literally "liver (heart?)-roasting," and evidently refers to the person who presides at some ceremony. In the records (sent me by the Governor of Miyagi *ken*, where Sendai is situated) of some curious societies called variously *kōjū*, *kumiai*, *keitei*, etc., I find that the presiding member was called *kimoiri*.

used as the general term applicable, except where it is explicitly contrasted with *shōya*.

In a large *mura* there were sometimes two *nanushi*; more often two small *mura* had a single *nanushi*.

From the point of view of the lord of the soil, the *nanushi* was responsible for the conduct of the peasants,—for their payment of taxes, for the commission of small offenses, and for the general peace and order of the community over which he presided. From the point of view of the local community the *nanushi* was their representative in their relations with their lord, and their chief in matters of local autonomy. He was the patriarch of the village. He was the final judge in all matters in which an appeal did not lie to the *daimyō* or the Shōgun. He entertained travellers, and gave money to poor ones. He often made up from his own pocket the rent of poor villagers. It was rare that he was corrupt. As a rule he was always ready to use every means to deceive the lord on behalf of the farmers. The occasion for this was most frequently the *kemmi* (*ken*, measurement, *miru*, see) or examination of fields for the purpose of determining upon a rebate of taxes. This proceeding, which was attended with considerable expense, took place only at the request of the people. Some *mura* never required it; others were always asking for it. The *nanushi* made out beforehand maps and estimates and submitted them to the *daikwan*, who often verified the estimates by personal inspection. The time taken was noon, for in the forenoon the crops look best, in the afternoon worst. If the *nanushi* was skilful and devoted to the interests of the people, he led the inspectors over the worst parts. Bad rice seen from a high place looks comparatively good; hence the *ŋanushi* tried to take the lowest road. In fact the farmers often made their roads with this object in view. They even spent their skill in raising bad rice for a year at two in order to get the tax abated.

In these ways and in all others the *nanushi* was the people's representative and protector in all relations with

the lord of the soil. A wise *nanushi* kept on good terms with the *daikwan* and was able to exercise great influence with him. Quite a different kind of influence was sometimes exercised, for the *daikwan* was not always proof against bribes. The condition of the people of a given *mura*, therefore, depended somewhat on the character of their *nanushi*. If he was able and discreet, he advanced their welfare greatly; if he was weak or careless, the people suffered from the encroachments of the lord's officials and their condition deteriorated. In the south and west, where the *shōya* were never the champions of the people to the degree that the *nanushi* were in the north-east, and in the domains of the *daimyō* generally, where the people received less consideration than at the hands of the Shōgunate, the condition of the people was a far inferior one.

The office of *nanushi* until the eighteenth century was everywhere an hereditary one, belonging usually to the oldest and most respected family of the *mura*. If the incumbent died, leaving only a child to succeed him, the *kumi-gashira* acted as regent until the young man's maturity; in the south and west, the *toshiyori* fulfilled the same duty. If, too, the son proved not a very competent person the advice of the *kumi-gashira* or the *toshiyori* became the controlling influence, and the latter practically filled the office.

The hereditary nature of the office had been infringed upon in many cases. There were frequent instances in history of the inheriting family being changed by the choice of the people. But as this was always done through the *daikwan*, the exercise of choice was of course hampered, and it can hardly be said that there was any custom of election. The rule was inheritance, the exception election. In the year 1716, however, when Kanno Wakasa no Kami, a man of wide reputation, was *Kanjō-bugyō* of the Shōgunate, the rule which required that the choice of a new *nanushi* be made at the office of the *daikwan* was abolished. From this time on the election

took place at the house of the *kumi-gashira* (or *toshiyori*) or of the *hyakushō-dai*. There was never any nomination by the *daikwan*, but a free choice by the villagers. If, however, the nominee was not a prominent and highly respected man, if he had gained the place by wire-pulling or perhaps even by bribery, the *daikwan*, giving his reasons, would advise the farmers to reconsider their choice, and if their selection had been a bad one the farmers seldom failed to be convinced. The choice however, fell usually on the most prominent and respected member of the community. It was not always the richest man, who perhaps had too much other business to attend to; but some one less rich who was of good family. The office was a desirable one, and the large farmers who were ambitious would train themselves for the position by study of its duties. The sons of the better class of farmers in districts near Yedo would go to the *Gundai Yashiki* in Yedo for the purpose of studying to become *nanushi*. After 1716, when the election of the *nanushi* became free, and was no longer confined as a rule to a single family, the incumbent was changed frequently, in some places every year or two. If, however, the office was left vacant by death, a son who was capable and had been trained for the place would probably step into his father's shoes. But all this was true, as a rule, only of the dominions of the Shōgunate and the other daimiates where its influence predominated. South and west of Hakone the old custom prevailed; the office remained hereditary, and any choice of the people, when made, was effected through the *daikwan*.

The change in the north and east was brought about by a petition of the farmers, who preferred to choose their own officers. Their proximity to Yedo was indirectly the cause of their being able to petition so effectively; for one result of the well-known custom by which it was the privilege and the duty of the farmers of the Shōgun's dominion to send their daughters for a term of service in the residences of the Shōgun and the *daimyō* in Yedo

was the creation of a powerful influence in their behalf in the official circles of the Shōgun's capital. There was, however, in addition, a difference in character between the farmers of the north and east and those of the south and west. The latter were inclined to be more submissive, both to officials and to *samurai;* the former were more independent and less cringing.[38] As a result of the change

38 "This difference between southerners and northerners" Dr. Simmons goes on to say (he is here repeating what Mr. Ōtomo has told him) "was to be seen in other qualities also. The northern men were frank and open; they spoke out at once and said all they had to say. If there was a quarrel, it was fought out at once, and laid out of the way. The southerner was secretive, cherished his animosities, planned future revenge, and returned again and again to the same grievance. The northern men made and spent money freely. Hotels were prosperous, and commerce and industry generally were thriving. In the south there was little money moving. Trade was on a small scale. A southerner could commence business upon fifteen *yen;* a northerner would require five hundred *yen*. For a southerner who was a laboring man fifteen *yen* was a small fortune, and not one in a thousand ever accumulated that amount of money. In Mr. Ōtomo's opinion one cause of the difference was a separate race origin."

As to the cause of the difference of character between *nanushi* and *shōya*, one or two other considerations may be noticed. The communities of the *Kwantō* and the north were formed by the settlement of colonies at a later period than those of the centre and south-west. The gentry as well as the peasants were likely to have a much more enterprising and independent spirit. The adventurous nature of their undertaking and their (for a time) semi-independence of the central government must have had the same results in their case as in that of all colonists. Moreover, the nature of their situation was to facilitate slightly the passage of individuals from one class to another. As there were probably free colonies as well as colonies of serfs, certain distinctions must have lost their radical character. In the course of the feudal development, from which the peasantry emerged distinct from the military gentry, there must have been a fusion between the freemen engaged in agriculture and the serfs of former times. The result of this was a depression of the small freeholders but an elevation of the general mass of cultivators, with an incipient loosening of their bonds and the growth even of local autonomy. On the other hand, in Satsuma, a type of the regions earliest settled, no such general flux could occur. No separation of the military and agricultural classes took place. The gentry (*samurai*) were land-holders, apparently as

of 1716, the farmer class were left almost entirely to themselves in local matters. The power of the *nanushi* became less and the farmers grew more and more independent.

The method of election was as follows. The voting took place usually at the house of the *kumi-gashira* (or the *toshiyori*) or of the *hyakushō-dai*, sometimes in a temple. The rules for the election were written out, and were as follows:

"1. All votes must express the individual choice of the voter. Any vote which is the result of agreement with other persons (*sōdan-fuda*) is void.

2. A ballot without the voter's seal is void.

3. As the election of *nanushi* is an important matter, the candidate should belong to a highly honorable family, should be a man of independent means and a land-owner; if he has no means, he cannot be a capable man of business or have the confidence of the people.

4. If the man who receives the highest number of votes does not fulfill the above requirement, it is in the power of the *kumi-gashira* and *hyakushō-dai* to take the person receiving the second highest number of votes, and so on, choosing the one who in their judgment is best fitted for the place.

5. Any one not wishing to vote must give notice in writing before the day of election to the *kumi-gashira* and the *hyakushō-dai*.

When these rules had been subscribed by all the voters and were returned to the *kumi-gashira* or *hyakushō-dai*, the voting could begin. Only those who held land in their own name could vote. Renters could not. Although,

free tenants of the land, and under them were still the serfs, as they had always been. No fusion could occur to any extent, because no circumstances occurred to favor it. The result was the acquisition of little or no autonomy by the communities of cultivators. The land system of Satsuma, important as a knowledge of it will be, is still unknown to us; but there is some reason to doubt whether the cultivators so much as formed villages, and whether they did not continue to be merely groups of servants attached to small estates.

as the first of the above rules shows, efforts were made to restrain wire-pulling and bribery, there was still electioneering in many cases. Sometimes a tie vote was cast. Even if the vote was close but not a tie, it was not considered conclusive; a decided majority was necessary. In voting, each man made out his own ticket, folded it or put it in a sealed envelope, stamped his seal upon it, and put it in a box. After the voting was over, the box was taken to the house of the *daikwan* and there opened in the presence of the village officers.[39]

The salary of the *nanushi* was fixed by the government. It was paid by the *mura* and depended on the assessed yield of rice. A village assessed at 100-150 *koku* paid 2 *hyō* (a little less than a *koku*); and the salary ascended as follows; 200-300 *koku*, 4 *hyō*; 400-600 *koku*, 5 *hyō*; 700-800 *koku*, 8 *hyō*; 1000-1500 *koku*, 10 *hyō*. The villagers moreover, generally presented him with first-fruits. In addition to this he was excused from *mura* taxes to the amount of 20 *koku*. If he did not pay that sum in taxes, the village must make up the amount. The salary was arranged for in some places by setting a side a piece of land, the revenue of which went always to the *nanushi*.[40]

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39. Substantially the same account (though not in such detail) is given in the *Chikō Seido-tsū*. Both accounts probably draw largely from a common source, the *Jikata Hanrei-roku*.

It does not appear whether these regulations were framed and enforced by the Governmnnt or by the *mura*. It is probable that the qualifications of the electors were settled by the *mura* custom.

40. The *hyō*, or bale, usually contained 2 to 4 *shō*; but in some places it measured only 3 to 6 *shō* (the *Den-yen Jikata Kigen*). In the *Chikō Seido-tsū* the salary is stated as follows, "100—200 *koku*, 2 *hyō*; 300—400 *koku*, 4 *hyō*; 400—600 *koku*, 5 *hyō*; 600—1000 *koku*, 8 *hyō*." Neither this account nor that of Dr. Simmons is entirely right, as will be seen at a glance. I venture to suggest the following as the actual arrangement: 100—200 *koku*, 2 *hyō*; 200—400 *koku*, 4 *hyō*; 400—600 *koku*, 8 *hyō*; 1000 *koku* and upwards, 10 *hyō*. The salary, however, was not always graded so systematically. Probably the above schedule held good for the Shōgunate dominions only. In Kōriyama *Han* the salary of the *shōya* varied from 5 to 10 *koku*; in the territory of Izumi no Kami, it was fixed

2. *Kumi-gashira* (company-head). This official was rapctically a vice-*nanushi*. He was chosen sometimes by acclamation by the chiefs of *kumi*, sometimes by the *nanushi*, and in some places the office was hereditary. But even where it was hereditary, if a change was desired on account of the youth or inefficiency of a successor, a new election could be called for by the people. Large *mura* seldom contained over twenty *kumi* of five families each, and in the farming districts, for convenience of administration, five or six *kumi* only were grouped under a *kumi-gashira;* so that there might be two, three or four in a *mura*. The salary was a rebate of taxes equal to half that of the *nanushi* or 10 *koku;* and in some places he received also a salary calculated in the same ratio as that of the *nanushi*.[41]

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at 1 *koku* 2 *to* (in 1 *koku* there are 10 *to*) for every 100 *koku* in the assessed product of the *mura;* in both these cases the *mura* paid the salary. In the territory of Izumi no Kami, the *shōya* received 1 *koku* from the Government and about 3 *koku* from the *mura* (See the *Yamato Hansei*). In Sendai the *kimoiri* received a varying salary from the *mura*, and was also excused from taxes, Government (apparently) as well as local.

This immunity from taxation was called *hiki-daka* (subtract-amount). According to the *Chihō Seido-tsū*, the amount (in the Shōgunate dominions presumably) was, as Dr. Simmons says, 20 *koku;* and if his local taxes did not amount to 20 *koku*, the amount was made up by a direct contribution of rice from the *mura*.

41. The *kumi-gashira* was originally just such an officer as the name indicates, the head of a *gonin-gumi*. In several districts this continued to be the signification of *kumi-gashira*. In Kōriyama *Han*, probably in other parts of the *kami-gata*, and in Sendai *Han* this was the case. (See the *Yamato Hansei*, the *Sendai Han Seido-kō*, and the *Chihō Seido-tsū*). In Sendai *Han* there was an *ō*-(great)-*kumi-gashira* one being usually appointed for every fifty houses; but his office was not as important as that of *kumi-gashira* in the Shōgunate territory. How the name began to be used to designate the executive officer next in importance to the *nanushi* is not explained. Probably the *nanushi* first chose one of the most efficient of the heads of *kumi* as his assistant, and then as other names (such as *ban-gashira, go-chō*) came into use to designate heads of *kumi*, the term *kumi-gashra* was exclusively used for the executive officer. Certainly the early significance of the name came afterwards to be lost (in those districts where it was applied to the executive offices),

3. *Toshiyori* (old person; elder). The *toshiyori* was an advisory officer. His advice was of moral rather than of legal effect, and his position was that of a revered patriarch. In fact in the northwestern provinces he could hardly be called an officer, for he received no salary or rebate of any kind. In the south and west he received the same salary as the *kumi-gashira*. As a rule he was better off than the *nanushi*. He was chosen by the people.[42]

since the *kumi-gashira* were not invariably heads of *kumi*, as a glance at the Chiba *kumi-chō* in the Appendix will show. If we may assume that the heads of *kumi* were first-named in the list of members, then only one of the five *kumi-gashira* in that *mura* was the head of a *kumi*.

The *kumi-gashira* as an executive officer does not seem to have existed in the south and west, or in Sendai *Han*,-in fact, in just those regions in which the name continued to signify the head of a *kumi*. The assistance which the *kumi-gashira* of the Shōgunate territory rendered to the *nanushi* seems to have been supplied elsewhere by the *toshiyori*, which serves to account for the fact that in the Shōgunate territories the *toshiyori* received no salary, while elsewhere he was a paid officer.

42. The number of *toshiyori* seems to have varied (at least in the south and west, where the office was a salaried one) with the size of the *mura*. In Kōriyama *Han*, the number in each *mura* varied from 1 to 3; in the territory of Izumi no Kami, from 1 to 3; in the territory of Tajima no Kami, from 1 to 5; in the territory of Matsudaira Jirō, from 1 to 3 (the *Yamato Hansei*). In Sendai the *toshiyori* were in some places also called *mura-sōdai* (*sō-dai*=all-agent, i.e. deputy for a body of persons) (*Sendai Han Seido kō*). In the Kamigata (a general name for the central western districts, often used as complementary to "Kwantō") the *toshiyori* was often called *naga-byakushō* (the *Chihō Seido-tsū*).

It is possible that the *toshiyori* may be found to be the true patriarch of the *mura*, the head of the oldest family, the source of authority in the customary law of the *mura;* the *nanushi* being the direct successor of the early bailiff of the manor lord, and having gradually absorbed more or less of the authority in customary matters which formerly belonged to the *toshiyori*. In fact the *toshiyori* may prove to be, in the history of land tenure in Japan, the counterpart of the *præpositus* of the English manor—one of the leading husbandmen who was elected by the tenants in each village and was to some extent responsible to the lord of the manor or his bailiff for their conduct,—while the *nanushi* originally answered to the English bailiff. In the Kamigata, and in the north, where the liberal administration of the Shōgunate had not interfered to any extent to make changes, we find the *shōya*, usually appointed from above, much more of a bailiff, even at a late date, than the *nanushi* of

4. *Hyakushō-dai* (farmer-representative). This officer was elected by the farmers and was particularly their representative in all matters. He was a sort of *oya-*

the Kwantō. This distinctive character of the *nanushi*, as an officer more intimately connected with the Government than with the people seems to have presented itself to the mind of the author of the *Chihō Seido-tsū*, for he remarks: "We may conclude that of the three officers, *nanushi*, *kumi-gashira*, and *hyakushō-dai*, only the *nanushi* can properly be called an official. For notice the salaries of these men; the *nanushi* receives a salary, properly so-called, as well as a *hiki-daka;* the *kumi-gashira* not only does not receive a salary, but his *hiki-daka* has no fixed amount; while the *hyakushō-dai* has neither salary nor *hiki-daka*. So in the election of officers, the choice of a *nanushi* may be set aside by the Government, while there is perfect freedom in the choice of *hyakushō-dai* and *kumi-gashira*." The same considerations distinguish the *toshiyori* from the *nanushi*. Even where he received a salary, it was paid by the *mura*, not by the Government (the *Yamato Hansei*).

On the whole, notwithstanding Dr. Simmons' assumption to the contrary, there is ground for believing that the *toshiyori*, as a person of authority in a *mura*, was peculiar to the south-west, and was wanting in the Shōgunate territory. We have the evidence of the Chiba *kumi-chō* (from the eastern coast) in the Appendix, which contains no mention of the *toshiyori;* of the *Chihō Seido-tsū*, which names the officers of *mura* in the Kamigata as *shōya*, *toshiyori*, and *hyakushō-dai*, and of *mura* in the Kwantō as *nanushi*, *kumi-gashira*, and *hyakushō-dai;* and of these Notes themselves, in a later passage, where the term *San-yaku* (The Three Offices) is stated to have been applied to the *nanushi*, *kumi-gashira*, and *hyakushō-dai;* for if there had been another office of any consequence, it would not have been thus passed over. It is true that these items might all be explained on the ground that the mention of officially recognized functionaries could alone be expected in any of these instances; though this argument applies with least force to the failure of the *Chihō Seido-tsū* historian to mention the *toshiyori*. But what could have been the need of a *toshiyori?* The executive duties which he had in the Kamigata were in the east given to the *kumi-gashira;* while the advisory and paternal character which was his also was in the more independent communities of the east adopted by the *nanushi*, who was thoroughly the representative of the people. It may be answered that this argument, if valid, would only show that the *toshiyori* in the east lost his importance and disappeared as a distinct figure in the life of the *mura*. The more interesting question, however, how, if there was no *toshiyori* in the east, this difference of institutions had occurred, can as yet be a matter of speculation only.

bun[43] for the farmers. If in the making of the assessment of the land by the *nanushi*, the *hyakushō-dai* did not consider that the farmers were fairly treated, he refused his assent, and urged the claims of the farmers. There was usually one *hyakushō-dai* in a *mura*, but in a large *mura* there might be two or more. There was no salary for this office.

5. *Osa-byakushō* (head-farmer). This was a person who assisted at the *mura* elections. He was the largest landholder and the richest man of the *mura*. In the southwest he received the same salary as the *kumi-gashira*, but in the north-east he received nothing.

Such were the *mura* offices. As a rule they were held by the old families, generally well-to-do, and, it might be said, the aristocracy of the local community, who by their possessions and their social position were able to occupy the chief posts often for generations. The *nanushi*, *kumi-gashira*, and *toshiyori*, it should be added, had the privilege of wearing two swords. The first two, with the *hyakushō-dai* were called the *San-yaku* (Three Offices).

There was another office, intervening between the *nanushi* or *shōya* and the *daikwan*, about which information is less easily available. This was the *ō-nanushi* or *ō-jōya*.[44] Yoritomo seems to have created the office. Its

43. *Oya-bun* (parent-place) is explained, in another part of Dr. Simmons notes (not included here, because it relates to town life only), as a term applied to those persons in cities who acted as friends and advisers to the friendless and homeless, helping with money, advising in trouble, reconciling disputants, and admonishing wrong-doers.

44. The *ō-jōya* (great *shōya*) seems not to have been an officer of any distinctive character; he served merely as an intermediate supervisor of affairs. In Kōriyama *Han* there were ten *ō-jōya*, and their districts included from ten to twelve *mura* each. They served usually for ten years or more; and it was the custom for them to preside at the election of the *shōya* and the *toshiyori*. In that portion of Izumi no Kami's territory which lay within Yamato there were seven *ō-jōya*, each one administering a district (called *kumi*) of from fifteen to forty *mura*. In the *jitō-sho* (district of a *jitō* or lesser lord) of Matsudaira Jirō, a *hatamoto*, near Kōriyama, there was a single *ō-jōya*. In the *Go-ryō-sho* or royal domain (of the Shōgunate) in which the ancient city of Nara lay,

incumbents had great power. It came to pass that the *daimyō* gave salaries to them, so that they took the side of the *daimyō* against the people. In 1720, however, the Shōgun Yoshimune abolished the office, for it had become hereditary, and security of power made its holders too strong. This abolition, however, had direct force only in the Shōgunate dominions. In place of this office the *yoseba-nanushi*[45] was created. This person was elected by the *nanushi* of several *mura*, and acted in some way as superintendent. It seems to have been an office of great responsibility, held in high estimation.[46]

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the place of the *ō-jōya* was taken by officers called *kumiai-sōdai*, each presiding over a district of from three to ten *mura*, and-a rather notable circumstance elected by the *shōya* of each district. This contrast to the practice of the neighboring daimiates, where even the *shōya* were usually appointed from above, serves to illustrate the fact noted by Dr. Simmons that the Shōgunate territories were always allowed much more liberty of action in self-government than the daimiates. *(Yamato Hansei).*

Where the *kimoiri* took the place of *nanushi*, as in Sendai *Han*, there was an *ō-kimoiri*, corresponding to the *ō-jōya*.

According to the *Jikata Hanrei-roku*, as quoted in the *Chihō Seido-tsū* "there was in former times an office in each village called *dai-shōya* (great *shōya*) or *sō-shōya* (chief *shōya*) or *kendan*, who supervised several *shōya;* but it disappeared in the *Kyōhō* period (1716—1736)." In this shape the statement seems improbable. We may suppose, however, that there was such a supervising officer over the various *shōya* of a *shōyen*, and that with the growth and expansion of the scattered settlements into *mura*, there came to be one *shōya* for each *mura*, while the superior officer, who may have corresponded to the seneschal of the English manor, remained as the *ō-jōya*.

45. *Yoseba* (meeting-place) was used of the house where the meetings of the *nanushi* were held; and the *nanushi* at whose house they occurred was presumably the chief *nanushi*.

46. One of the regrettable *lacunae* in these Notes is the absence of any account of the popular assemblies of the *mura*. The material from other sources which has thus far come to my notice is so slender that it is not worth setting forth at this time. A few names may be mentioned however, for the sake of those who may have an opportunity to obtain further information. The general term for the assembly of the villagers was *yoriai* (assembly-meeting). The principal business of the *yoriai* was the discussion of the local tax-levy. In Izumi this assembly was called *sōdan-kwai* (consultation-assembly). *Za*, in a district called *Gakunin-*

4. *Written laws of the mura.*

There was no special book or record of the customs peculiar to each *mura*. There was, however, a document which purported to contain certain leading regulations. It consisted of a series of rules relating to several general subjects, written in a book, and followed by the seals and signatures of the *mura* officers and all the heads of families, arranged by *kumi*. The list began usually on the north or east side of the *mura*. The rules were expressed according to no set form, and varied a good deal in detail. I am disposed to believe that the use of this written in-

sho (the fief of the *Gakunin* or chief musician of a temple in Nara), was used to designate an assembly which met for religious purposes, to decide, for example, on the mode of celebrating an approaching festival. This *za* is the same word which now signifies "theatre," and there is an evident connection, which doubtless will some day be traced.

Another subject on which much more light remains to be thrown is that of the grades of rank among the villagers with reference to social position, to political privilege, and to landed rights. The division into *kyū-ka* (old families) and *shin-ke* (new families), which is mentioned in the *Bungen* document, translated in the Appendix, is extremely important in its bearings on the growth of the *mura* and its original forms. Other terms having an historical and political significance were *osa*-(chief)-*byakushō* and *ko*-(small)-*byakushō*. According to Professor Komeyama there was a class of farmers in each *mura* who enjoyed a special social eminence and from whom and by whom alone the officers of the village—*nanushi*, etc.—could be chosen. This class went by various names in various regions, *osa-byakushō* being the only term known to him. They represented the descendants of the original settlers, who had reclaimed the land and transmitted in their families the right of managing *mura* affairs. Lands were sold or rented to newcomers from time to time but the *mura* management was not shared with them. In most places, however, these lines were more or less broken in upon, and other villagers owning land were admitted to rights. Certainly these *shin-ke* or new families were given places (though of lower rank) in the *yoriai* or meetings of the *mura;* but the right to elect and be elected seems to have been always confined to the class corresponding to *osa-byakushō*. It is evident, from this account of Professor Komeyama, that classes denoted by *ne-oi-byakushō* (see above), *kyū-ka*, *osa byakushō*, and *chō-byakushō*, shade into each other, and that some of these terms are interchangeable. The term *mura-yakunin*, meaning literally "*mura*-officers," must be added to the list, for it is

strument (called *kumi-chō*) is comparatively modern, that it was the outcome of the policy of Iyeyasu in his efforts to root out Christianity by the strictest police measures. At the same time the rules relating to Christianity appear, from the irrelevancy of the adjacent rules, to have been later additions.[47]

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said by some to be synonymous with *osa-byakushō*. The usages of different localities, however, were undoubtedly different; the *osa-byakushō*, for instance, were but few in some *mura*, and in others included nearly the whole of the villagers. The whole subject, particularly in its historical aspects, remains to be thoroughly investigated.

In the Hundred Laws of Iyeyasu, Art. 19 (*Mittheil. d.D. Gesells.. Ost Heft* 41, p. 7) occurs the following passage:

"Among the common people in the districts, villages and hamlets of the different provinces there are always a few of old pedigree (*yuisho*). They are not to conform to the rules for common farmers, and are to be considered in the choice of officials." It seems clear that reference is here made to the *osa-byakushō* class. If this is so, then the term *yuisho* seems to have been applied to ordinary farmers as well as to *gōshi;* for we may suppose that Dr. Simmons' informant, in stating *yuisho no hyakushō* to have been another term for *gōshi*, was not mistaken in regard to a usage so common and so easily ascertainable.

47. A general idea of the contents of these documents may be gathered from the specimens translated in Appendix I. The name employed in the *Chihō Scido-tsū* is *kumi-chō;* but I have found that this is by no means a well-known term, and that no single expression is generally current. In fact Japanese scholars seem generally not to be acquainted with these documents, perhaps because they have not studied the subject from that point of view. *Shi-oki-chō* (enactment-book) is the name given by Professor Konakamura.

Not more than half a dozen copies have come to my notice; but there may be others at the libraries of the Imperial University and of the Historical Bureau, as well as at the Shōkōkwan Library in Mito. In the hands of old *nanushi*, of course, many others would be found. The oldest of these specimens does not antedate the eighteenth century; but the probability of finding very much older copies is not very great, as the documents seem usually to have been renewed every year, and the preservation of the earliest copies is hardly to be expected.

The chief question of interest is as to the nature of the material contained in the *kumi-chō*. Is this document the record of purely local customary law, or is it a memorandum of the regulations of feudal superiors? Leaving out all *à priori* argument, it seems quite clear that the *kumi-chō*, in its form and in the greater part of its contents, was the

5. *Local Taxes.*

An estimate of the necessary local expenses was made out in duplicate by the *nanushi*, *kumi-gashira*, and *toshi-yori*. This document was called *bu-sen-iriyō-chō* (wages-expense-necessity-list). It was limited to a certain number

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result of commands issued from above. In many cases the nature of the rules contained in it betray this character very clearly; they are such as must have been imposed, not voluntarily adopted. In still other cases the connection may easily be traced between the regulation of a *kumi-chō* and the law of the Shōgunate on which it was evidently founded. As many citations as possible of this sort have been made in notes to the *kumi-chō* in the Appendix. Sometimes a case occurs (the *Reigaki*, Art. 34, *Mittheil. d. D. Gesells. Ost.*, *Heft* 41, p. 116) in which a man is not punished because the particular prohibition was not contained in the *kumi-chō* of his *mura*. In another place (the *Kujikata Osadamegaki*, I, Art. 57, *Mittheil.* etc. *supra*, p. 57) we read at the end of an enactment, where the order for promulgation is given, "This is to be promulgated in the *mura*. As no *gonin-gumi-chō* is kept in some *mura*, the *daikwan* of the nearest district is to attend to the matter." Some of the provisions which seem most likely to be of local origin are thus found to be regulations of the Government,—for example, the provisions for the payment by the *mura* of the expenses of the journey to Yedo by its representatives in litigation (see the *Kujikata Osadamegaki*, II, Art. 24, *Mittheil.* etc., *supra*, p. 71), and the custom in regard to the tags on the rice-bags, etc., (see Appendix I) which Dr. Simmons seems to have thought a mark of the farmers' own care and zeal. The form of the document was by no means that of a record of local customs, made as between the villagers themselves. Usually the *nanushi* or the *mura-yakunin* speak, and promise to carry out the regulations in their conduct of the office which they have been permitted to fill. Sometimes the whole *mura* speaks for itself in the *kumi-chō*. But there is in almost every case the attitude of acceptance of rules imposed from above and the promise of submission.

If any further evidence were needed, it appears in the shape of a document recently sent me by Mr. Kitagaki, Governor of Kyōto, called "*Bakufu Ryōjōmokusho*" (Collection of Articles of Law promulgated by the Shōgunate). This collection of rules (which unfortunately has no date) contains all those articles usually occurring in the *kumi-chō*, and is evidently the general form prescribed by the Shōgunate, or rather, sent out as a model for the various *daikwan* to work upon. At the end of the document are columns showing how the year, month, and day, the *kōri* and *mura*, and the names of the farmers, are to be entered. It is very clear that the *kumi-chō* were intended by the Shōgunate as the

of pages of a certain kind of paper. At its head the following principles were rehearsed:

"1. Unreasonable things which the officers wish to do without the consent of the farmers are not to be done.

2. Nothing proposed by the *nanushi* for selfish purposes can be done without the consent of the farmers.

3. There must be economy in the use of money for village purposes.

4. This paper, if agreed to by all, is to be final, and the money appropriated is to be paid."

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vehicles for conveying to the people the regulations to be observed by them, and the annual reading and sealing at the beginning of each year was a part of the same plan. Some discretion seems to have been left to the *daikwan* in each case, for there are many variations between different *kumi-chō*. Whether these documents were in use outside of the Shōgunate dominions I do not know, but it may be doubted. It seems probable that the use of the *kumi-chō* was an invention of the great administrator Iyeyasu himself or of some one of his officers.

Some local customs must have crept into the *kumi-chō*, but an extended comparison can alone afford a basis for conclusion on this point. It is also to be remembered that even where a Governmental regulation is found to cover the subject of a *kumi-chō* rule, the law may have intended simply to recognize a custom, and the rule may be none the less of popular origin. Take for example those clauses of the *Buke shohatto* (Art. 12, *Mittheil.* etc., *supra*, p. 27) and the *Kujikata Osadamegaki* (II, Art. 1, *ib.* p. 66) which provide for a system of private arbitration before resort to the courts. It can hardly be doubted that *chūsai* or arbitration was a custom of longs tanding among the people, was in fact an inheritance from earliest times; and the laws above-mentioned were intended rather to stem a tendency, perhaps in cities, to break away from it, than to impose a new regulation upon the people.

The *kumi-chō* served in part to facilitate the system of making the popular officers responsible for the conduct of their townsmen and of making neighbors responsible for each other. This system, as will be seen by an examination of the *kumi-chō*, was carried out thoroughly. The principle seems to have been one of long standing, for in the time of Hideyoshi's expedition to Corea (1592) we find, in an order for the levy of soldiers, the announcement that in case any one is detected in evading the conscription "the *nanushi* and the *kumi* shall be punished" (the *Fudōsan*). Its efficient carrying out was one of the great causes of the success of the Tokugawa administration.

The farmers were then called together, the estimate laid before them, and each item considered. There was a proverb referring to the experience of the people in these assemblies: "*go-tabun ni-wa moremasen*,"—the majority is made up of non-thinking persons.[48]

When all the farmers had signed and sealed, the estimate became valid. It was then taken to the *daikwan* and sealed in approval by him. The *daikwan* had no power to increase the estimate or forbid its being adopted. He could only examine and advise. His duty was to see that the *nanushi* did not "squeeze" or oppress the people. If the farmers had doubts about the proper use of the money, they could demand and have an official examination.[49]

48 The apparent meaning is "I will go with the majority," the verb being *moreru*. Possibly this is not the meaning it bore in Dr. Simmons' mind, and he may have transliterated his informant incorrectly. But the turn of thought is probably this: Most people prefer not to decide for themselves, but to wait and do what the rest decide on; they let others do their thinking for them, and the thought in the mind of such a person is "*go-tabun ni-wa moremasen*."

49 A short passage from the *Sendai Han Seido-kō* will serve to throw a little more light on the methods of local taxation: "The objects of expenditure in each *mura* were as follows: the salaries of the *kimoiri* and his assistants; the salaries of the keepers of dams and aqueducts: the salaries of the keepers of *mura* storehouses and the incidental expenses of the storehouses; the expenses relating to the transportation of public goods from one *mura* to another; (in some *mura*) the salary of the *kendan* (a kind of post-official) and the cost of paper, ink, and pens used by him.

These expenses were divided into three classes and were levied as follows: Expenses connected with the registration of inhabitants, upon each inhabitant; expenses connected with land, on each piece of land; expenses incurred for salaries, for paper, ink, and pens, and for miscellaneous matters, upon houses and land."

From the *Chihō Seido-tsū* we obtain some additional information, and a somewhat different classification of expenses is given: "The expenses in a *gō* or *mura* were divided into three classes: expenses in the office of the *nanushi*, pens, ink, paper, etc.; expenses of the three officers when they travel to other *mura* on official business; miscellaneous and extraordinary expenses incurred by the *mura*. Expenditures of the first class were to be recorded in two books, in duplicate. In the seventh and

6. *Local Justice and Procedure.*

The general method of settling civil cases of every kind was arbitration; the only court, in the ordinary sense of the word, was at the office of the *daikwan*. The practical result of the principle of arbitration (which was known as *chū-sai* or *nai-sai*[50]) was that a civil case rarely, if ever, came before the regular courts, but was settled before reaching it. The principle operated thus. In case of a disagreement between members of a *kumi*, the five heads of families met and endeavored to settle the matter. All minor difficulties usually were ended in this way. A time was appointed for the meeting; food and wine were set out, and there was moderate eating and drinking, just as at a dinner party. This, they thought, tended to promote good feeling and to make a settlement easier; for everybody knows, they said, that a friendly spirit is more likely to exist under such circumstances. Even family difficulties were sometimes settled in this way. Thus if a man abused his wife she might fly to one of the neighbors for

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twelfth months of each year they were to be added up, and charged to the people of the *mura*. The *nanushi*, the other officers, and the people were then to affix their seals. At the end of the year the books were to be delivered to the *daikwan* for his inspection and indorsement, and one copy to be preserved in the *daikwan's* office, the other in the office of the *nanushi*. In the first month of each year, before the books were used, they were to receive the indorsement of the *daikwan*.

"Minor incidental expenses were to be paid by the officers of the *mura* themselves as the occasion arose, the *mura* afterwards reimbursing them. Large or extraordinary expenses were to be provided for only after consulting with the people and receiving special authority. The consent of the people was necessary for all local taxes. The apportionment of the tax was to be based on the revenue of land. The apportionment was to be supervised by the *kyakushō-dai*. At the time it took place, he was to attend, examine the levy as drawn up by the *nanushi* and *kumi-gashira* and, if he regarded it as equitable, give his consent." The statements of the *Chihō Seido-tsū* are based on the authority of the works *Jikata Hanrei-roku*, *Nōsei Zayu*, and *Jikata Taisei*.

50 *Chū-sai*, between-decision (a judgment rendered by one who comes between disputants and separates them); *nai-sai*, within-decision (a settlement arrived at among the parties themselves).

protection, and when the husband came to demand her, the heads of families in the *kumi* would meet and consult over the case. If a settlement failed or a man repeated his offence frequently, he might be complained of to the next in authority, the *kumi-gashira;* or else the neighbors might take matters into their own hands and break off intercourse with him, refusing to recognize him socially. This usually brought him to terms. An appeal to the higher authorities was as a rule the practice in the larger towns and cities only, where the family unity was somewhat weakened, and not in the villages, where there was a great dislike to seeking outside coercion, and where few private disagreements went beyond the family or the *kumi*.

A case which could not be settled in this way was regarded as a disreputable one, or as indicating that the person seeking the courts wished to get some advantage by tricks or by dishonesty. In arranging for a marriage partner for son or daughter, such families as were in the habit of using this means of redress were studiously avoided. It was a well-known fact that in those districts where the people were fond of resorting to the courts they were generally poor in consequence. The time spent and the money lost reduced the community to poverty. Examples of this were Tsuru *gōri* and Kaino *gōri* near the Hakone mountains.

One of the abuses of *chū-sai* was that the small fine which was often imposed by the arbitrators was generally used up by them in a "spree," so that the real sufferer received very little of it.

If even the *kumi-gashira* could not settle the matter, it was laid before the higher officers, the *toshiyori*, and the *nanushi*. In fact the four chief officers (*nanushi*, *toshiyori*, *kumi-gashira*, and *hyakushō-dai*) might almost be said to form a board of arbitration for the settlement of appeals, for in deciding the case the *nanushi* received the suggestions of the other officers. It was discreditable for a *nanushi* not to be able to adjust a case satisfactorily, and he made all possible efforts to do so. In specially

difficult matters, he might ask the assistance of a neighboring *nanushi*. If a decision was reached by the *nanushi*, three copies of the evidence and the arguments were made out, and the seals and names of the parties and the *nanushi* were affixed.

If the *nanushi* was unable to settle a case, it was laid before the *daikwan*, who almost invariably sent it back, with the injunction to settle it by arbitration, putting it this time in the hands of some neighboring *nanushi*, preferably one of high reputation for probity and capacity. In case a *nanushi* other than the original one settled the case, a special form of decision or rescript was made out. There were also other forms for other stages. When the people of the *mura* as a whole brought a complaint before the *nanushi* and *kumi-gashira*, the *hyakushō-dai* appeared on their behalf. As a rule, in other cases, every man was supposed to advocate his own cause. To obtain payment of a claim on behalf of another, receiving a share in payment, was an offence. Still many made a business of acting thus for others. They claimed a relationship with their client and represented that he was sick and unable to attend. It was a business in which much money was made. The receiving of a fee, however, was clandestine; ostensibly the service was rendered as a favor. There were no court fees, either before the *nanushi* or in the *daikwan's* court.

When a case came before the *daikwan* for decision, it passed from the region of *chū-sai*, and became *kuji* or *deiri*. From the *daikwan* it might pass to the higher officials.[51] But if litigation was discouraged by local sentiment, none the less was it frowned upon by the rulers. The *daikwan* were instructed to discourage all

51. For an account of the judicial system of the Tokugawa Shōgunate, see Mr. Rudorff's article, "*Rechtspflege unter den Tokugawa*," *Mittheil. d. D. Gesells. Ostas.*, Feb., 1888, (*Heft* 38, *Seite* 378). For further information relating to the history of the *Hyōjō-sho*, the highest judicial body, see the same writer's "*Tokugawa-Gesetz-Sammlung*" (ib., *Heft* 41, *Seite* 36).

litigation, and to co-operate with the local officers to this end. They were to be especially careful in those localities where there was a litigious tendency, as the people were thereby impoverished and the government lost the benefit of a plentiful production.[52] The bad men who stirred up the people to seek redress in the courts were to be carefully watched, and if they were found especially active and troublesome, they were to be suitably punished.

Criminal cases of importance were not to be compromised, but were to be laid before the *daikwan*. If this rule was transgressed, the case was re-opened, and the *nanushi* banished. In case of homicide, the matter would be immediately reported to the *daikwan*. If on investigation it appeared that the deceased was a wicked fellow, or that the killing was done in the heat of passion, or during intoxication, or under other circumstances suitable for the exercise of clemency, the offender might escape death, provided the family of the dead man came to the *daikwan* and asked that mercy be shown.[53] Perhaps it would not

52. The self-regarding point of view (already spoken of) of the Tokugawa Government, in its regulation of the welfare of the people, is again illustrated in this statement of the reason for its discouragement of litigation.

53. "When anyone commits murder at the instigation of another, and escapes, he shall, at the request of the relatives of the deceased, be condemned only to *geshi-nin* or *karyō*."

100 Laws of Iyeyasu, Art. 46 (*Mittheil. d. D. Gesells Ost., Heft* 41, p. 12, *infra*).

"Criminal case (1744.) Defendant, Yagorō, adopted son of Rizayemon, of Aimari *mura*, of the province of Ushū.

"This Yagorō had become insane and killed two men, one named Sansuke, the other Zembei. By Zembei's relatives the death penalty was not demanded; but by Sansuke's it was. Although the insanity was clearly proved, the question was whether death should be inflicted.

'When a man becomes insane and soon after kills another, he shall be punished with death.' This law rests on the idea that it is often doubtful whether a man has not feigned madness in order to escape the death penalty. On the other hand, death would not be inflicted if the insanity was clear and the dead man's relatives asked for a remission of punishment. When this law was again explained to the relatives of Sansuke, they considered the matter again carefully and declared

be difficult for them to see that under the circumstances the sacrifice of two lives would be useless; and justice was considered to be satisfied by the arrest of the offender. In such a case the matter ended by the offender becoming a priest, the head priest of the sect giving a guarantee for his future good conduct.[54] If the dead man's family were left destitute, the family of the killer would often pay them a sum of money or support them.

When an offence was charged, one of the *bantarō* or regular police of the *mura* (who will be afterwards described) arrested the accused immediately and took him before the *nanushi*. No farmer or other respectable person could be arrested without an order from the *nanushi*, unless *in flagrante delicto*. This rule did not apply in the case of one who had been cast out by the community—a sort of farmer *rōnin*—for instance, one who had defied all law and was incorrigible; such a person became almost an outlaw, and could be beaten or arrested with impunity.

The villagers often administered justice in their own way, without regard to legal forms. Suppose that in a rural district a man had established a house of prostitution or other nuisance. A placard would be posted, stating that Mr. So-and-so was maintaining a great nuisance, and that it was intended to burn him out. Then a night would be chosen, preferably when a high wind was blowing, and his neighbors warned to move away valuables and to have water ready. Great consternation would follow, and the man would be obliged to yield and remove. But the punishment for the participators, if they were detected, was the same as if fire had actually been set. One whose carelessness originated a fire (it may here be said) was often

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that, if the insanity was clear, they by no means insisted upon their demand. It was therefore inquired whether this Yagorō should be given into the custody of his relatives and confined by them: and this course was approved."

Reigaki, Art. 35 (*Mittheil.* cte., *supra*, p, 116).

54. Cf. *Kujikata Osadamegaki*, II, Art. 97 (*Mittheil. d. D. Gesells. Ost., Heft* 41, p. 98), "In regard to a request that a convict's son, who has been placed in the custody of his relatives, may become a priest."

banished from the village. Another method of summary punishment was this. When a man was detected in an offence, the farmers pursued and caught him, tied him to a post, smearing his face with oil and lampblack, and left him to the scoffs and taunts of children and passers-by. When he was released a jeering crowd followed. Nor did the disgrace end speedily, for it was almost impossible to remove the stains. Trespasses on land and petty thefts of grain or vegetables were tacitly left to the farmers themselves to punish. The posts which I saw standing at intervals in the cultivated districts were those which had been used for the summary punishment of sneak thieves. If in an offender's struggles with the farmers as they strove to bind him, he should sustain injury, perhaps meet his death, the participators were usually released with a nominal punishment, perhaps with none at all.

Often a farmer abandoned his land and ran away from the village, perhaps because of a crime, or on account of some quarrel, of inability to pay his taxes, or even of extreme poverty. Such a person was *kake-ochi* (run-escape). The matter must be reported to the *daikwan*, and the cause of the man's desertion investigated. At first thirty days were given for the investigation, the time being extended if necessary, from month to month up to six months. Meanwhile the family or the *kumi* worked the land.[55] If at the end of the above time the man did not return, the land was taken by the *mura* to work and the house sold by sealed proposals. Usually it was rented to the deserter's family. In some places the *kumi* worked the land and paid the taxes, even for years; but this seems to have happened only when a whole family had deserted. If at any time the man or some member of his family returned, the land was given back to him, if the *mura* so decided, unless some crime had been the cause of the flight. Even in that case, however, if the offence was not a heavy one, the land might

55. This rule that the *kumi* should work the land of a member who abandoned it is found as far back as the period of the *Taihō Ryō* (*Chihō Seido-tsū*), as has been already mentioned.

be returned to him after a suitable punishment had been imposed. Confiscated land was *tori-age-denji* (take-up-land). Abandoned land was *agari-denji*. It was only under extraordinary circumstances that land was utterly confiscated, for this meant the complete breaking up of the family.[56] An interesting case involving this question is the found in *Ruirei Hiroku* (Private Record of Decisions), vol. 3, no. 55. In this case the land had been confiscated by the government for crime. A piece of land thus taken was usually handed over to the *mura* to work until a purchaser could be found, the *mura* paying the government tax and keeping the remaining profit. But there were also *mura* taxes to be paid, and for these the government, as the owner, ought to be liable. If it did not pay, a greater share would fall on the other land, and the farmers would cultivate the Government land so laxly that it would not yield even its ordinary tax. The decision of the finance officer was that the local tax was not to be paid by the government, but that as an offset the dry-field (*hata*) tax of that piece of land should be remitted.

One can thus see why it was regarded as desirable to sell such land as soon as possible. This, however, was not an easy matter, as the farmers did not care to buy the land that had belonged to a disgraced neighbor.

Where a renter of land failed to pay, and the holding was sold for the debt, the tools of his trade were exempt from sale. In general, on execution for debt, the whole of the debtor's property, with the above exception, was sold and the proceeds divided proportionately among the creditors.[57]

If a servant ran away but returned within three days, he did not become *kake-ochi*, and he was dealt with by his master. If he did not return in that time, he became

56. See the *Kujikata Osadamegaki*, II, Art. 27 (*Mittheil. d.D. Gesells. Ost., Heft* 41, p. 72) "Confiscation of the property of convicted persons."

See also the *Kujikata Osadamegaki*, I, Art. 40 (ib. p. 54). "Punishment of sons and other relatives of a felon."

57. See the *Kujikata Osadamegaki*, II, Art. 29 (*Mittheil, d.D. Gesells. Ost., Hcft* 41, p. 73), "Of the procedure in *shindai-kagiri* (execution)."

kake-ochi and the matter came within the province of the officials.

The desertion of a master by a servant, a father by a son, a teacher by a disciple, for a second time, was followed by the loss of the *nimbetsu-chō*. Forfeiture of the *nimbetsu* was called *gizetsu*. Disinheritance by a father or repudiation by a teacher or master was *kandō chō-gwai*. Breaking off of intercourse by an elder branch of the family or by relations generally was *kyūri chō-gwai*. But the disinheritance of a son was a solemn matter. If he ran away, and did not return for six months, an investigation was held by the *kumi*, after the family had reached a decision. The matter then went before the four higher officers, and was referred to the *daikwan* for a final decision. Disinheritance, therefore, involved repudiation by the whole community.[58] With the loss of the *nimbetsu-chō* went also erasure from the *shūmon-chō*, or register of the religious sect to which the delinquent belonged.

A question once arose whether forfeiture of the *nimbetsu-chō* was proper where the father-in-law had come to live in the son-in-law's house, the father-in-law having in that case the status of a guest only, not of head of the family. It was decided that with the consent of the head of the *kumi*, the *nanushi*, and the *daikwan*, the *nimbetsu-chō* could be forfeited. But this consent was necessary in every case.

One who harbored a runaway was punished by imprisonment. Even in a temple a man had no right to take refuge, if he was avoiding arrest for crime. A runaway, therefore, never acknowledged having been harbored by any one, but always claimed that he had travelled as a *hi-yatoi-nin* or day-laborer, in other words, as a tramp.

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58. This is not so clear, according to Dr. Weipert ("*Japanisches Familien-u. Erbrecht*" (*Mittheil. d. D. Gesells. Ost., Heft* 43, p. 118). But perhaps the statement of the latter represents the theoretical rule, that of Dr. Simmons the common practice.

See the law requiring notice of disinheritance to be given to the authorities in the *Kujikata Osadamegaki*, I, Art. 50 (*Mittheil*, etc., *Heft* 41, p. 56).

Even when one had forfeited his *nimbetsu-chō*, if he committed a crime in a distant region, his family had still to pay the expenses of imprisonment. This was the regular method of meeting the cost of prison-maintenance, though in the case of small offences the rule was usually not enforced. If the subject of a *daimyō* was confined in a Shōgunate jail, the expense of his maintenance was charged against the *daimyō*, who collected it from the *mura* or the family.

Where the whole community or any of its members wished to appeal to the higher authorities—to a *daimyō* himself or to the government at Yedo for redress against official malfeasance, there were several methods of proceeding. If a journey to Yedo or elsewhere was necessary, the expenses of the person or persons bearing the petition were paid by the *mura*.[59] *Kago-so* (*kago*-complaint) consisted in pressing a letter upon the official as he passed in his *kago*. *Hari-so* (fasten-complaint) consisted in fastening a petition to the gates of an official's residence. In *hako-so* (box-complaint), the petitioner placed his document in a box hanging outside the *daimyō's* castle-gate, or the gate of the *Hyōjō-sho* in Yedo.[60] This box was opened three times a

59 See *Kujikata Osadamegaki*, II, Art. 24 (*Mittheil. d.D. Gesells. Ost.*, *Heft* 41, p 71) "Of the expense of the journey to Yedo in case of litigation between *mura*, and of the share of the villagers."

60 The rules established in the latter case were as follows:

"In the following cases direct complaint may be made to the *Hyōjō-sho:*

1. When a reform is to be suggested;
2. In cases where an official has conducted himself improperly;
3. In law suits where the management or decision by the proper authority is long delayed, in which case immediate investigation must follow after information has been given to the official concerned.

In the following cases direct complaint cannot be made.

1. In cases where only the private interests of the complainant are involved;
2. In matters where the complainant acts on information only, not on personal knowledge;
3. In complaints which are not brought to the proper office or in which no decision has been reached."

Kujikata Osadamegaki, I, Art. 8 (*Mittheil.* etc., *supra*, p. 45).

month. Usually its contents were referred to the local officials. In these cases the *daimyō* or the Yedo official would often put up a notice, saying that he had received a petition, but had burned it without reading it. In fact, however, he would read it, and send out spies to investigate. Local officials were often changed an account of complaints made in this way. *Mon-so* (gate-complaint) was a desperate remedy. The farmers of a district collected and went in a body to the *daimyō's* house, either in the province or in Yedo, and declared that they would not leave until their petition was granted. If each stuck a sickle in his belt, or carried a sharpened bamboo, it was a symbol of final desperation.[61] The *daimyō* seldom failed to take notice of

61 This *mon-so* was not looked upon with favor by the central government, and legislation against it is several times recorded:

"Punishment of farmers who make complaint to the lord with menaces and then desert their village.

"For the ringleaders, death: for the *nanushi*, banishment from the province for a long period; for the *kumi-gashira*, banishment from the *mura*, with forfeiture of land; for the *mura* itself, a fine based on the amount of its assessment.

"However, the punishment may, according to circumstances, be mitigated one or two degrees if the lord has been guilty of unjust conduct, and especially is severe punishment to be avoided if the farmers are not in arrears for their taxes."

Kujikata Osadamegaki, II. Art. 28 (1741).

(*Mittheil.* etc., *supra*, p. 73).

"Punisnment of those who assemble before the gate of a lord and make complaint with menaces.

"For the ringleaders, banishment. But if it cannot be ascertained who was the ringleader, let that one of the participants whose name, on inspection of the temple-register *(shūmon nimbetsu-chō)* is found to stand first be selected and punished with banishment. As to the other farmers of the village, let those who were present before the gate be placed in irons for from 30 to 50 days; let the rest be severely reprimanded. A fine may or may not, according to the circumstances, be imposed upon the whole village. However, any one acting with the ringleader is to be banished from Yedo.

"If a village official was ringleader, he is to be banished. If while an official he takes part in the gathering, let it be banishment for a moderate period, but in the case of a *nanushi*, banishment forever from the village. However, if the officials take no part in the mob but

such a demonstration, for it was regarded as an evidence of mal-administration in his fief, a great disgrace. But if no redress was promised, they went thence to the office of the *Go-rōjū* (Council of State) in Yedo and made appeal. For this further impertinence they were usually bound and imprisoned, perhaps beaten, and this proceeding, therefore was only resorted to in extremities. But it was an effective one, for investigation always followed and the *daimyō*, if in the wrong, was punished, perhaps by being transferred to a smaller fief.[62]

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endeavor to quiet the farmers, they need not be punished, even though their efforts were fruitless.

"Those who carry sickles or such weapons on such an occasion shall be punished as participators in a complaint made with violence."

Reigaki, Art. 78 (1771) (*Mittheil.* etc., *supra*, p. 127).

"Of conspiring to make complaint by menaces, of assembling in crowds before the gate of a lord, of abandoning a village, and of forcible revenge.

"If villagers conspire to make complaint by show of violence or to abandon their village, those who have resorted to violence out of revenge, or any other participants except the ringleaders, may receive a mitigation of punishment appropriate to the degree of their guilt. Even the ringleaders may be similarly favored, if the resort to violence has been provoked by the injustice of the lord.

"The same rule applies to the ringleaders of mobs assembling at a lord's gate for the purpose of making complaint (*mon-so*)."

Sha-ritsu, (1862) Art. 10 (*Mittheil.* etc., *supra*, p. 137).

A gradual decrease in the severity of punishment may here be noticed.

62 The law spoke emphatically upon this point:

"When *koku-shu*, *ryō-shu* or *jō-shu*, be they *fudai* or *to-sama*, violate the laws and oppress the people, they shall, without any exception, whether they possess large incomes or are related to us or not, be expelled from their castles and land and be treated as enemies of the country. It is the duty of the Shōgun's family to carry out this measure."

100 Laws of Iyeyasu, Art. 11 (*Mittheil.* etc., *supra* p, 6).

Or according to another reading:

"If *koku-shu* or *ryō-shu* even though possessing large incomes, act contrary to the people's welfare, they shall for punishment be deposed from office and removed to a distant province."

100 Laws of Iyeyasu, Art. 20 (ib. p. 7, *infra*).

Sometimes a fine was imposed upon a whole *mura* by the territorial lord. A 100-*koku mura*, for example, might be fined fifteen *yen*.

7. *Temple Administration.*

No tax for temple purposes was imposed by the *mura*. The members of each sect provided for the expenses of its temple. The parishioners of a temple were *danna*, *danke*, *dampō*,[63] and one's own temple was *danna-dera*. The parishioners selected a chief, called *danka-gashira*, who must come of an old and respected family. No *samurai* could fill the post; nor was it to be obtained merely by profuse gifts to the temple; still, he who was chosen was expected to give generously towards its support. There were a number of persons called *sewa-nin* (committee) who acted as vestrymen, and one of them served as treasurer. The temples were practically the only school for the common people, and the priests the only learned men or teachers. Each temple had a register (*shūmon-chō*) in which were recorded the names of members of the sect. In travelling it was usual to

63. Mr. Gubbins writes; "The derivation of these words as a whole I cannot trace. *Dan*, the first syllable, means sandal-wood, which can have no possible connection with the terms in question. It is probably one of the many instances in which the terms are of Buddhist origin and the Chinese phonetic equivalents have been applied arbitrarily. As to the final syllables, *ke* or *ka* is 'house,' which has often the meaning of 'person;' *pō* is merely *hō*, 'side,' 'person.'"

In the "Chrysanthemum" for 1881, under "Notes and Queries" (p. 456), I find the following; "The word *danna* is really an importation from India, and owes its origin, philologically, along with the Latin *do*, *datum*, to the Sanscrit *dha*, the first of the six *paramitas*, or fords to the other shore of this sea of misery,—almsgiving. Buddhist mendicants from India would call those who filled their rice-bowls something like *danna*, and so the giver of charity to the mendicant became 'parishioner' to the sect, and, as giver of all home blessings, the *danna* (master) of the house. The Buddhist teachers themselves, as givers of the doctrine, became *danna*, and the temple to which one belonged, and from which religious benefits were received became the *danna-dera*."

carry a letter of recommendation from the priest of one's sect.

Nimbetsu-chō (person-difference-document). This was a register of births, marriages, and deaths, arranged by families, and in duplicate, one copy being kept at the chief temple, the other at the office of the *nanushi*. In travelling a certificate copied from this register was carried about with one, serving as a means of identification, a guarantee of respectibility, and a title to protection and hospitality. On the occasion of marriage the bride's name was erased from the *nimbetsu-chō* of her family and added to that of her husband's family.[64]

8. *Charity.*

When one of the villagers fall sick, the members of his *kumi* gave him all possible assistances, and cultivated his land for him, if necessary. But if this contiuned and the burden become too great, the *kumi-gashira* or *nanushi* was appealed to. He represented the matter to the villagers, and they all contributed. Whenever a farmer built or repaired his house, his fellow-villagers joined in and helped him without pay, the beneficiary giving wages to the carpenters only, but supplying food for all. If he was very poor, even the carpenters were paid for from a village fund, used for such purposes and for emergencies of all sorts—fires, plagues, etc. Poor people, when some calamity destroyed their home, usually took refuge in a temple for a month or so. When a whole village was burned, the neighboring villages turned out and helped, the lord and the large land-owners supplying wood *gratis*.

If a stranger was taken sick on the road he was cared for and forwarded by the *nanushi* to his home, if it could be ascertained. If a stranger was found dead, he was

64. The distinction between *nimbetsu-chō*, *shūmon-chō*, and *tera-chō* does not clearly appear in the notes left by Dr. Simmons. From other evidence it is probable that they were different terms for the same thing.

decently buried, and the *nanushi* of the *mura* was notified, so that his friends might send for the body. If he did not carry his *nimbetsu-chō* about him, and no friends could be found, he was properly buried at the expense of the *mura*.[65]

9. *The family as a social unit.*

The complex customs of a Japanese village were binding only upon the heads of families. The head of the family had his seal, which represented at the same time his power and his responsibility. As the seal-bearer he was not only the moral head of the family, which constituted a social unit; his responsibility extended to the acts of all members of the household. The liability for debts of the male members was subject to some restrictions founded on justice; thus, he was not liable for debts contracted by them at a wineshop or in a house of prostitution. No document signed by any member of the family was valid without the seal of its head. Nor could any one not having a seal, properly registered, rent a house or a piece of land.

The family often included the sons and daughters for several generations, all living under the same roof. Wives were brought from without for the sons, and sons-in-law were adopted for the daughters. There was no joint ownership or sharing in profits. The father, or after him, the heir, received all, paid all, and was responsible for all. All stood under his power like employees or servants, whatever their particular occupations or duties.

A somewhat peculiar feature was that each family had its own independent roof. Whether poor and humble, or large and commodious, the dwelling was occupied by but one family.

Many small *mura* were almost entirely composed of families bearing the same name. In many others only three or four names were to be found.

65 See Appendix I, *kumi-chō*.

In Awomori there seems still to be a system of house communities of some sort, which no one, however, has as yet investigated.

IV. SERFDOM AND THE YETA CLASSES.

1. *Early serfdom.*[66]

Up to the present time the native historians of Japan have never made any attempt to analyze closely the origin of their own people. They have for various reasons relied on the legendary stories of ancient times. There has been a systematic attempt from earliest times in Japan to conceal the true history of the nation for the sake of upholding the theory of the divine origin of the Mikado. This spirit of concealment has entered into the whole political and educational system. Whence came the original Japanese, no one inquires.

The materials for the following sketch have been taken from authentic sources, which have always been accessible; but the facts, though plainly recorded, have been construed to suit the theory that Japan was made first, and all the world, including China and Corea, after it. It is only by reading between the lines that the truth is to be discerned.

66. In these Notes on early serfdom, the author only touches on a subject in which the whole history of tenure and local institutions is locked up. The evidence of serfdom offered by him is only a small part of that which exists and ought to be thoroughly investigated. The real value of this part of the Notes lies in the emphasis laid upon two historical truths, 1) that the serfs of early times represented the conquered peoples (whether aborigines, strictly speaking, or only earlier immigrants); 2) that the mass of the common people of to-day represent the descendants of the early serfs. I believe that Dr. Simmons, for the first time among foreign students, puts the proper emphasis upon the facts bearing on these truths. The whole subject of early serfdom has been treated in a scholarly essay, recently published, by Dr. C. A. Florenz, "*Altjapanische Culturzustände*," (*Mittheil. d. D. Gesells. Ost., Heft* 44). Here will be found the systematic survey and the citation of authorities which are lacking in Dr. Simmons, Notes on that subject. In the Appendix the principal portions are translated.

The admission is made in the histories, that the Mikado, when he came from heaven, was accompanied by a court and a retinue of servants numbering some eighty thousand. Among all these primitive men none are related to have been born in Japan; they all came from Heaven. It is further admitted by this record that Japan was already peopled. For on the arrival of this heavenly crowd there were guides with them, among others a chief called Sarudahiko.[67] To this day, wherever there is a Shintō festival, the *Saruta*, with a kind of retinue of servants, acts as guide to the procession. This band of guides is quite distinguished from the *kami* or deity of the procession; and its costume, my teacher says, is that of Cochin China officials. Whether these guides were of Malay or of Aino origin, or whence they came, it is difficult to conjecture. It may be remembered, however, that at a later time (as recorded in the *Kojiki*) Keikō Tennō heard of a country of Hikami, to the north of his dominions, said to be very fertile, and peopled with Emishi, who tattooed themselves, and allow their hair to grow uncared for, and from the fact that the sight of these people then made such an impression upon those who told of them, we may infer that the rulers of Yamato had not previously come into contact with these aborigines (who were obviously connected with the Ainos), but had confined their conquests to related tribes, whose ancestors were immigrants like themselves.[68]

Let us turn next to the story of Sosa no wono Mikoto. Tenshō-daijin, a heaven-born goddess, had a younger brother, Sosa no wono Mikoto, who threw one day into her bedroom, as she was weaving, the carcass of a recently skinned horse. She ran away in a fright, and hid herself in a cave, closing the door with a stone. Upon this Japan became dark: and her followers and high officers, desiring

67. See the *Kojiki*, translated by Professor Chamberlain (Trans. As. Soc. Jap. vol. X, p. 108, note 16).

68. See a similar conclusion drawn by Rein, "Japan," p. 217; Satow, "Ancient Japanese Rituals" (Trans. As. Soc. Jap., vol. IX, pt. 2, p. 203).

to call her out, came together with songs and music, and Tenshō, to see what the noise was about, opened the door of the cave a little. Some one sprang forward, pulled away the stone, she came out, and day was restored. It was hereupon decided by all that Sosa no wono Mikoto should be punished; but not awaiting his sentence, he *fled back to Corea*, with his family, to a place called *Soshimori-mura*.[69] Now *soshi* means "place of an ancestral tomb," and *mori* is a grove or wooded hill. My teacher thinks this is good evidence that his home had been in Shinra, one of the ancient divisions of Corea. This account is taken from a history written three hundred years ago, in one hundred and seventy volumes, by Hayashi Dōshun, a teacher of Iyeyasu. The book was called *Honchō Tsugan* and was soon after suppressed, and the blocks were destroyed, the object being to protect from assault the theory of the Mikado's divine origin; but some copies were extant at least until Meiji.[70]

After a time not exactly determined, say eight or ten years, Sosa built a ship or ships and returned to San-in-do in Izumo. Here he established himself, and built a city of beautiful houses. It is supposed that he did not come alone, but brought with him a large number of artisans and women. At this place now is the town of Ōyashiro, with a large Shintō temple, which before Meiji had a large landed property and stood only second in popular estimation to the temple at Ise, the ancestral one of the Mikado. Within the last two or three hundred years there was dug up in the neighborhood of Ōyashiro a large flat stone, on which was an inscription engraved in an old hieroglyphic of Chinese origin. Within a few years it has been examined, by Japanese linguists and the inscription found to be in the style of Li Ki, the second book of the Chinese classics.

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69. See the story, as told in *Nihongi*, in "Ancient Japanese Rituals," *supra*, p. 200; as told in *Kojiki*, see the translation *supra*, p. 60.

70. See Satow, article "Japanese Literature," American Cyclopaedia, vol, IX. p. 551, where the same work is referred to as follows: "Hayashi Razan (1383-1657), in conjunction with his son Gahō or

Again, Inai Mikoto, also one of the heaven-born, became afterwards king of Shinra, in Corea. The wife of Amehiyari Mikoto, another heaven-born, declared that she wished to return to her native country Shinra, whereon her husband, incensed, sent her off to San-in-dō, in the province of Tajima.

Chinese history, too, corroborates these traces of immigration to Japan; for there is abundant evidence that about 230 B.C., during a great revolutionary period, a large number of emigrants left the country. They went with families and slaves, and with all the appurtenances of Chinese civilization. They seem to have left, some by way of Chefoo and Shanghai, some by Amoy, Formosa, and Loo Choo, and some no doubt through Corea. Near Tosa, in Kanagawa Ken, is a village called Corai-ji. Now *Corai* is the Japanese name for Corea. My friend Sadajirō thinks that the greater part of the people of Sagami are of Chinese or Corean descent, especially the carpenters and other artisans. The location of those of Corean descent

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Shunsai, compiled a general history of Japan in 273 books, entitled *Honchō Tsugan*, beginning with Jimmu Tennō and ending with the 34th year of Go-yōzei Tennō. A supplement to this work was completed in 1703 by the great-grandson of Razan; it is entitled *Kokushi Yitsuroku*, and forms 79 books. Both of these works exist only if manuscript." The Hayashi family for several generations took the leading part in the revival of education and literature which occurred under Iyeyasu and his successors. Dōshun, not Razan, seems to have been the common name of the founder. The story of the suppression of this history is thus told in the "Outline History on Japanese Education," (Japanese Department of Education, 1876, Appleton & Co.): "Shunsai established an historiographer's office, and here he worked at the completion of the above mentioned history. This work was completed after seven years of labor, during which time he was assisted by his two sons and by more than thirty assistants of his own training; upon these daily wages and monthly allowances were bestowed by the government. When this history was about to be published, it was subjected to the revision of the Princes of Owari, Kii, and Mito; and the last of these, Mitsukuni, Prince of Mito, attacked it, and was strongly opposed to its being published, because, he said, it contained singular opinions concerning the Emperor Jimmu. Its publication was on this account stopped." (p. 87)

seems to be Sagami, Kōshū, the Sanyō-dō, and the Hoku-roku-dō; of those of Chinese descent, Shikoku, Kyūshū, Ōmi, and the Gokinai; of those of mixed Chinese descent, Mino and Owari.

The later immigration from the continent may be divided into two classes. First, there came many teachers, at the invitation of Japanese rulers. Secondly, there came chiefs exiled or flying from defeat at home. They brought with them in many cases companies of workmen and artisans,—farmers, silk and tea growers, etc;—virtually serfs. These chiefs afterwards figured prominently in Japanese political life, while those they brought with them took their place among the common people, already in serfdom.

We have many indications, then, that the heaven-born were immigrants of a higher class, who subdued a much lower class of beings then inhabiting Japan. The assumption of divine origin for themselves by the conquerors seems to indicate their advanced stage of civilization as compared with the conquered tribes. Bringing with them many of the arts, they were necessarily looked up to by the semi-savage people as deities or superior beings.

We come now, in the histories, to recognize the people of Japan divided into two great classes, the nobility or gentlemen, under various names (*shu-chō*, *kun-chō*, *shu-kun*, *aruji*, *danna*, *tono-sama*),[71] and the lower classes or slaves (*dorei*, *yakko*). As a means of distinguishing the ownership of slaves, each one was tattooed with his owner's device. This system of tattooing existed until lately in Satsuma, all the officials of the *daimyō* being known by certain dots on the fingers.[72] In Uda-gōri in Yamato, in Shinano, Musashi, and Yamashiro, the lower classes were and are marked in large numbers by a tattoo on the face.

71. *Shu*, chief, *chō*, superior; *kun*, lord; *aruji*, the Japanese word represented by the character pronounced *shu*, in Sinico-Japanese; *danna*, master; *tono*, lord; *sama*, a title of respect.

72. For the practice of tattooing, see Aston, "Early Japanese History" (Trans. As. Soc. Jap. XVI, p. 57).

All these slaves were bought and sold like any other property. In 645 A.D. a law was enacted by Kōtoku Tennō, determining the status of children of mixed parentage. If the parents were both of the nobility, the child belonged to the father's; but if the mother was a slave, the child was the property of her master, though even if the master was the father, the child was still illegitimate. Where the father was the slave and the mother noble, the child was also considered illegitimate. In the succeeding year is recorded a law by which the Mikado confiscated all the slaves of the great families called Ōmi, Ōmuraji, and Kokusa, to the use of the State. No reasons were given, but a check upon their power was probably intended. About 676 A.D., Tenbu, the thirty-ninth Mikado, declared all private slaves the property of the State. Among these certain classes were set free,—such as the makers of paper, the Kudara people (from a large province of Corea, called Hakusai in Chinese),[73] who had been employed especially in the private finance department of the Mikado, the musicians, including drummers and fifers, the sailors and captains of junks, the hawk-keepers, the dyers and the weavers, the apothecaries, the doctors, the assistants in hospitals for the poor, the milkmen supplying the sick and the poor, the cutlery-makers, the blacksmiths and the armorers, the gardeners, the well-diggers and the water-carriers, the masons, the potters, the basket-makers, the mat-makers,—in fact, probably all artisans. Restrictions of freedom still existed, but the legitimacy of children by marriage with free persons was conceded.

In 668 A.D., Tenchi Tennō had instituted a general register of all the people, and had required each person to have his *nimbetsu-chō*. The reason of this seems to have

73. *Shinra* (in Sinico-Japanese), or *Shiragi* (a corrupted form), was one of the three states into which Corea was anciently divided, the other two being known as *Kudara* and *Koma* (in Sinico-Japanese *Hyakusai* and *Kōrai*). (Chamberlain, *Kojiki*, *supra*, p. 232.). See, on this point and on early Corean intercourse with Japan, Parker's "Race Struggles in Corea" (Trans. As. Soc. Jap., vol. XVIII, pt. II, p. 157), and "Early Japan," (China Review, Feb. 1890).

been an effort on the part of the lower or native element to assume foreign heaven-born or noble ancestry and thus escape from the low-class distinction of slaves. Again in 814 A.D. Saga Tennō issued an order to trace out and record the genealogy of the nobility as distinct from the slaves, declaring it not right that this should be neglected. A bureau in the Imperial Court was established for this purpose, his son Manta put at the head, and a book compiled. A copy presented by Mr. E. M. Satow is now in the British Museum. From this book it appears that the Japanese people, as therein described, had descended from three chief stocks, first, from the family of the heaven-born Mikado; secondly, from the families of his heaven-born servants or retainers; thirdly, from Corean and Chinese immigrants.[74] The aborigines are not taken into account at all. It should be said that though Saga was the first to record the genealogies in a volume, Inkyō Tennō, in 415 A.D., had caused the family records of the nobility to be searched and verified; slaves, that is, natives, being omitted.

When the *nimbetsu-chō* was instituted, government slaves and those in charge of burial places were specially registered as such; but all other slaves were registered in the *nimbetsu-chō* of their masters. In the Shōso-in in Mitsugura, Nara, there may still be found any number of slave *nimbetsu-chō*, with other documents relating to the old form of slavery. But the registry of a slave never contained his family name; this was the distinguishing mark of a slave. Up to the period Meiji only the aristocracy could use the family name. Even priests could not. Doctors and teachers could while they exercised their profession. Many did not even know their family name. I have often asked, "What is your name?" "Nikichi."—"What is your family name?"—"I don't know." My friend Sadajirō, a *samurai*, on coming to

74. *Seishi-roku* or *Shōji-roku* was the name of this work. See the full account in the Appendix in the passages from Florenz's "*Altjapanische Culturzustande.*"

Kanagawa, was able to buy some land by taking out, with the connivance of the *nanushi*, the *nimbetsu-chō* of a farmer, which was of a different style from his own.

Another bit of evidence relating to the old slavery system is the manner of cutting men's hair. Up to the Meiji period, the Mikado and all his court, Shintō priests, and doctors wore their hair uncut, after the Corean style. Buddhist priests and some few others shaved the head completely. But all others shaved half the head, on top, and made a queue. As boys they did not cut the hair, but on arriving at manhood they cut it in this particular style. Now up to the time of the Ashikaga Shōguns, more definitely, up to the first Takauji (1334 A.D.) this was the style of hair used by all classes except the *kuge*, doctors, Shintō priests, and military men. It was called *yakko-atama* or *dorei-atama* "slave-head;" the other style was called *sōhatsu*, "all-hair."

Under the feudal regime, slavery as a system became weaker and weaker, one of the principal causes being the disorganization of society and the changes arising from wars and conquests. At the same time the prohibition against family unions between higher and lower classes disappeared.

We must here speak briefly of the farm laborers. There were two principal kinds;

1. *Hōkōnin* (one who offers to a superior).
2. *Fudai*, *niwago*, *monya*, *kahō*.[75]

1. *Hōkōnin*, properly so called, were unmarried servants, serving for a certain period. If found for a number of years, they were called *nen-ki* (year-term). The longest term

75. These terms seem to be somewhat obscure, and the inability of many scholars to explain their etymology leads me to think that Dr. Simmons may not have transliterated quite correctly. *Niwa-go* Mr. Gubbins explains as compounded of *niwa*, "garden," and *ko*, "child," and applied to the children of cottier-tenants who were employed by the great farmers whose estates their parents cultivated. *Monya*, the same authority suggests, may be *mo-ya*, "main-building." *Fudai* means "hereditary." See further the passages in the Appendix from Dr. Florenz's "*Altjapanische Culturzustande*,"

allowed by law was ten years. They were usually taken at from fifteen to twenty-six years of age. They never married until their time expired. This form of service was considered the most desirable for both parties. If the agreement was for a month, the name was *tsuki*-(month)-*yatoi*. If from day to day, *hi*-(day)-*yatoi*. These were of both sexes. They were taken on in busy times, and often came from a distance at the required season yearly.

2. These names were used in different regions to denote the same relations. They were serfs, and lived together on the premises of a large farmer, with their families. Something more has been said of them in another place.

But there were some who could not release themselves from the extreme class distinctions imposed by the system of slavery. Three classes existed as late as the Meiji period—the *yeta*, the *kawara-mono*, aud the *bantarō* or *yama-ban*,—who showed very clear traces of the primitive serfdom. Let us take these up in this order.[76]

2. *The Yeta classes.*

1 *Yeta*. This class of persons is variously known as *yeta*, *chōri*, *kwanbō*. The first term was the one generally used, but the second was the officially recognized term, always employed in government communications.[77] They stood at the bottom of the social scale, and were regarded by all above them with feelings of repulsion and contempt.

The Japanese are apt to claim that this class of people were of a different race from themselves, but this is not proven. Their origin is not certainly known. I have expressed the opinion that they were the remnants of the lowest class of the aborigines, who show the most

76. It is difficult to tell from the manuscript of the Notes which were the large divisions of these people,—whether, for instance, *yeta* was a general term for all, or whether it did not include *bantarō* and *kawara-mono*; whether it included *hinin* or not. Some inevitable obscurity on this point, therefore, remains in the Notes.

77. *Chōri*, according to Mr. Gubbins, was applied only to the chief of the *yeta*.

recent traces of slavery. Another explanation, which was given to me many years ago, is as follows. At two or three periods in the history of Japan, teachers have been invited to inmigrate to this country. Taking advantage of the intercourse springing up between Japan and the continent, a class of immigrants far from desirable found their way here. In consequence of wars and the interruption of intercourse, it was not convenient to send these people back, and they were provided for by being distributed among the towns and villages, each house in turn furnishing them a day's rice. Having no trade, but being strong and healthy, they were asked, as might be expected, by those who gave them their daily ratious, to do such unpleasant jobs as needed to be done,—carrying away and burying dead animals, etc. These errands were quite common, as the flesh of cattle was never eaten, and all died a natural death. This sort of work at length became their sole occupation; and as time advanced, little communities sprang up in almost every town of any size. Coming from a foreign stock and following an occupation looked upon with especial disgust, they were kept apart and were looked upon as little better than the beasts whose skins they worked upon.

The residence of the *yeta* was usually on the outskirts of the town or village. They were not allowed under any circumstances to buy or occupy land in any other part of the region. Intermarriage with any but members of their own class rarely if ever took place. Their chief occupation was the tanning of leather. Once the leather was made, no stigma attached to its manufacture into various articles, and such trades were followed by others as well. The *yeta*, however, had the monopoly by custom of the manufacture of leather shoes and of drum-heads. Any other person who undertook these manufactures would at once be beset and interfered with by a crowd of these people, till he was glad to yield and to pay a good sum to rid himself of them.

Other special families had special occupations. The

sweeping and cleaning of the Mikado's gardens was in the hands of the *yeta*. Eight families went daily to perform this service. They bore the name of Koboshi, and lived in Renda *mura*, near Kyōto. About one and a half *ri* from there, in Sai *mura*, the chief held from the Mikado land of 200 *koku* revenue; the cultivating farmers, however, were not *yeta*. The *yeta* of Yamato *kuni* gave the hat and the straw shoes worn by the Mikado, and received in return a present of rice. These were called Kasuga *yeta*, and lived in Hannyazaka *mura*. Their chief was of very old family, and ranked with Danzayemon, the Yedo chief. The grounds of the Shōgun's castle at Kyōto were also swept by a *yeta* family, Shimo *mura* Shōsuke by name, living in Tanaka *mura*. Mr. Sadajirō thinks that, like the hospital *yeta* in Yedo, this was an old *samurai* family, fallen into disgrace. This Tanaka *mura* family had the monopoly of using indigo dye in all the district south of Owari, and by exacting a tax from all others using the material they became very rich. North of Owari another *yeta* family had a similar monopoly.

There were several different classes. *Chōri* or *yeta* was the generic name, as was *samurai* for a large group of the feudal nobility. The different classes were as follows. 1. *Shinku*. These were occupied with the soil, usually as laborers, e.g. in well-digging and well-cleaning; of these occupations, they had a monopoly. A few, however, were cultivators and owners of land. 2. *Shomun*. These were of a better class than the preceding, and not only owned and cultivated land (in certain fixed localities) but in some cases were very well-to-do, and even became rich as land owners. They also took up commercial pursuits, chiefly, however, relating to leather and leather goods, bones of animals, and bone manure. These two classes were hereditary. The next was not. 3. *Hinin* (not-men) or beggars, also called *kojiki*, or *kotsu-jiki*. This class was recruited from many sources, even from the *samurai*. The opprobrium attached to it, not arising from any hereditary occupation, was due chiefly to the shameless,

dishonored character of the men who entered it.[78] Thus the recruits from the *samurai* would be men who had disgraced the name of the family and who had not the courage to commit *harakiri;* for if the offence had not been a capital one, they could escape death by joining the *hinin.* Stories are told, too, of a *samurai* falling in love with a *yeta* maiden and relinquishing his rank and title to join the *yeta* and marry her. So, too, bankrupts, broken in spirit and discouraged, tramps and waifs of all kinds, joined the *hinin,* thus making a public declaration that they relinquished all rights as members of respectable society and therewith all obligations to respectability and the expenses it demanded. They were thus left free to live as they pleased, and by the least amount of effort to obtain the necessaries of life. For such men the *hinin* brotherhood furnished a convenient asylum. They need not descend so far as to become beggars. In fact some even became rich, through the economy which here became possible. As members of the brotherhood they paid to the chief a tax which went into a common fund, used for their support in case of absolute inability to supply their wants even by begging. One of the results was that decent society was entirely freed from the need of caring directly for those who were outcasts and vagabonds by choice.

There were three chief of the *yeta;* in Yedo, Danzayemon, in Ōsaka, Watanabe, in Kyōto, Amabe. The Yedo

78. This case indicates something of the position held by the *hinin* in popular estimation:

"Criminal case, 10th month, 1st year of Enkyō (1744); Defendants, Jirobei, Isoyemon, Kōhachi, Shinyemon, Jūzayemon, a *gonin-gumi* of Awonashi *mura*, province of Jōshū.

"These persons, when their townsmen Jūzayemon had killed a *hinin* of Kaneko *mura*, felt sorry that he and his children should suffer for this act, and secretly approaching the officers of Kaneko *mura* bribed them to settle the matter privately. To the question, whether they should not be fined three *kwammon* apiece for the crime of compounding a murder, even though the victim was only a *hinin*, an affirmative answer was given."

Reigaki, Art. 12 (*Mittheil. d. D. Gesells. Ost., Heft* 41, p. 109.).

chief claimed, it is said, to be descended from an illegitimate child of Yoritomo by a farmer's daughter. She made him promise that he would not claim the child, but the latter on coming of age, asked for some position to be given him, and received the appointment of chief of the *yeta*.

When Iyeyasu first came to Yedo, the Danzayemon of the time went to meet him, and informed him that Danzayemon's family had been chief of the *yeta* from the time of the Kamakura Shōguns. So Iyeyasu confirmed him in the office. A certain Tarozayemon laid claim to the office, but was rejected. In 1692 a hostile claim was again made, but the Danzayemon family were again confirmed. At this time the chief submitted the following document in support of his claim. "My family furnished the leathern straps for the shoes of Iyeyasu's horses. On the eleventh day of the New Year we took a monkey into the Shōgun's stables to charm away disease from his horses. As chief I wear two swords and an official dress, and the *kumi-gashira* of the *yeta* wears one sword. I now use the *Kubi-chō* seal of the battle of Sekigahara. Since 1622 we *yeta* have supplied the wicks for the candles of the Shōgun's castle. We have also furnished the drums for the castle and the horse-trappings for high officials. We have in addition, performed the office of executioner." In 1719, at the time when the famous Ōka Echizen no Kami was *machi-bugyō* of Yedo, the Shōgun Yoshimune ordered the *bugyō* to inquire into the origin of the privileges of Danzayemon. Danzayemon's answer was: "I have no written record of my duties, but have only learned them by verbal instructions from my predecesser. I have learned simply that my ancestors came from Settsu *kuni* to Kamakura. I know, too, that when we go to the *Sam-bugyō*, we wear, as of old, two swords and an official dress. If we have been mistaken in this, we humbly ask pardon. Heretofore I have not attended personally to the duties of my office at the Hospital, and have sent my chief officers instead. But hereafter I will myself take charge. Please permit me however, as heretofore to wear two swords and the official

dress." This request was granted; and Danzayemon again sent word: "Now I will write down what I have learned only verbally from my predecessor. My remote ancestor came from Ikeda *mura*, in Settsu, to Kamakura. There he was given the care of *yeta* and others of that class. At that time he received a written authority for his privileges from Yoritomo. But this document was placed in Hachiman Temple. Those who question our authority may go there and get a copy of this document." To this day the *yeta* go to the *matsuri* which is held each year at the Hachiman temples in Kamakura and Kyōto."

The authority of the chief over the members was complete and was summarily exercised.[79] A story is told of a man who sent a drum to one of the *yeta* to be repaired. The workman, in want of money, pawned it for a time, and the owner, not being able to get his drum, complained to the chief. The latter called all his workmen, and the owner picked out the offender. The man confessed, was seized and taken around behind the horse, and in a few moments his head was brought to the owner of the drum. Shocked at such speedy justice, he said that it was his drum, not the man's head, that he wanted; such retaliation for a thing worth only a few *tempō* was cruel. But the chief

79. Where the offence did not concern *yeta* or *hinin* alone, the ordinary police anthorities seem to have retalned some jurisdiction. "It is true that soothsayers, hermits, blind persons, beggars, *yeta*, and vagrants, have of old had their own chiefs. But should they engage in strife or overstep their position and break the laws, it is proper to punish them." 100 Laws of Iyeyasu, Art. 35 (*Mittheil. d. D. Gesells. Ost.*, *Heft* 41, p. 10).

"*Punishment of hinin.* The culprit is to be handed over to the *yeta* Danzayemon whose duty it is to punish *hinin*. *Addendum.* If a *hinin* outside of Yedo is to be punished, it is ordered that the head of the place in question shall carry out the punishment." The *Kujikata Osadamegaki*, (1732) II, Art. 102 (*Mittheil. etc., supra*, p. 103).

"*Yeta* and *hinin* who have been delivered to a head of the *yeta* to undergo proper punishment may like ordinary persons receive the benefit of a pardon." *Sha-ritsu*, (1862) Art. 20 (*Mittheil. etc. supra*, p. 139).

said that the penalty which had been inflicted was the regular one, and that no man of his should be found to fail in the smallest point.

II. The second of these classes was the *Kawaramono* (river-people). These were without fixed homes. Their occupation was that of strolling players, and out of their occupation grew the theatre.

III. The third class was the *Bantarō* (watchman) or *Yamaban* (mountain-watch). These formed a sort of volunteer police, who could be hired by villages and towns, or by private persons for the protection of their property. The large cities had their own police systems, but the *daikwan*, small *daimyō*, and *hatamoto* usually employed *bantarō*. In a village the *bantarō* went every morning to the *nanushi* to inquire if there was anything to be done.

They had no power to arrest without an order, unless in *flagrante delicto*. When an order was desired, it had to be obtained from an officer of the *daikwan* or the *bugyō*, the *nanushi* having no authority in criminal matters. A small prison called *ori* stood near the *bantarō* house, and was used as a temporary place of confinement until the proper official arrived. Arrested persons were bound with cords differing according to the kind of offence; in case of murder with a blue-black one, in case of theft with a light-colored one. *Samurai* were always bound with iron clamps or wristlets, never with cord. The *bantarō* were very skilful in capturing criminals. When a criminal escaped from Yedo, a letter was sent on to the first *bantarō* in the direction taken by the fugitive. Search was begun, and the letter sent on rapidly to the second, to the third *bantarō*, and so on. Sometimes a distance of forty-five *ri* was thus covered in twenty-four hours. The *bantarō*, however, was always a guard or watchman, never a spy. Detection duty was performed by the *okappiki*, under the direction of officials. The *bantarō* themselves were never known to commit a theft or other crime of any kind, and, remarkably enough, they did not even "squeeze" or levy blackmail. They had no house tax. They went about

every morning with a small covered pail, and received from each house the cold victuals left over; this they often sold to beggars. Instead of food, they were sometimes given a cash or two. They were most polite and respectful in their behavior. Their occupation was hereditary, and they could never rise to any higher rank.

III. SUMMARY BY THE EDITOR.

Of the growth of social institutions in Japan not very much has been discovered by Western students. We know something of the chronicles of the ruling class, of its wars, of a few old customs, and of its general political structure at one or two epochs; but of the rise and the change of the various institutions, of the history of landholding,[80] of the development of the manorial and the feudal systems, of the growth of towns, of the guilds and the commercial customs, of the agricultural system, of the local political life, of the village communities, of freeman and serf, tribe and family, country and town, priest and parishioner,—of all these topics and many related ones, we know comparatively little, certainly nothing that is thorough and satisfactory. Our attention has hitherto been taken by the things that are dissimilar and un-Occidental. We have still to turn our attention to those subjects in which we may find a kindred course of development, in which the history of Japan may throw some light on the history of Europe, and may furnish facts which may be grouped with the facts of European development and used as a foundation for contrast and generalization.

Before proceeding to review briefly the subjects of the preceding Notes, something must be said in regard to the collateral importance of the same general class of facts in their bearing on one of the most interesting ethnological problems relating to Japan,—the source of the primitive Japanese people. That problem has now been examined from many points of view,—from the archæological by von Siebold (to name one name only);

80 See the brief but valuable supplement to the "Report on Taxation in Japan," by J. H. Gubbins, Esq., (British Consular Commercial Reports, 1883).

from the zoological, by Blakiston; from the geological, by Milne; from the mythical and traditional, by Chamberlain; from the philological, by Parker; from the anthropological, by Baelz. But from what may be called the institutional standpoint, it still remains to be considered. Yet this aspect must ever be an important one. Take the single set of facts upon which Dr. Simmons is the first to lay the proper emphasis,—the facts relating to early serfdom. The existence of serfdom among primitive peoples points almost always to a greater or less difference between the stock of conquerors and conquered. Given, as in this case, the fact that there was a conquering of Japan by certain primitive immigrants, and we know that there must have been some difference of stock between the invaders and the opposing inhabitants. Further investigation of the nature of the serfdom which ensued would help to decide whether the subjected classes were strictly aborigines or were merely descendants of earlier immigrants from the home of the invaders. A study of the later development of the serfdom would make it clear whether the common people of to-day are to be identified with the primitive serfs. Furthermore the history of early European tenure may be of assistance. In the case of some of the early Germanic tribes, for instance, we find them with families and slaves, settling in new territory and out of their own numbers populating the district and developing into communities. In the case of the Saxon and the Norman conquests of England, on the other hand, we find bodies of warriors descending on an insular population, preserving the existing communities, but bringing them into subjection. It is obvious that the relative number of the serfs and the servile mode of life would differ in the two cases. These instances and others furnish several different types of early communities, in which the history of the conquest and settlement are more or less intertwined with the nature of the serfdom. Given the facts bearing on the kind of serfdom and we may be able to reconstruct the

course of previous history. In the case of Japan, for example, the number of serfs makes it necessary to suppose that the conquest of the country resembled that of England by the Angles and the Saxons. At the same time, we may find, in the history of a given people, that it has at various times partaken of various types. One of the interesting features, in the present instance, is that we find traces in Japan at one time of a development like that of England, at another of a practice of colonization such as characterized the early Germanic tribes, at another of a system resembling the Roman provincial administration. The possibility of reasoning from a tooth or a vertebra to an entire skeleton is not peculiar to zoology alone; and the proper investigation and comparison of the facts bearing on early serfdom in this country would yield rich results to the ethnologist.

As an illustration of the way in which the facts of primitive institutions must be used to verify inferences resting on other grounds, let me call attention to some conclusions reached by the learned Dr. Baelz of the Imperial University. ("*Körperlichen Eigenschaften der Japanischer*," *Mittheil. der D. Ges. Ost.*, *Heft* 28, *s.* 330). These are, briefly, that three ethnical elements are represented among the Japanese people: 1. The Ainos, the original inhabitants of Middle and Northern Japan, but very sparsely represented in the people of to-day: 2. A Mongoloid tribe, resembling the better classes of Chinese and Coreans, immigrating from the continent across Corea, first settling in the south-western part of the main island, and thence spreading over it; this class possesses a slender figure, narrow face, dolichocephalic skull, a fine curved nose, and a small mouth: 3. Another Mongoloid tribe, bearing a distinct resemblance to Malays, first settling in the southern island of Kyūshū, then crossing to the main island and conquering it; this class has a stout frame, short skull, broad face, flat nose, and large mouth, and is preponderant among the common people; it is most purely represented to-day in Satsuma, and includes also the Imperial family.

Now it is not too much to say that when the subject of early serfdom is fully examined it may become necessary to modify these opinions. For they involve the conclusion that substantially the entire present people of Japan are descended from the immigrant invaders. Yet, once it is established that the common people of to-day represent the serfs of the first five centuries of this era, and that the serfs of that day must have been a conquered aboriginal people, an hiatus occurs in the learned writer's analysis; for the race of the common people is not accounted for. His identification of the Satsuma type as that of the Imperial family and of the conquerors of the Izumo dynasty is doubtless sound; but the reference to Satsuma only serves to show the necessity of some modification; for it was precisely in Satsuma that the emphasis of class-differences was greatest, that serfdom continued longest and was most pronounced, and the tracing of the type of the ruling classes in Satsuma leaves the lower classes still unaccounted for. Moreover, the early difference of status being so great between the upper and the lower classes, is it likely that the type of men who became the conquerors of the main island and to-day are found in the Imperial family would also occur most largely among the masses,—in other words, would become at the same time conquerors and serfs? On the other hand, anthropological data, when interpreted according to the facts of early institutions, may be found to tell a different story. Two immigrations by two stocks of invaders are clearly indicated; the conquering of the northern settlement by the southern certainly followed; but perhaps both had originally been conquerors of a native people; and though the two immigrant tribes probably made some kind of a compromise or division of authority, it seems likely that neither was subjected to the other, and that the mass of the inhabitants remained below both. If this was so, the apparent anthropological resemblance between the Satsuma type and the type common among the people must be again examined. Certainly the inferences from data of

that kind are by no means unmistakable; and it is, I believe, the opinion of Dr. Baelz himself that final conclusions in that department have not yet been reached. My purpose in alluding to the subject is merely to suggest that valuable assistance may be gained by examining it anew from the institutional standpoint.

Turning from this ethnological problem, the light thrown by these Notes upon the growth of land tenure and of feudal, local, and family institutions, is not a bright one. They only introduce us to the subject and suggest clues. But even these clues lead us into topics of the deepest interest and importance. We are tempted by what is here given us to speculate on what is not given. The number of analogies that may be traced between the growth of institutions in Japan and in Europe as well as in India and China, while it does not necessarily indicate ethnological relationships (though that aspect is not without some importance in view of the Accadian kinship ascribed by Baelz, Garczynski, and others to the Japanese), portrays a parallelism of development which cannot fail to be of great consequence to the European student of feudalism, land tenure, and local institutions. A few words calling attention to the possibilities of material here indicated will not be out of place.

It is of course not to be expected that we shall find specific resemblance in the land system, early or late, so far as that depends on methods of agriculture. Rice-culture and wheat-culture are essentially different in their requirements. Maine's remark, made in reference to India, is here applicable. "The conditions of agriculture in a tropical country are so widely different from those which at any period can be supposed to have determined cultivation in Northern and Central Europe as to forbid us to look for any resemblances, at once widely-extended and exact, to the Teutonic three-field system. Indeed, as the great agent of production in a tropical country is water, very great dissimilarities in modes of cultivation are produced within India itself by

relative proximity to running streams and relative exposure to the periodical rain-fall." Though Japan is by no means a tropical country, it is characterized by an abandant precipitation of rain, and water is here, as in India, the great agent in rice-cultivation. For any marks of early customs which would have been a result of the three-field system or of the use of the plough, we need not look. The size, therefore, of the plots forming the early units of distribution has no relation to the oblong *agri* or acres; the terms "furlong," "headland," "*anwende*," etc., have no relevance.

In the early division of land the lowest units were all square, as was the Roman provincial unit. We do not find an oblong measure of land until we reach the *tan* (.245 acre), the sides of which were in the proportion of 30 to 12 (later, 30 to 10), and this was composed of a number of these square units. The latter apparently had their origin in the length of a measuring rod used in the setting off of land, but I have not yet learned to what circumstance the length of this rod is to be ascribed. There can be no doubt, however, that its length was determined, just as was that of the European rod, by some peculiarity of the early system of cultivation which made a certain implement of nearly fixed dimension preeminently convenient as a measure of length. The balk, however, was an exigency under either system of cultivation, and this we find in Japan, under the name of *aze*. This, as in Europe was often cultivated. It appears that there were rules determining the appropriation of the grass grown upon it. Whether, as in England, the lord ever claimed any right to its product, does not yet appear. But no one who has seen a Japanese field of to-day can doubt, that the balk, which varies as much in size and direction as it did in England, must have played an almost equally important part in the agricultural economy.

Each portion enclosed within certain of the larger balks bore a name, and such a piece was called "name-land"

(*myō-den*, *mei-den*, *na*).[81] The name once was that of the occupying family. A piece of land, for example, was called "Takehisa-*na*" or "Nagahira-*na*," after its reclaimer. The name did not shift with the occupant, and each owner, no matter how many pieces he possessed, still distinguished by their titles the different "name-lands." That such separate entity should continue for a long space of time is *a priori* probable. Moreover it will be remembered that Dr. Simmons was told that no "name-land" could be mortgaged or subdivided by will. In the *Minji Kwanrei-ruishū* there is mentioned the *ge-fuda*, a certificate copied from the land-register (*nayose-chō*), showing the total possessions of each individual. "In the *ge-fuda*," it is said, "a person's property is recorded as a whole. The different pieces of land do not have each a separate *ge-fuda*. When therefore the owner of several portions of land wishes to sell a single one, it is impossible to do so at short notice, for as the transfer of the *ge-fuda* is necessary, a new *ge-fuda* must be made out, and this can only be done at the time of the revision of the land-register, which ought to occur every March, but in practice takes place only once in about three years." This custom is related of the province of Suwō, and indicates that to a very recent date the "name-land" there preserved its integrity. Even the land-register was called "*nayose-chō*," that is, collection of *na*, or "name-lands." We are here reminded of the fact that the English virgate was often known by a family name, and that it was probably at one time indivisible by succession. In an Essex manor the names of the several owners of a single hide were bracketed; and in some cases the manorial services continued to be assessed as though no subdivision had occurred, and the occupants united to pay the single assessment.

We do not yet know the size of the Japanese "name-

81. *Myō* and *mei* are the Sinico-Japanese, *na* the Japanese, pronunciation of the same character, meaning "name;" *den* means "wet cultivated land."

land," but it is likely that it was much smaller than either the hide or the virgate, perhaps smaller than the acre. It is not possible to determine the size from the assessments named in the *kumi-chō* (see Appendix), for the assessments varied according to the quality of the land. For example, we learn from a document of the period Bunroku (1592-1596) that the four grades *jō-,chū-,ge-*, and *gege-den* (best, medium, poor and poorest rice-land) were assessed respectively, per *tan*, 1.5 *koku*, 1.3 *koku*, and 1.1 *koku*, the lowest grade being left to the discretion of the officers. Under these circumstances a determination of the area of the holdings from such evidence is impossible. There were, however, *mura* and *gun* records which contained not only the quality of each piece of land assessed, but also the area itself. In a *nayose-chō* recently placed in my hands the area of each holding is given; but it is by no means as easy as in the case of the English records to determine the size of the original "name-land" unit, if indeed there was a uniform size, and a thorough collation of various sorts of evidence will be necessary for the purpose.

The "name-lands" in the possession of a single owner, it should be added, were scattered about within certain limits, and it is in this respect that the Japanese system draws near again to that of Western Europe. It is true that the three-field system is in the case of the latter partly responsible; but even within the single fields this scattered ownership appears, and its kinship with the similar phenomena occurring in Japan is not unlikely. What is here needed is the careful examination and collation of as many field-maps as possible. Such documents formed a part of the public records in some villages, and ought to be accessible now. It was the custom in the middle ages, with many large landowners, to make a map of their possessions and transmit it with the title-deeds, and many of these should be available. The study of the arrangement of fields at the present day in the more secluded parts of the interior would afford complementary data of great value.

This subject leads us necessarily to the question of the early distribution of land among the immigrant tribesmen. Back of the manorial system of *shōyen*, which was a later development of the ninth and tenth centuries, we find an account of a method of allotment indicating an earlier stage of tenure similar to the earlier stages traceable in Europe. This was the allotment of *ku-bunden* (mouth-share-land) described in the code *Taihō-ryō*, published 702 A.D. A summary of its important provisions has already been given in these Transactions (vol. VIII, part 2) by Mr. Tarring, but I will here quote from the text as set out in the *Fudōsan*. "A piece of land shall be given to each person in the district where he lives. Even when the boundaries of a district are changed, one does not lose title to land which thereby falls within a different district. Every 6 years an examination will take place, and the number of those who have died will be ascertained. Their land will then be given to those who have reached the proper age or have immigrated since the last distribution. Each male of 5 years of age or over is to receive 2 *tan*, and each female of that age one-third of the amount; but according to the size of the district the quantity may vary. Slaves under public authority shall receive 2 *tan*, and those belonging to individuals shall receive one-third of this amount."[82] But this system, as promulgated in the *Taihō* code, was evidently not merely a new one, but the final stage of a system already passing away. At successive periods in the next two hundred years proclamations commanding an allotment were made, but they seem to have been carried out for a short time and in scattered regions. For one period of forty-eight years no new allotment was made, and in some of the proclamations the law, as if aware of the difficulty of reestablishing the practice, fixes the time for re-distribution at 10 years instead of 6 years. We cannot help feeling that in the epoch before the seventh century, where records are not plentiful, the

82. These amounts were somewhat changed by subsequent legislation.

system of allotment was in full force; and that the *Taihō* legislation was merely a strong effort to preserve from dissolution a system against which circumstances were too powerful. Certainly at that time a process of change was going on. The smaller freemen were falling into the power of the local chiefs. Oppression by subordinate officers and the necessity arising from scanty resources was driving the body of the people into subjection to the powerful landholders. "Many officers of provinces (*kuni-tsukasa*) gave waste land to the people, while they kept the good land. Officers and rich men forced others to exchange good land for poor. Thus people became unable to pay their taxes. The names of deceased persons were not reported, and the *ku-bun-den* began to be held permanently. Names were fraudulently added to the register to secure an extra share in the distribution." (*Fudōsan*). The central Government made decree after decree, denouncing these practices, but without success. After the period Engi (901-922), *ku-bun-den* distribution seems not to have been heard of. Meantime a new impulse was given to the tendency towards the acquisition of large properties and the subversion of small ones. Settlements in the north and east produced a class of powerful landowners, who had brought rich *shin-den* (new land) into cultivation, doubtless by colonies of slaves, and a new military aristocracy began to spring up, out of which came later the government of the Shōgun Yoritomo, with his capital at Kamakura on the eastern coast. Here a process of absorption (to be referred to again), similar to that known in Europe as "commendation," began to take place. The temple lands, too, increased enormously by gifts of land, the owners transforming themselves into tenants. All these influences militated against the *ku-bun-den* distribution, and it disappeared entirely. The most probable view of its significance, as it appears in the *Taihō* code, is that it was the early system adopted for the division of lands among the members of the various tribes, that the circumstances mentioned in the

Fudōsan had before the eighth century begun to weaken this early custom, and that we see it in the *Taihō* code at a time when its dissolution was becoming apparent, and when the vain attempt was made by legislation to prop up a practice which when it was in full force lay only in custom,—in other words, a time when the tendency, seen in early communities, of such a re-distribution to become theoretical only, was beginning to be clear.

It has been pointed out by Sir Henry Maine, if not by others, that where a system of re-distribution exists in a tribal community, the re-distribution at short year-periods denotes an earlier stage of development than the re-distribution at death. In the present case we find the re-distribution occurring at death, and it may be argued that this corroborates the view that the *Taihō* code embodies this practice in its waning period, and that there had been an earlier one when the practice was a general one and consisted in that frequent re-distribution characteristic of many tribal communities.[83]

What is needed is a careful comparison of the distribution systems already known to us in other early tribes with that of early Japan. Considerable light will also thus be thrown on the subject of early serfdom. One collateral benefit of such a comparison will be the necessary abandonment of the ideas of pomp and regal sovereignty which are associated with the early history of the Japanese conquerors. Much harm has been done in this respect in the way of obscuring the true paths of investigation and of concealing important clues. It is not necessary to declare, with the Philistine, that the so-called Emperor Jimmu was only a Tartar pirate; but it is indispensable to recognize that early Japanese history deals with the doings of tribes and clans

83 The learned conclusion of Dr. H. Weipert, proceeding on the authority of the *Densei-hen* (a history of real property), is that the facts are to be explained on another hypothesis, namely, that the distribution system was introduced from China by Kōtoku Tennō (645-655 A.D.), with whose reign is associated the adoption of many Chinese practices, but that it never obtained a firm hold, in spite of governmental efforts. (*Mittheils. d.D. Gesells. Ost.*, *Heft* 43, *p.* 124).

of primitive habits and institutions, that the leaders were chiefs and not emperors, and that their annals have as much human interest and are as capable of rational explanation as are the records of the European tribes whose story is better known to us. It is for this reason that (if I may venture to call in question the conclusions of a learned scholar) one may regret the use, in Professor Chamberlain's translation of the *Kojiki*, of such terms as "Prince," "Suzerain," "Duchess," "Grandee," "Departmental Suzerain," as representing certain elusive terms of the original. Difficult as the task of establishing a nomenclature must be in such a case, one result of the system adopted is to add a glamor of grandeur to the history which cannot but obscure the true simplicity of the records and may perhaps mislead one who is not constantly on the watch to make the necessary mental correction.

Whether or not the distribution of *ku-bun-den* was made on a principle similar to that over which a controversy has arisen among students of European history—the principle of distributing, not equally, but to each head of a family according to the number of slaves, *pro numero cultorum*—is another of the interesting questions. It seems clear that the total holding of each family was made up of the several amounts of land due to each man and woman therein; that is, if there were five men and three women the total holding would be 12 *tan*, and this would be the property of the family as a unit. The same principle was also followed with reference to the holdings of the slaves of the family; in fact, it is out of the question that these can be supposed to have possessed a separate interest in land. The statements of Dr. Weipert, in "*Japanisches Familienrecht*," and Dr. Florenz, in "*Altjapanische Culturzustände*" (see Appendix) make this quite clear. In this way, too, we understand why it is that we meet at the threshold distinctions between the rich and the poor; for in the distribution the preference, it was said, was to be given to the poor,—that is, those already possessing

little or nothing—as against the rich,—those who through the large number of dependants had already received large allotments. The "public slaves" who received the full share of a freeman would seem to have been communities of the conquered native tribes, settled probably in villages of their own, who, submitting in large numbers at one time and by treaties of peace, had not been appropriated by individual invaders, as were those who resisted in battle; and these, though they remained serfs, yet lived in their own communities, and were naturally given a larger share of land. Unless this is true it is impossible to suppose the truth of the statement, already referred to, that *be* was a term applied to tribes or communities of serfs, for there would otherwise be no communities to which the term could refer. This supposition, too, would help to explain the fact that the land of public slaves was *fu-zei-den*, i.e. could not be alienated. It was quite unnecessary to say that slaves of individuals, living in or about the master's homestead, and palpably *adscripti glebae*, could not dispose of land; but it would be important to declare that those who were left in their original communities and were not attached to the household of a freeman should not dispose of their land; for with them the natural tendency would be to treat their land as free from restrictions. The distinguishing mark of such serfs would be, not their mode of residence, but their inability to deal with their land.

A portion of the system of distribution recorded in the *Taihō* code is quite distinct in principle from the *ku-bun-den* allotment, and seems to be the growth of a later time (perhaps at the period *Taihō* it was comparatively new) when the conquest of new regions placed a larger territory at the disposal of the conquering race. Conditions somewhat similar to those attending the Roman conquest of Gaul seem to have resulted in a similar disposition of conquered territory. Circumstances brought it about that the Germanic tribes whose system of distribution, current in purely tribal epochs, had some resemblances to the

ku-bun-den, were not called upon, as were the Romans, to manage the distribution of vast areas distant from their centres of political life. But in Japan the indications are that the same invaders, who in a simpler stage of development employed the *ku-bun-den* system, were later required to administer a large conquered territory, and that certain measures were then adopted, perhaps from China, which resembled the Roman provincial land system and ended in similar results. Large shares of land were given to the administrators of the provinces, and also large discretion in management. To the soldiers were granted amounts of land varying with the grades of service. This land and that given to the officials was free from taxation. The new settlements of the north and east made *shin-den*, —a term which might almost be rendered *latifundia*. The same growth of large estates, and the same oppression by the provincial officials[84] characterized each country. Just as, in the *ager publicus*, the relative standing of the occupants came to be *veterani*, *coloni*, *laeti*, so there was a tendency for the land-endowed soldier to rise in importance as the free owner of a small plot degenerated. The survey of the land, too, based on rectangular units, here resembles the systematic, artificial arrangement of the Romans.

The tendencies alike of the system thus applied to the newly settled *ager publicus* of Japan and of the *ku-bun-den* system in the old land were not different from those which appeared under like influences in Europe. If we do not find, in the condition of affairs which followed, a method of tenure corresponding exactly to the type known as the manorial system, it is at least certain that similar causes were at work and that the result as regards the distribution of land and differentiation of the classes of population was almost precisely the same.

84. In Appendix IV will be found a copy of an interesting protest against official oppression, valuable not only upon that point, but for the various features of the system of taxation and tenure which it incidentally reveals.

In the first place, the strife between local chieftains and the fortunes of war led to the conversion in many regions of free proprietorship into tenancy. The same result came about in other and perhaps more numerous instances through the stress of taxation, which forced the owners of small holdings to better their position by the process of surrendering and receiving back their lands well known as "commendation." The familiar immunity of nobles and large landholders from taxation was here as common as in Western Europe; it was in fact foreshadowed in the *Taihō* code; and beginning with the ninth century we find a continual effort, and a successful one, by the holders of *shoyen* or untaxed land to increase their tax-free holdings by every means in their power. The corresponding distress on the part of the smaller proprietors is also clear. The phrase in many of the deeds of the time is: "This land has been owned by my ancestors for many generations, but now, owing to pressing need, it is transferred to the present purchaser for a price." Another of the parallel traits is the frequency of gifts to temples and the extent of the acquisitions made by ecclesiastical bodies. One deed of the year 1323 shows the process in a nutshell: "This land has been hitherto cultivated by the owners as *ku-bun-den*, but henceforward it is to belong to the temple Tōdaiji, and the cultivators are to render *chishi* (a rent in kind)." One of the common motives for these transfers to temples is apparent in this passage from a deed of the ninth century: "This land was transferred to me by Arata-kimi-ina, when he was dying, with the injunction to transfer it to the temple Tōdaiji; and I now do so, in obedience to his behest. Now Arata will attain happiness in the other world, and I and my descendants will also be blessed forever." One result of this is that here as in Europe some of the richest sources of material for the reconstruction of mediæval institutions are the collections of documents carefully preserved in the temples.

On the whole, even in the present state of our information, we may without risk employ this passage of Dr. Ross's

in describing the condition of things in mediaeval Japan.[85] "The effect of the immunity grants was very remarkable. On the one hand there were certain great lords paying no tax upon their lands. On the other hand there was the mass of the people paying an annual and often a very burdensome tax. The result was that the estates held under immunity grants swallowed up all the rest. The property of the people at large was gathered into the hands of a few men. For the holders of the immunity grants said to those who held them not, 'Give us your lands, and we will give them back to you, and you shall pay for them a fixed rent, which shall be less than the state tax, and unchangeable.' The argument was unanswerable. By it the mass of the people were led to convert their allodial lands into tenures, themselves into tenants. In this way the allodial landlordship, which through the early time had been distributed among the people at large, was gathered into the hands of a few great lords. There was an enormous concentration of property during the Carolingian period. In reading the monastic records, the student should observe how through the eighth and ninth centuries the number of acquisitions from private persons is very large, while after the beginning of the tenth century the kings and great nobles seem to be the only benefactors of the Church. The explanation of this is that the class of small proprietors had almost entirely disappeared. They had no longer any lands to give away."[86]

85. "Early History of Landholding among the Germans," p. 99.

86. Since the above was written, a translation of Mr. Kurida's *Shōyen-kō*, containing the following remarkable passage, has been put into my hands: "*Shōyen*, so-called, arose in several ways. It originally meant land apportioned to members of the Imperial family, or given to some one as reward for meritorious deeds in war or peace, or offered to a temple [for all such land paid no taxes]. But the largest part of the *shōyen* consisted of waste land reclaimed and owned by persons of high rank or great power. This land was cultivated by ordinary subjects. The peasants were very anxious to become cultivators upon such land, because the owners had no Government taxes to pay, and thus the tenants paid a rent much lower than the tax they would have paid to the Government, if they had cultivated other land. The result was that the

What was the result upon the classes of the population? On the one hand the landed nobles came to draw practically the whole revenue of the country. The taxes rendered by

people preferred to be tenants of these powerful families rather than holders of ordinary land. People evaded the payment of taxes by conveying their land to *shōyen* owners and taking refuge under the immunity of the latter. These practices began about the reign of Nimmyō Tennō (834—851 A.D.) and became very common in the reigns of Uda Tennō (888—898) and Daigo Tennō (898—931). From the period Hōki (715—717) the *shōyen* in the hands of priests began to increase in the same way, for people contributed land to temple *shōyen* also. So that the more *shōyen* increased, the less taxes were paid to the Government, until at last both land and people came under *shōyen* ownership and became independent of the central Government." The parallelism of development indicated in this passage and that of Dr. Ross is remarkable, and the coincidence in the tenor of the two extracts is the more striking when we remember that the one quoted in the note was written by a scholar who never saw a book upon European land tenure and until the past summer had never known of the existence of manors and fiefs. That under these circumstances he should have, in his survey of Japanese history, seized the salient points of its development and recognized the leading influences at work is a testimony to his clear perception and critical faculties. We cannot but regret that it is not possible for him to treat this historical material in the light of European history and analogies, for we shall probably never see a Japanese scholar more fitted for the task by natural capacity and by thorough acquaintance with the original sources of information.

The passage above quoted shows anew how inviting a field there is here for the student of European feudalism and tenure, and how much interest would lie in the tracing of similar influences. The points at which Japanese and European feudalism touch are numerous enough to attract the student of the latter, and yet the points of difference are enough to enable us to feel that we are examining a new species of the same genus, not merely a new instance of the species, and are thus enlarging our generalizations.

As to the etymology of the word *shōyen*, it is sometimes said that it was synonymous with *mei-den* or new land; the inference being that the growth of *shōyen* was due in the beginning to the extension of new settlements. Another opinion, and probably a better one, is that *shōyen*, garden-land, signified the portion about the residence, *taku-chi* or *yashiki-chi*, such residence-land being untaxed. Thus, under the pretence of enlarging their gardens, the large land-owners and the nobles assimilated new territory, until *shōyen* lost its former significauce and acquired a new one.

the mass of the cultivators were now due to the territorial lords, not to the central Government. This seems to have been the immediate cause of the decline of the Mikado's power. Whatever indirect causes may have been of prime importance, the lack of revenue, a sort of political anaemia, must have been the direct cause of the ultimate loss of authority.[87] Among the territorial aristocracy thus formed no equilibrium was permanently attained until the genius of Iyeyasu established it; and this endured until the advent of the foreigners in the present century supplied the shock necessary to destroy it.

On the other hand the classes below the territorial nobles and independent landed proprietors were constantly assimilated, to a greater or less degree. The small free proprietors became free tenants; the serfs became servile tenants. The freemen degenerated in position; the serfs rose somewhat. A general class of cultivators arose, single in being separated widely from the landed nobles, but multiple in that it contained well-marked subdivisions, resting more or less distinct. It has been said that the cultivators of the Gaul of the seventh century might be classed as follows, (a) free tenants rendering services, (b) servile tenants rendering baser services, each of these distributed under manors which were either (1) ecclesiastical or (2) private, the latter being divisible according as they had arisen by private appropriation or by the usurpation of one having public official authority. This description may with little hesitation be applied to the condition of Japan a few centuries later.

87. One of the Imperial decrees, directed towards the prevention of a further increase of *shōyen*, and dated 1127 A.D., recites the following state of affairs: "Those who have become tenants in *shōyen* never return to their former status; and the *shōyen* are all filled with farmers, while the public land in the *gun* and *gō* is left wild and uncultivated."

It is worth noting that in the same decree it is stated that "the *shōji* (officers put in charge of *shōyen* by the owners) are earnestly inviting holders of public land to become tenants of the *shōyen*," an exact parallel to the attitude of the European barons as delineated in the above passage of Dr. Ross.

One of the subjects which, if thoroughly known, would contribute great light in the verification of this description, is that of manorial services. Obviously the distinction between free and servile tenancy must rest almost entirely on the nature of the services rendered, and it is just here that at present but little information can be offered. In the Japanese literature of taxation, however, a large amount of material is waiting, and the documentary sources will also prove abundant. Even as it is, many familiar traces may be detected. The services of mediæval times in Japan were rendered with money, with the products of the soil, and with labor. There were *precariae* as well as fixed services. One cannot expect to find the same products rendered or the same labors performed as in Europe. *Mutatis mutandis*, however, the general nature of the duties and the methods of performance were entirely parallel. In an old temple document the following list of services is given: "The occupants of this piece of land will render these things to the Atsuta temple:

"In the first month,——; in the second, turnip and dock; in the fifth, a *shiba-dengaku* (a kind of play) and the labor of one man to clean the temple enclosure; in the sixth the labor of one man to plant rice on the temple land; in the seventh, a stand for offerings; in the eighth, a contribution for the expenses of the temple; in the ninth, the same; in the eleventh, turnip and dock." Each *han* or daimiate seems to have developed, in later times, a system of labor services by which land of a given area or assessment was to furnish the labor of one man for a given number of days in each year. These services included, besides the ordinary work of cultivation, the furnishing of transportation, the repairing of roads and buildings, the manufacture of cloths of different kinds, and other incidents found also in the European manors and fiefs. A commutation of personal services into the payment of money or of cloths and other articles also took place in the later periods. It is reasonable to suppose that further investigation would reveal a development similar to that which

occurred in the history of European services, a progress from continuous and indefinite amounts and kinds to periodical, limited, and definite amounts and kinds, from incommutable personal labor to labor commutable into monetary units and payable in money. At an earlier period, too, we see traces of another interesting phenomenon in the history of services,—the change from voluntary offerings to regular obligations.

We are here brought to consider briefly the constitution of the *han* and the *shōyen*. Just as the English manor was chiefly made up of a number of "hams" or "tuns," so a number of *mura* went to make up a *shōyen*, and a *han* represented simply several clusters of similar communities. There were of course castles and castle-towns, forest land and waste; yet the *mura* was in its relations to the territory of the feudal lord almost identical with the "ham." Even in the names of places at the present day we find the suffix *-mura* playing the same part as -ham,-tun,*-dorf*. Forest and waste land seems to have been, as in Europe, partly in the hands of the lord, partly in those of the villages. Of the number of *mura* under the various lords and of the relative arrangement it is as yet impossible to speak with certainty. In one document we find a man conveying seven *mura*. In a list of the assessed products of the different parts of the fief called *I-garō*, made in 1587, we find two castle towns and twenty-three villages included. The terminations of the village names show the varied character of the territory embraced,—forest, mountain-pass, upland, and lowland. Much will be revealed when something has been done in the way of collating and examining the local maps of the time and of reconstructing the various *han* and *shōyen*.

Something has already been said (in the foot-notes to the Notes) on the analogy between seneschal and *daikwan* or *kōri-bugyō*. It should be said that the account of these officers given in the Notes refers only to the smaller districts. In each *han* of any size there was of course a central administrative office controlling the various *bugyō*

and other officers, and a study of this central system has yet to be made. It was the chief counsellors and managers of these central offices who took such a leading part in the efforts which resulted in the overthrow of the Shōgunate, and the sterling capacity for government which they have since exhibited may be ascribed in some degree to their training and experience as administrators of the fiefs.

The suggestion has been made (in the foot-notes to the Notes) that the *toshiyori*, though not the *shōya* or the *nanushi*, corresponded to the *præpositus* of the English manor. In the north-east, however, we have still to face the fact that the position of *nanushi*, at first hereditary, was afterwards filled by choice among the members of a given family, and finally by unrestricted election. There is in this some indication of an office not superimposed by a central Government, but local in its origin,—a chief or village headman, at first holding by virtue of family rank, but afterwards by general choice. The subject is still necessarily obscure.

Of the *faber*, the *carpentarius*, and other village mechanics, almost officers, certainly public servants, who occur so generally in Indian and European village communities, neither the Notes nor other material at hand afford any information. It is observable, however, that the system of payment used in the case of these men was applied to the compensation of some of the *mura* public servants; for it will be remembered that the *nanushi* was paid in part, the *kumi-gashira* and the *toshiyori* in many cases entirely, by *hiki-daka* or exemption from local taxation; while the *nanushi* was sometimes paid by the setting apart of a piece of land whose revenue was devoted to his salary.

The Notes of Dr. Simmons, so far as they relate to the interior life of the *mura* are obviously concerned with the facts of a comparatively recent period and of districts where the greatest movement towards independence had occurred. Whatever may have been the case in those

regions where the incidents of feudalism remained longest, in the Tokugawa dominions,—the principal field of observation for both Mr. Ōtomo, Dr. Simmons' chief informant, and the author himself,—where the Government had become really only a great landlord and where there had been a strong tendency towards uniformity of tenure and services, we find that the old distinctions between classes, so far as they had been clearly marked by different relations with the territorial lord, had disappeared, and the class differences had become essentially social. The traditional position of certain families was now seen in the predominant influence which they enjoyed in directing the affairs of the *mura*. The order of precedence was distinctly marked and strictly preserved. In the *yoriai* or assembly it determined the seats of the various members. It had weight in the decision of debated points. We cannot now certainly distinguish the descendants of freemen and those of serfs, nor the villages of freemen and those of serfs; nor can we estimate the relative numbers of each. In the class-distinctions (*osa-byakushō*, *neoi*, *kyū-ka*, etc.) already pointed out, we are strongly reminded of the structure of the village communities in the Punjab and elsewhere; and it can hardly be doubted that we shall find these and other terms to be more or less connected with historical differences between freeman and serf, proprietor and tenant, family or clan villages and colonies. In the practice of admitting outsiders as *mizunomi* and of promoting *mizunomi* to become *kosaku*, we have very clear analogies to the way in which Saxon *servi* became *cottarii*, and to the practice in India and elsewhere of admitting outsiders, often "broken" men, to the lowest place in the community. *Mizunomi*, "water-drinkers,"—that is, men having nothing to sustain life but water—expresses in a similar way the abject condition of these recruits from other regions.

This material of recent times becomes important in its bearings on the subject of communal property. In

one sense the facts of Japanese village life have a special importance; they show how many communal customs, apparently purely local in origin, were the result of superimposed laws. It is possible that the numerous instances of this sort may be suggestive and helpful in the examination of Western village communities. Take, for example, the cultivation of the land of a deserting farmer by his *kumi* or by the village. Nothing could at first sight point more clearly to a certain community of property, a corporate holding of land by the village. But on further examination this custom proves to have been commanded by the Government, with the object of preventing a diminution of revenue. Take, again, the necessity of obtaining the seal of the *nanushi* for all transfers of land, in mortgage or absolutely. This, we suspect at once, is analogous to the necessity of the consent of the kinsmen or villagers to the alienation of land, noticeable in early communities. Yet in Japan a law of the Shōgunate required it; and even though we may yet discover that the Shōgunate merely sanctioned an existing custom (which is unlikely), we have nevertheless seen the necessity for caution and for a thorough examination of all the apparently local customs having a communal character. In the foot-notes to the Notes I have for this reason endeavoured to cite all accessible laws bearing on the customs described by the author. Some means of testing such customs may be afforded by further work on the same lines. In certain volumes, for instance, of the collection of decisions and statutes called *Tokugawa Kinrei-kō*, are to be found minute rules governing the mode of cultivation of mortgaged land, etc., etc.; and such sources must be examined before final conclusions are reached.

We must, too, draw a distinction, here as elsewhere, between earlier communal customs arising from family, house community, or tribal life, and later ones arising from the existence of a superior authority, that is, from the corporate responsibility imposed in many ways

by the manorial or feudal lord upon the communities of cultivators. Phenomena of the latter sort are perhaps not welcome to those who are interested in proving the theory of a primitive tribal and village community of property; the tracing of many communal customs to an origin no further back than the manorial system has furnished the opponents of that theory with plentiful material. These facts have in Japan also an interest and importance. They differ from the examples given above, for in those cases the practice has in no sense become a custom, a habit of local life; it is always a thing commanded, the direct result of a law; while in these instances the practice is only the indirect result of a law of the superior, and its form is determined by local choice. These include all those customs which flow from the fact that the *mura* was from the standpoint of the lord the producing unit. The necessity of the *mura's* consent for the use of forests and for the sale of any part of the common forest, the local settlement of local taxes, the power of returning confiscated land to a repentant deserter,—these were some of the more direct results. Perhaps the only custom, mentioned in the Notes, which might be claimed as a distinct mark of the early tribal community is the necessity of the consent of all the farmers to the settling of strangers on village land. But even this case is not an unmistakable one and at best throws no light on the question whether the land was merely held in common in undivided shares or was held by the village as a corporate body. It must be left to future investigations to determine clearly what practices, if any, would be characteristic of an early tribal community of freemen and what practices point merely to the community of interest characteristic of later manorial villages. There are as yet no data of this sort sufficient to assist in the solution of the mooted question whether the community of property of later mediæval villages is a result of manorial or other later influences or isa remnant of an earlier tribal communism. The

whole subject of the common property of the *mura* is yet to be examined; but, unfortunately, the material is not easily available.

It remains to call attention to a few customs of a miscellaneous character, which may serve to show that the interest of the material we are considering is broader than the subjects that have been touched upon.

The family was of course the unit of social life, and the coherence of the family, with the practices and institutions involved in it, was still a marked feature. Although there existed a Government prohibition against the sale of land, it will be remembered, as Dr. Simmons states, that there was a strong dislike to alienate a family inheritance,—a sentiment noticed particularly in India and elsewhere. We find, too, that, in this respect a distinction was made, as in India, between inherited property and property reclaimed or acquired from others. It is stated, in the *Minji Kwanrei-ruishū*, that in some districts *shin-den* (new land) alone could be sold (and it is noticeable that Tosa, of which this statement is made, is a region where the early customs have been extremely well preserved); and a similar rule is laid down in some of the mediæval family codes (*Hausgesetze*), such as *Shin-ko Shikimoku*, providing that inherited land should not be sold to any but nobles. A similar characteristic sentiment, the unwillingness to alienate to strangers, has already been noticed in the practice of requiring unanimous consent for the admission of new reclaimers of *mura* land: and in Echigo (as noticed in one of the foot-notes) alienation of land to fellow-villagers alone was allowed.

The distribution of a patrimony during the life of the father was quite common in mediaeval and even later times. The retirement (*inkyo*) of the father followed as a matter of course, and in the account (in the Appendix) of the Hida House Communities is noticed a peculiar consequence of this, that the father thereafter eat *hiye*, with the rest of the family, while the son alone eat rice. In the land-registers of *mura* one notices num-

bers of plots designated *inkyo-bun*, the portion of one who has become *inkyo*, and there seems to have been a system of nonalienable settlements somewhat resembling our own.

Upon the question of primogeniture I have no information throwing any light. It may be noticed, however, that, as has been observed in India and elsewhere, the eldest son often takes not the whole, but only the largest share of the patrimony. The frequency of adoption suggests interesting questions. It seems hardly possible to explain it entirely on grounds of the desire for the perpetuity of the family. More than one fact—for instance, the occurrence of laws forbidding adoption just before death—points to the desire to evade customary restrictions on alienation as an important influence.

The strength of the ties of what has been called Literary Fosterage, observable alike in Japan, in India, and in early Ireland; the existence here as in India of an hereditary class of persons outside the social pale—the *yeta*,—whose touch was impure and who followed special occupations and lived in separate quarters; the widespread employment in later times of a system of suretyship not based on family; the *gonin-gumi* system, which seems for the past three hundred years to have been not much different in principle from the Anglo-Saxon *frith-guild;* the system of long-term mortgages, closely paralleled in India, and suggesting the *beklemregt* of Groningen; the *yei-gosaku*, or emphyteusis, a variety of a tenure well-known in Europe;—these and numerous other customs and institutions, as yet almost wholly unexamined, may be cited as evidences of the opportunities that exist here for the student of comparative institutions.

It must be understood, however, that the analogies that have been noticed in calling attention to these opportunities are put forth as suggestive and tentative only. An effort has been made merely to point out the possibilities of a comparative study of Japanese and European institutions. The writer does not pretend to more than

an amateur knowledge of the European literature of the subject; and even if it were not so, the Japanese evidence is as yet too slender to admit of drawing final conclusions.

What is now needed is the utilization of the stores of original material to be found in the temples, a few libraries, and numberless family treasure-chests. It must be admitted—and without discredit to Japanese scholars—that the volumes written upon the subject in Japanese are beyond a certain point useless. Learned and accomplished as their authors are, they have never looked at the subject from the standpoint of the European scholar, for their training has made it impossible. The result is that the facts which the European student wishes are not to be found in their books. The solution of the problems on modern scientific lines can be attained only through the younger generation, trained under modern methods, or through foreign students having before them the material to be investigated. That this result in no way casts disparagement upon the enormous industry and the vast acquisitions of the older generation of Japanese scholars need hardly be said. That it is inevitable, they themselves are the first to admit. It is to-day a subject of deep regret to more than one of the most eminent that it is too late for them to attempt to make acquaintance with European scientific literature. Cöoperation in work between the older and the younger generation would seem to be the only method of utilizing fully their accumulated stores of learning. It is to such of the younger scholars as Kaneko, Miyazaki, Matsuzaki, Suzuki, and others that we must look for immediate and strenuous efforts to make accessible the material that exists so abundantly. It is not unlikely that the Japanese Government will come forward in a liberal spirit and give official assistance in the rescue and preservation of the documentary treasures. If, as in the case of the treasures of art, a commission could be appointed to visit the temples to collect, examine and classify the records they contain, and to publish translations of a part or of the whole, the

first and most important step will have been taken towards the solution of the historical questions that are forcing themselves upou our attention, and a lasting benefit will have been conferred upon science.

APPENDIX.

I. SPECIMENS OF KUMI-CHŌ.

1. *An anonymous kumi-chō.*[1]

1. A *kumi* is formed by uniting the five families that are nearest to each other, whether they are *jikari*, *kosaku*, *mizunomi*, or of any other class.
2. Filial piety and faithful service to a master should be a matter of course, but when there is any one who is especially faithful and diligent in those things, we promise to report him to the *daikwan* for recommendation to the Government. [There are cases where for especial merit of this kind taxes have been remitted or a money reward given. The name of the person thus distinguished is inscribed on a large board hung at the entrance of the *mura* and bearing the announcement *Shoyaku Go-men.* "All Taxes Remitted."]
3. If any member of a *kumi*, whether farmer, merchant, or artisan, is lazy and does not attend properly to his business, the *ban-gashira* will advise him, warn him, and lead him into better ways. If the person does not listen to this advice, and becomes angry and obstinate, he is to be reported to the *toshiyori*. As fathers, sons, members of families, relatives, and fellow-villagers, we will endeavor to live in peaceful and kindly relations; as members of a *kumi*, we will cultivate friendly feeling even more than with our relatives, and will promote each

1 This translation was found among the papers of the author. Neither the original of the translation, nor the name of the *mura* or *kumi* from which it came, nor any translation of the signatures, appeared among the papers. The clauses in brackets are by the author.

other's happiness as well as share each other's griefs. If there is an unprincipled and lawless person in a *kumi*, we will all share the responsibility for him.

4. Every year, between the first and the third month, we will renew our *shūmon-chō*. If we know of any person who belongs to a prohibited sect, we will immediately inform the *daikwan* and strictly observe the rules on that subject placarded in different places. Servants and laborers shall give to their masters a certificate declaring that they are not Christians.
5. In regard to persons who have been Christians but have recanted,—if such a person comes to or leaves the village, by reason of marriage, adoption, or otherwise, we promise to report it to the *daikwan*.
6. If a *nanushi*, *shōya*, *kumi-gashira*, or *toshiyori* is objectionable, we will not secretly combine to remove him, but will declare our wish to the *daikwan* and ask his permission.[2]
7. We recognize the seals used in this *kumi-chō* and in the *shūmon-chō* as the binding seals in all matters in which a seal is necessary. If the seal of a *nanushi*, *kumi-gashira*, or *toshiyori* is lost or burned, the new one is to be registered at the office of the *daikwan*; if that of any other person, at the office of the *nanushi* or *toshiyori*.
8. We will obey the law of the Government against selling our land, and if we mortgage our land, we will not do so for a term longer than ten years, and will always have the mortgage sealed by our *kumi* and by the *nanushi*.
9. We will not buy any of the property of temples nor take a mortgage on it.

2 *Kumi-gashira* in this document apparently is the chief of a *kumi*. The word *shōya*, occurring in this article after *nanushi*, is clearly an error in translation, for there was never a *shōya* in the same village with a *nanushi*.

10. We will not buy or receive in pawn any article of clothing, any metal ornament, or other thing whatever that is stolen property.
11. As *nanushi* we will buy and wear silk and build fine homes, but will not otherwise indulge in luxury and extravagance.
12. On occasions of receiving a bride or performing the ceremony of adoption, we will not, merely because it occurs only once in a life-time, be foolishly extravagant.
13. At the time of a great wind-storm, rain-storm, drought, or visitation of insects, the Government, as is the custom, may give food to starving farmers, or those who are well off may lend food or seed to the *mura;* still, if the misfortune should continue for years even the Government could not continue to supply us. For this reason we will try—all who can—to store away some of our surplus crops, if any.
14. Whatever our business or occupation, we will not neglect it,[3] nor waste time in amusements of any kind, nor engage in unlawful practices, nor urge people to engage in law suits. If there are any of our number who are unkind to parents or neglectful or disobedient, we will not conceal or condone it, but report it [probably to the *toshiyori*, for this is the spirit of his office.]
15. When men who are quarrelsome and who like to indulge in late hours away from home will not listen to admonition, we will report them. If any other *kumi* neglects to do this, it will be a part of our duty to do it for them.
16. In case of over-taxation or the need of food or seed in times of scarcity, where a demand for redress or an appeal of any kind is made by combining and by

3 "Each class of the people shall apply itself to its own business, and not attempt to rise above its station." 100 Laws of Iyeyasu Art. 63 (*Mittheil. d. D. Gesells. Ost.*, *Heft* 41, p. 15, *infra*).,

using force against the Government officials,—such means of redress we declare improper and dangerous and not to be employed.

17. If a young man who has been temporarily in the service of a *daimyō* or *hatamoto* and has thus obtained the privilege of wearing two swords returns to his village, he is not to continue to wear them, as this is contrary to ancient custom, and we, the *kumi*, *nanushi*, and *toshiyori*, will consider ourselves responsible in the matter.

18. Gambling or any practices like gambling, it goes without saying, are wrong; and we will not engage in them, nor rent our houses or permit them to be used for such purposes. Nor will we make any contract for the labor or services of any person for a longer term than ten years, nor will we make such a contract for more than one year with any person who does not furnish a proper person as guarantee.

19. If the servant or laborer is a relative, or the relative of a person well known to the employer, and the *nanushi* and *kumi* are consulted, it will be sufficient. If any trouble of a legal nature befalls the guarantor, we, the *kumi*, will give our assistance to prevent trouble and to smooth matters.

20. So far as possible we will choose for adoption those who are relatives or members of the family. But if only a female remains, and there is among the relatives and family members no male of proper age, then we will select from without. Even if there is a son, still if he is a bad fellow and the repeated advice of *nanushi*, *toshiyori*, *kumi*, and relatives is not listened to, he may be rejected as heir, if the reasons are properly laid before the *nanushi* by the father and his *kumi*, and a bloodless (i. e. unconnected by blood) person may be adopted. [It would seem that in this *mura* the consent of the relatives to disinheritance was not necessary.] If there are three or four sons, and the eldest is sickly,

or is incorrigibly bad, unkind to parents, and disobedient, and the father thinks he is not justified in making him the heir, he can make the second or other son the heir, upon consulting with the *kumi* and reporting to the *nanushi*.

21. No one who has less than ten *tan* of land can divide it among his children; all land beyond this amount may be divided. A son other than the eldest may be put to any business that will give him a living; if he is not capable in such matters, he may be bound out (*hōkō-nin*.)

22. Every one in the *mura* must take care to prevent fires. If one occurs, the whole *mura* must assist in extinguishing it and in preventing its spread. In case of robbers, too, everyone must turn out. *Nanushi* and *toshiyori* will carefully inquire into the cause of any delinquency in this respect.

23. If any one goes away to a neighboring *mura* to remain over three days, *kumi*, *nanushi*, and *toshiyori* will be informed; the same notice will be given on leaving for a distant place to take service, on business, or for pleasure.

24. No person not having a *nimbetsu-chō* is to be allowed to remain even one night in the *mura*.[4] When a stranger dies in the *mura*, notice must be given to the *nanushi*. When a stranger arrives wounded or otherwise injured, a doctor is first to be called, and then the case reported to the *nanushi*.

25. Any person coming from another part of the country and asking permission to live in the *mura* will be permitted to do so, on giving his *nimbetsu-chō* and naming a responsible person as security.

26. Priests, *yama-bushi* (fortune-tellers), *dōshin*, any *hinin* who come to a *mura* must be carefully watched, and if objectionable must be sent off.

4. See the *Kujikata Osadamegaki*. II, Art. 25 (*Mittheil.* etc., *supra*, p. 72). "Punishment of those who harbor persons having no *nimbetsu-chō*."

27. If any robbers or company of bad persons appear in a *mura*, the officers must be immediately notified.
28. If a stranger passing through the *mura* is taken ill a doctor must be called, and if the illness is serious, means must be taken to send him to his home as soon as possible. The *nanushi* and the *daikwan* must also be notified.
29. Street-shows cannot exhibit without permission from the *daikwan*.
30. *Joro* (prostitutes), *yaro* (low fellows), and *kagema* (boys used for sodomy), are not to be permitted in the *mura*, and if they arrive from other parts, houses are not to be rented to them.[5]
31. Children are not to be abandoned, no matter how poor the parent.[6] [Poor persons in distress often sold their children, rarely into prostitution, sometimes as *geisha*, and most often as laborers in the silk districts. The common term in the last case was from three to seven years. If the child was between seven and ten years old, an advance of one *yen* a year was given; if older, sometimes from three to five *yen*.—Intelligence offices for men and for women and for all kinds of employment existed in Yedo.]
32. Horses and cattle must not be driven off to other villages. [This was an easy method of avoiding payment for the burial of an aminal who was at the point of death and useless.] When a stray animal is found, it must be returned to the owner, if he is known; otherwise, an officer must be notified.

5. "Prostitutes, female dancers, young boys used for improper purposes, and people who wander about at night, must inevitably exist in cities and flourishing towns in the country; although men's morals are often corrupted by them, yet greater evil would arise, if they were strictly prohibited. On the other hand games at dice, drunkenness, and debauchery, are strictly forbidden."

100 Laws of Iyeyasu, Art. 86 (*Mittheil.* etc., *supra* p. 19. *infra*).

6. See the *Kujikata Osadamegaki*, I, Art. 62 (*Mittheil.* etc., *supra*, p. 58), "Ordinance forbidding the abandonment of children."

Cattle and horses must not be bought unless the sellers are known to be the owners.

33. The building of new *tera* (Buddhist temples) and *miya* (Shintō temples) is forbidden. Shrines, stones inscribed with Buddhist prayers, stone images, and commemorative tablets, are not to be erected. If there are old ones they may be preserved, but new ones are not to be built.[7]

34. As little money as possible is to be spent on *matsuri*. If the priest of a temple is changed, the *daikwan* must be notified.

35. The permission of the *daikwan* must be obtained whenever a temple is opened to the public for worship. No images are to be brought from other *mura*.

36. None but licensed hunters (*ryōshi*) are permitted to hunt birds and aminals. [This was a special business and paid a tax]. Even these are not to kill storks or *hakuchō* (a kind of goose). [These were the Shōgun's game only: not even a *daimyō* could kill them.] If these birds are seen of offered for sale in any *mura*, the *daikwan* must be immediately notified.

37. Only *ryōshi* may carry guns. If others use them secretly, they will be punished. A *ryōshi* may lend his gun to a son or a relative; but if a *ryōshi* dies, his son must obtain a new permit for the use of the gun.

38. Trees and grass in the Shōgun's forest and trees along the great roads (*kaidō*) must not be cut without permission from the *daikwan*. Even in private forests large trees must not be cut without such permission.

39. Where trees or their branches in the Shōgun's forests or along the great roads have been broken

7 See the *Kujikata Osadamegaki*. I, Art. 37 (*Mittheil.* etc., *supra*. p. 54), "Ordinance relating to the Shintō and Buddhist religions..... Nothing new shall be undertaken."

off or are decayed, the *nanushi* must report to the *daikwan*. When a road is cut through the forest for the purpose of removing trees cut by government order, the expense of replanting the portion cut out for a road must be reported by the *nanushi* to the *daikwan*.

40. No new permits for *sake* manufacture, in addition to those now existing, shall be given.
41. The farmers must attend to their business diligently. The best seed must be selected and great care taken as to the time of sowing and planting. That they should look well after the fields and the water-supply is to be expected. The *nanushi* and the *toshiyori* must from time to time inspect their work. They must inquire into it, if any fail to attend to their work for any cause; and if sickness is the cause, they must see that the *kumi* assist in the work of cultivation.
42. Where land is left uncultivated for a long time because of an overflow, etc., and some one afterwards brings it under cultivation, this must be reported. If not, the *nanushi* and the *toshiyori* will beheld responsible.
43. Where mountain land, swamp land, or flowed land is brought under cultivation, it must be done in winter, so as to save time.
44. All drains must be looked after carefully.
45. During a freshet the *nanushi* and the *toshiyori* with the farmers must turn out and prevent the dikes from breaking. Minor repairs of roads and bridges must be immediately attended to, but matters of great expense may be reported to the *daikwan*.
46. Large undertakings necessary for irrigation the Government will assume. Estimates for food to be supplied by the Government to the laborers coming from each *mura* must be sent in advance. If on the great roads despatch is required by the Government or by a *daimyō* and extra horses are required

from the farmers, care must be taken to notify the farmers in advance, so as not to cause delay. Attention and care must be given not only in the case of merchants paying high price for transportation, but also in the above case, so that an average will be reached [since they carried for the government and *daimyō* at a relatively low price].

47. Transportation facilities on the great roads must be supplied so as to cause as little delay as possible to those requiring them.

48. All the expenses of a *mura* office—pens, paper, ink, etc,—and of the officers when engaged in public business must be kept account of in duplicate, and at the first of the year be submitted by the *nanushi* to the *daikwan*. When the account has received the stamp of the latter, it is to be returned to the farmers for their approval; when all have approved, it is to be paid.[8] Where any important improvement for the *mura* is contemplated, the larger farmers as well as the officers must meet and decide as to the need of the work and the amount to be assessed on each farmer. The estimate must be made out in duplicate, one copy being deposited with the *daikwan*, and no other estimate will be valid.

49. Neither at the time of assessing an abatement of taxes on account of short crops (*kemmi*) nor at any time may presents of any kind be made to the *daikwan*, his wife, or his servants, nor are loans

8 "General taxes and other imposts, as well as *mura* taxes, are annually to be recorded in books by the *nanushi* and *kumi-gashira*, and after they have been exhibited to determine their correctness, the latter are to affix their seals and the *nanushi* and *kumi-gashira* are to certify with their seals at the close of the document.

"Although these rules are not new, there are places where they are not observed, and litigation is often the result. Hereafter they are to be observed without fail."

The *Kujikata Osadamegaki*, I, Art. 32 (1740) (*Mittheil.* etc., *supra*, p. 54).

of rice or of money to be made under any circumstances to the *daikwan* or to members of his family. If such things occur, even other *mura* will be held responsible for disclosing the name of the *mura* where it has been done.

50. When the *daikwan* or his officers are travelling through their district on business, and stop at a house for the noon meal or at night, the food to be set before them is fixed at one course of fish or vegetables and one course of rice and plain relish. Nothing more must be eaten or called for or set before them. The host is responsible for any violation of this rule. [There were no hotels in the smaller villages, and it was the custom for the *daikwan*, therefore, to lodge with the *nanushi* or one of the large farmers. But if he took any other food than the established allowance, he had to pay for it at a fixed rate].

51. When an abatement of taxes is made on account of short crops, it is announced to the *nanushi* by a letter from the *daikwan*. [This was copied by the *nanushi* and affixed in a conspicuous place at the *kōsatsu-ba* (place for public announcements) for inspection by all the farmers from the largest to the smallest, and all who were content affixed their signatures. Whoever was not content could appeal again to the *daikwan;* this appeal could not be refused, but must be reported to the Government.]

After the tax rice has been taken by the farmer to the storehouse, a receipt is to be given for it by the *nanushi*.

The tax estimate of the *daikwan* and the estimate of *mura* expenses must not be made at the same time. [This was probably in order to avoid making both calls on the poor at the same period. In general the tax was paid at the last of the year. *Daimyō* required this, but in the Shōgun's dominions

a later date was customary, so as to make it easier to pay.]

If any one runs away because of his inability to pay his tax, the *kumi*, *nanushi*, and *toshiyori* are responsible for the tax.

52. Tax rice must be of good quality. Broken rice and partly filled bags must not be handed in. [Inside every bag of rice was a tag (*naka-fuda*) telling the *kuni*, *kōri*, and *mura* where it was packed, and the names of the *nanushi*, the inspector, and the measurer. Outside was a *soto-fuda*, containing the names of *kuni*, *kōri*, and *mura*, and of the tax-payer, with the date and the weight. In shipping the rice by sea great care was taken, and with each cargo went a man (the *kumi-gashira*?), called *uwanori* (outside-rider) to see that it was not stolen by sailors, or otherwise lost. On its arrival the *uwanori* was to notify the *daikwan*, and on the same day to take a note of the condition of each bag. If while waiting in charge of the rice he went to places of amusement or houses of prostitution, or if he bribed any of the Government officials, severe penalties were inflicted.]

53. While the rice is at the storehouse of the *mura* (*gō-gura*) the people of the *mura* must watch it, to prevent theft or fire. If the rice is lost or destroyed before the Government official has given his receipt for it, the loss falls on the *mura*; if afterwards, on the Government.[9]

The foregoing rules must be carefully observed. Every year they must be read to the people, and each must affix his seal.

9 According to a *kumi-chō* quoted in *Chihō Seido-tsū*, the grain was to be at the risk of the *mura* until it reached Yedo.

2. *Kumi-chō from Kobayashi mura Minami-Kuwata gun, Kameoka Han, (near Kyōto.)*[10]

Regulations presented by us concerning our gonin-gumi.

1. As it is considered necessary to reform our *gonin-gumi* system, established in obedience to your order, we hereby, in accordance with your wish, form all the inhabitants into *gonin-gumi*,—including tenants, servants, wives, and children, as well as house owners. But, in forming the *kumi*, we shall take care not to form them exclusively of near relations or intimate friends; we shall put together all classes of people; and those who refuse to enter a *kumi* shall be punished. Whoever abandons his *kumi* shall be reported by the *nanushi*, the *toshiyori*, and the *hyakushō-dai*, and upon investigation shall be punished.
2. We shall require children to respect their parents, servants to obey their masters, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, to live in harmony, and the young to revere and cherish their elders,—in short, we will endeavor to lead the people to walk righteously. Whoever fails to do so shall without fail incur your punishment.

   On the other hand, if any person is distinguished by obedience to parents, diligence in duties, or praiseworthy conduct in any other matters, he shall be reported by us and rewarded by you.[11]

10. The original of this translation is a copy of the original document kindly sent to me by Mr. Kitagaki Kunimichi, Governor of Kyōto. Unfortunately the copy contained neither date nor signatures, and I have not been able to secure them.

11. "Ingratitude to parents is to be punished."

Buke-shohatto of 1617, *Art.* 21 (*Mittheil. d. D. Gesells. Ost., Heft* 41, p. 15).

3. All *samurai* living in our district shall be considered as farmers. All tradesmen and farmers, when they are met on the road by any person of *samurai* rank or by the retainer of such a person, shall, if on horseback, dismount and wait until he has passed, and shall also refrain from doing anything to trouble or to inconvenience him. In case of a breach of this rule, any punishment may be inflicted which you may think is deserved.
4. All those who profess Christianity shall be punished in accordance with your reformed regulations; suspected persons shall be reported without delay.
5. Each *kumi* shall carefully watch over the conduct of its members so as to prevent wrong-doing. Whenever any person is found to have misbehaved, and his *kumi* have negligently failed to discover it, the *kumi* shall be considered culpable as well as the *nanushi* and the *toshiyori*.
6. All heretics, robbers and other evil-doers shall be reported. We hear with pleasure of your order that all informers against such person shall be rewarded, and we shall therefore exert ourselves to the best of our power to detect evil-doers and to encourage the people to inform against them and not to shield them. Whoever is guilty of concealment shall merit your punishment. Accomplices in any evil-doing shall also be punished.
7. Gaming and betting of every kind shall be forbidden. If anyone disobeys this, he shall be reported to you. Those who let their houses for such purposes, as well as those who are present, shall without fail be punished. Officers guilty of concealing such offences shall be fined.
8. The people shall be ordered not to indulge in luxuries unsuitable to their condition, and to busy themselves diligently in their occupations, so as to be able to support themselves, and shall always punctually pay all taxes that may be imposed.

Any person, without employment as farmer or tradesman, given to exciting litigation or stirring up trouble among the people on various pretences, shall be reported by any one, even a near relation, who knows of such conduct. If the *nanushi*, *toshiyori* or the *kumi* had negligently failed to detect and report such conduct they shall be punished without fail.

9. All services due either to the lord (*go-kō-yō*) or to the *mura* (*kono-hō-yō*) shall be punctually performed. But such performance shall not be oppressive to the people.
10. All annual taxes shall be paid in full on the twentieth day of the twelfth month. Payment of all other debts whether of money or of rice shall be postponed until all taxes are fully paid.
11. Payment of taxes shall be recorded in a register and attested by the seals of all the people, affixed at a public meeting called for the purpose.
12. If a person who fails to pay his taxes designs to desert the *mura* he shall be immediately reported. Whenever owing to the negligence of *mura* officers the taxes of any person are in arrear his *kumi* and the *nanushi* shall be responsible for the amount.
13. If an officer whether *nanushi* or *toshiyori* plans a refusal to pay taxes he shall be reported by the people. In case of delay the people shall be fined to the amount of the taxes.
14. When tax-grain is brought to the *mura* storehouse its amount must be verified before it is stored by the *nanushi*, the tax-payer himself (*kome-moto*) and the measurer (*masu-tori*); and tags bearing the name of the tax-payer shall be fastened one outside and one inside of each bag. When all the tax-grain has been stored a watch shall be placed at the storehouse night and day, especially when there is wind or rain.

15. In measuring the grain the *kiyo-masu* (*masu* = measure)[12] shall be uniformly used and no other.

16. In case of a fire all shall run immediately to the storehouse and try to save it. Those who wilfully absent themselves shall on investigation be deemed culpable. Special care shall be taken against fire. When it occurs all shall go to the place and put it out as soon as possible. If the tax-grain is destroyed, the people shall repay the quantity destroyed.

17. News of robberies and night-attacks shall be given by the ringing of bells or otherwise, and all who hear shall join in pursuit till the offender is taken. Any one wilfully refraining shall on investigation be punished.

18. Wills (*yuigon*) of real property shall be reduced to writing by the relatives (*shinrui*) of the testator during his life-time, in order to avoid subsequent misunderstandings. They shall be attested by the *nanushi* and the *kumi*, and a copy shall be kept by each relative.

19. The right of primogeniture shall be respected, whether the testator be a small land-owner or a large one, and however numerous his children there shall be no division of lands, forests, or buildings of any kind among the children; the whole estate shall go to the eldest son. But if any circumstances prevent the sole succession of the eldest son, they shall be reported to you for your decision.

20. When a person dies without heirs it shall be unlawful for the *nanushi*, the *toshiyori*, and the people to distribute his estate. They shall always report the event to you and receive your orders. If the

12. The history of Japanese measures is of course a necessary element in the study of land tenure, and an extended account may be found in the *Den-yen Jikata Kigen*. The *kiyo-masu* was one of the standard measures of capacity.

estate in such a case is divided among the people, the *nanushi*, the *toshiyori* and the people shall be deemed culpable.

21. If any person falls ill and his family also, so that his land is not cultivated, his *kumi* and the people of the *mura* shall work the land so as to produce the amount of his taxes. If they fail to do so they shall be responsible for the taxes. Orphans shall be supported at the expense of the *mura*.

22. The rules prescribed by you for the sale of land shall be observed. Mortgages (*shichi-ire*) of land shall be attested by the *nanushi*, the *toshiyori*, and the *kumi*. If they are not so attested, and any difficulty afterwards arises therefrom, the land shall be confiscated, and mortgagor and mortgagee shall be deemed culpable.

23. Sales of cattle, cloth, and other things shall be made by bill of sale (*uriage-shōmon*). If the buyer offers upon delivery a poor article, the case shall be referred, even though the parties may arrive at an adjustment, to the *nanushi* or to the *kumi-gashira* for decision. If a difficulty arises through neglect of this rule the parties shall be deemed culpable.

24. No mortgage shall be given on land already mortgaged or on land or buildings belonging to a temple or on land endowed by the government under the great red seal (*go-shuin-chi*). No *nanushi* or *kumi* shall attest such a mortgage.

25. Every transaction (*shoji*) shall be evidenced by a written instrument (*shōmon*), and if any difficulty arises through the absence of an instrument the parties shall be deemed culpable, and shall take no advantage by the oral transaction.

27. Set off (*sashitsugi-kanjō*) is forbidden. Usury, of course, will not be allowed.

27. Counterfeiters of coin shall be reported.

28. It has reached your ears that on the various occasions when the inhabitants assemble (*yoriai*) for

the purpose of public business (*kō-yō shi-yō*) there is much unnecessary spending of money in eating and drinking. Hereafter this shall be stopped, and only simple food shall be supplied.

29. All those who are employed in the repairs of dikes, trenches, water-gates, aqueducts, etc., shall work diligently under pain of being deemed culpable. Breaches in aqueducts, etc., shall be immediately repaired.

30. Roads and bridges shall be kept in good repair. In case of the passage of the Shōgun's ambassador (*go-jōshi*) the streets shall be specially cleaned and repaired. If rains have injured a road, workmen shall be sent and the road immediately mended so as to allow his passage. No road shall be lessened in width.

31. If uncultivated land is discovered, not belonging to any one and not in another district, you shall be informed, and your permission asked before it is cultivated.[13] If the reclaimer is not able to bear the expense he may ask your assistance. As this permission is granted to any one and as such undertakings promote the public interest, all land capable of cultivation but not yet cultivated shall be attended to.

32. Improvements made shall be reported without fail and be examined by some officer of the government. When *hata* is converted into *ta*, the owner, if he has incurred special expense in so doing, shall for the next two years be taxed on the value of *hata* only.

33. Restoration of land which has become waste, and cultivation of new land, however small the area, shall be reported. If no report is made, the *nanushi* and the *kumi* as well as the farmer him-

13. "If any one applies for permission to lay out new fields, he may do so, if upon investigation there is no objection."

100 Laws of Iyeyasu, Art. 32 (*Mittheil.* etc., *supra*, p. 10, *infra*)

self shall on detection be punished as you think fit.[14]

34. All orders given by you (*go-kōgi*) or by us (*kono hō yōji furejō*), shall be announced throughout the *mura* as soon as possible. In case of delay any punishment you think fit shall be inflicted. Persons summoned by you shall appear without delay.
35. No persons shall enter into combination to demand anything from the government. When a grievance exists in the opinion of any one, he shall petition by himself, not in concert with others.
36. When there is a dispute with another district over boundaries, fights with swords, spears, clubs, etc., shall be avoided.
37. Quarrels among the people shall be forbidden. In case of dispute, the matter shall be reported. If this is not done all parties shall be indiscriminately punished. Drunkards doing mischief shall be punished. An officer taking a bribe for the decision of a dispute shall be deemed culpable.
38. Every one shall render assistance in capturing an evil-doer, whether the latter belongs to the *mura* or not. When an evil-doer is caught, a guard shall be placed over him.
39. Persons escaping from justice or banished shall not be allowed to remain in the *mura* a moment. If any one harbors such a person he as well as the *nanushi* and the *kumi-gashira*[15] shall be deemed culpable.
40. Every person leaving his home on business must inform the *nanushi* and *kumi-gashira* before starting.

14. For a case involving the alleged transgression of this rule by a number of persons in a *mura*, see *Reigaki* Art. 28 (*Mittheil.* etc. *supra*, p. 115.)

15. *Kumi-gashira* here signifies "head of a *kumi*," being written in the original "*gonin-gumi-gashira*." See the *Kujikata Osadamegaki*, 1, Art. 53 (*Mittheil.* etc., *supra* p. 56) "Town ordinance in regard to the concealment and harboring of persons sentenced to banishment or other punishment."

Those who go to Yedo to take service with a master must first obtain permission from you. If any one leaves the *mura* without doing so, and afterwards is guilty of any offence, he as well as the *nanushi* and *kumi-gashira* shall be deemed culpable.

41. No lodging shall be given to any passing *rōnin*, priest, *yama-bushi*, *yeta*, beggar, etc., whose name and destination are not fully know. If lodging is given, the *nanushi* and the *kumi* must be informed. If a traveller falls ill on the road he shall be taken good care of and upon recovery shall be sent to his destination[16], notice being first given to the *nanushi* and the *toshiyori*. If he dies, his clothes and his family crest (*mon*) shall be examined by the above officers and the *kumi-gashira*.

42. When a person comes from another region and wishes to take service with a member of the *mura*, his native province and his home shall be ascertained and he shall be required to find a surety for his conduct.[17] When permitted by the *nanushi* and the *kumi-gashira*, he may be employed, and his name must be entered in a register. Even parents, brothers, sisters or other near relatives of a member of the *mura*, if they have been absent for a long time, shall not be allowed to remain, unless their return is reported to the *nanushi* and the *kumi*, and by them to you, and permission is given to remain.[18]

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16. For a case involving the transgression of this rule, see the *Reigaki*, Art, 27 (*Mittheil. etc., supra*, p. 113). See also the *Kujikata Osadamegaki*, II, Art. 93 (*ib*, p. 98) "Punishment of those who send a sick traveller on from one inn to another."

17. For provisions relating to the sureties of servants, see the *Kujikata Osadamegaki*, II, Art. 4. (*Mittheil. etc., supra*, p.79); also, *ib*. I, Arts. 73, 74. The law of personal suretyship was a very important body of rules.

18. The following is a good example of a transgression of this article. "1752. Province of Kashū, Anayamachō. Hachiyemon, defendant.

"This Hachiyemon had a barber concealed at his house and representing falsely to the village official that this person was his servant and

43. Horses required by persons of *samurai* rank shall be supplied without delay, whether by day or by night. The baggage of such persons shall be carried with care. If these rules are not observed, any punishment which you think fit shall be inflicted. All travellers shall be respectfully treated, especially the various *daimyō* and their retainers, even the lowest.

44. Dancing, wrestling and other public shows shall be forbidden. Singing and dancing girls and prostitutes shall not be allowed to remain a single night in the *mura*.

45. It shall be unlawful to cut even a branch of a tree in a Government forest. Any one doing so shall be punished. Private forests shall be preserved, in order that there may always be an abundance of wood, for the construction and repair of government buildings.[19]

46. New buildings shall be erected with as little expense as possible. At marriage feasts the food shall consist of *shiru* (soup) and one other dish. In no such occasion shall the gathering of a large crowd or the drinking of wine be allowed.

47. No person, however well off, except the *shōya*,[20] shall be allowed to wear silk clothes. All clothes shall be made of cotton or of hemp.

48. No *katana* (long sword) shall be carried by the common people, whether at home or in public.[21]

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had a document of suretyship, in which principal and surety were properly named, vouched for his position and character. It was asked whether for this misdemeanor he should suffer banishment in the third degree. Sentence, banishment in the second degree."

Reigaki, Art. 65 (*Mittheil. etc.*, *supra* p. 124).

19. "Unless a special necessity arises, no one shall cut timber in the forests for purposes of trade."

Kujikata Osadamegaki, I, Art. 21 (*Mittheil. etc.*, *supra* p. 51.)

20. The occurrence of this word can hardly be anything but a slip of the copyists.

21. See the *Kujikata Osadamegaki*, II, Art. 94, (*Mittheil. etc.*, *supra* p,

No *wakizashi* (short sword) shall be ornamented with gold or silver. No person, not even the *nanushi* nor women, shall be allowed to ride in a *kago*.[22]

49. The practices of selling one's self to another for a period (*danjo-yeitai-uri*) and of hiring servants for long terms (*yeinenki-hōkō*) for purposes of prostitution, etc., have been condemned and prohibited by the Government. We, therefore, in obedience to your high will shall endeavor to detect offences of this kind.

50. Those who cause annoyance to the neighborhood by quarrelling about their land, etc., shall be deemed culpable and their land shall be confiscated.

51. A complainant when proceeding to court shall be accompanied by the *nanushi*. If he appears in any other way, he shall be punished, no matter how good his claim.

52. When a person wishes to change his seal, the new seal shall be sent to the *nanushi*. When a seal is lost, the *nanushi* must be informed. No person shall use more than one seal.

53. Messengers sent by us on public business shall not be given money, grain, clothes, or other things as presents by the farmers. No sum shall be lent to them under any pretence. If they cause people to sell by means of force or threats they shall be reported.

54. No service in the shape of manual labor or transportation by horses shall be performed for them

98), "Punishment of farmers and townspeople who carry swords;" also. *ib.* I, Art. 35.

22. "Only the following persons may use *kago* without permission: *kokushu* and *jōshu* with incomes of 10,000 *koku* or more; sons of *kuni-daimyō* and the eldest sons of *jōshu*, *jijū* and higher officials; people who are fifty years old or more, physicians, and sick people. *Kachū* may sometimes make use of *kago; kuge* and priests may use them when they please." *Buke-shohatto of* 1634, Art. II (*Mittheil. tc., supra* p. 26.)

under any pretence. If such services are required a written warrant must be shown by them.

The above rules, which have been approved by you, shall be read aloud annually to the people assembled at the office of the *nanushi*, and shall be observed by them without fail. Whoever is so bad as to disobey these rules shall be immediately reported by his *kumi*. If the latter knowingly fail to do so, and you learn of the offence from other sources, the *nanushi*, the *toshiyori* and the *kumi-gashira* shall be deemed culpable.

3. *Kumi-chō from Kōriyama Han, Yamato Kuni.*[23]

1. All laws hitherto made or hereafter to be made by the Government shall be strictly observed.
2. *Kumi* shall be formed of every five adjacent householders.
3. The decree for the abolition of Christianity shall be rigorously enforced, and suspected persons shall be reported.
4. Children shall be obedient to their parents; husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, and relations shall love each other. All those who quarrel with

23 This translation has for its original a copy of a *kumi-chō* as given in *Yamato Hansei*, a manuscript volume lent to me by Mr. Matsuzaki. The author states that this was the form of *kumi-chō* established "for all the *gō* and *mura* in the dominion of the *daimyō* of Kōriyama *han*." He therefore fails, as a matter of course, to give dates and signatures.

After setting out the *kumi-chō* as translated above, the author of *Yamato Hansei* goes on to make the following curious statement.

"The above regulations had a nominal force only, and were seldom enforced. Throughout the Tokugawa dynasty they continued to be a dead letter and underwent no changes, although in the meantime no little change had taken place in the constitution of the general government and in the manners and customs of the people. But, strange to say, the *kumi-chō* still continued to be law, and at the end of every two years was read aloud in the presence of the assembled people, and signed by the *shōya*, the *toshiyori*, and the chiefs of the different *kumi*. What a curious condition of things!"

their relatives and refuse to listen to their good advice, or disobey their parents, or are unkind to their fellow-villagers, shall on investigation be reported by the *shōya*, the *toshiyori* and the *kumi*. Our own occupations shall not be neglected.

5. It shall be unlawful, according to the law already passed, to abandon children. When any one finds an abandoned child or old man, he shall take him in and support him, and report to the Government.
6. No gun shall be kept by any one.
7. Sales of men (*hito-baibai*) are absolutely forbidden. When a person hires a servant he shall make enquiries about the servant's religion and shall require a reliable surety. When any one wishes to leave for service under a master in the dominion of any other lord he must first report his intention to the Government.
8. No horse shall be abandoned. Abandoned horses when found shall be taken care of, and a report shall be made to the Government by the *shōya*, and the *toshiyori*.
9. When public officials pass through a *mura* on public business horses and men shall be furnished, especially at night, or in rainy or windy weather. Rudeness towards travellers of any kind is forbiden.
10. No person shall be compelled by force to sell or buy any thing. Merchants coming from other regions shall not be rudely treated, even though of mean rank.
11. The sale of lands in fee simple (*ta-hata yeitai-uri*) is absolutely forbidden. Mortgages shall not be given for a longer period than ten years. Mortgage deeds shall be attested by the *shōya*, the *toshiyori* and the *kumi*, and a copy shall be kept by each party. When land is mortgaged to a resident of another daimiate, the Government shall be informed.
12. No public-house or wine-shop in addition to those now existing shall be opened.

13. When any unusual event occurs, such as a fire or a disturbance of the peace, report shall be made immediately.
14. When a fire occurs, the people shall immediately hasten to the spot, each one bringing with him a bucketful of water, and shall endeavor under the direction of the officers to put out the fire. When the fire is put out, some one shall hasten to the office of the *daikwan*, and inform him. Those who absent themselves shall be deemed culpable. Each *kumi* shall take special precautions against fire within its own limits. Meadows (*no-hara*) shall not be set on fire. Children especially shall be warned against doing so.
15. No traveller shall lodge for even one night in a house other than a public inn, unless information is first given to the *shōya*, the *toshiyori* and the *kumi*. Even in the case of public inns travellers intending to remain a long time must first be examined by the above officers. No inn-keeper shall receive any traveller of a suspicious character. Articles found in the room of a traveller after his departure shall be returned, if he can be overtaken.
16. If a traveller falls ill or becomes intoxicated at an inn, the *shōya* and the *toshiyori* shall examine his belongings, find out his name, and take his property into their custody, until he recovers. If the illness is serious, the Government shall be informed.
17. Wounded persons, coming from other districts shall be taken good care of by the *shōya* and the *toshiyori*, and the proper inquiries shall be made by them.
18. In the case of persons found dead on the highway, the *shōya* and the *toshiyori* shall go to the spot, examine the body, seal up the belongings of the deceased, and set a guard over the corpse.
19. When a fugitive from another *mura* passes through this *mura*, and his pursuer follows and informs the *mura* officers of the facts, the people of the *mura*

shall assemble and assist him in capturing the fugitive.

20. All kinds of gaming shall be absolutely forbidden. No house shall be used for such purposes. No one should fail to inform against such offenders. Even an accomplice shall be not merely acquitted, but perhaps rewarded, if he testifies against his fellow-offenders.

21. Quarrels and disputes shall be stopped as soon as heard of. A murderer planning flight shall be arrested and a report shall be made. If he escapes from the *mura*, he shall be pursued and arrested. This rule shall apply to all other fugitives from justice.

22. Temples, forests, mountains, etc. shall occasionally be searched to discover robbers and other evil-doers.

23. Watch shall be kept throughout the *mura* as formerly. If the watchman notices any person acting suspiciously, he shall shout and call the people together. When a burglar is seen entering a house, the watchman who sees him, as well as the neighbors, shall hasten to the spot and arrest him, care being taken, however, not to kill him. Those who wilfully absent themselves shall be punished. Every house shall be provided at all times with a piece of wood suitable for use as a torch.

24. No new temple shall be erected. Every change of the head-priest (*kannushi*) shall be reported.

25. Wrestling, dancing, and other public amusements shall be forbidden. If in consequence of this rule any hardship occurs, it shall be reported. There shall be no singing girls, dancing girls, or prostitutes in the *mura*.

26. Any combination of persons, for whatever purpose, shall be unlawful. If any one thinks his rights are injured, he shall go before the *shōya*, the *toshiyori*, and the *kumi*, and have his grievance settled. From

their decision a further appeal may be made [to the *daikwan*].

27. The boundaries of private land shall be clearly defined, so as to avoid disputes. Re-claiming of waste land and cultivation of new land shall not be kept secret. Land not yet cultivated but suitable for cultivation shall be reported.
28. Rights to use water shall be clearly defined so as to avoid disputes.
29. In case of floods the *shōya*, the *toshiyori*, and all the people shall exert themselves to their utmost to save the fields from overflow. The repair of dikes, wells, and trenches shall not be neglected.
30. All streets, lanes, and bridges shall be kept in repair at all times. No increase of private land shall be effected at the expense of existing highways or trenches.
31. Charges on river-boats and ferry-boats shall be those already prescribed. If a boat is accidentally injured, the neighbors shall assist in repairing it.
32. Bamboo and other trees, whether in public or private forests, shall not be wantonly cut down.
33. Circular letters (*kaijō*) shall be promptly transmitted from *mura* to *mura*, and at every transfer a written receipt shall be given by the receiving *mura* to the delivering *mura*.
34. When a pledge is made the pledgor shall furnish a reliable surety.
35. Money spent on houses shall be proportionate to the means of the owner, and no conspicuous buildings shall be erected. No person except the *shōya*, the *toshiyori*, and their wives and children, shall wear silk clothes. No person shall be allowed to ride in a *kago*, or to wear the *katana*, or otherwise to live luxuriously.
36. No land less than ten *koku* in value shall be alienated, except under unavoidable circumstances, of which information shall be sent to the *daikwan*.

37. The selection of a husband and the adoption of a son are to be made only with the sanction of the *shōya*, the *toshiyori*, and the *kumi*, and these persons shall carefully investigate the matter so as to prevent future dissatisfaction. The expense of a marriage shall be made as small as possible.
38. When a stranger comes to reside here, inquiries shall be made as to the *mura* whence he came, and a surety shall be furnished by him; the *daikwan* shall then be informed. Even when a native of the *mura* who has been absent a long time returns home, his return shall be reported to the *daikwan*.
39. If a person wishes to remain for even a single night in another *mura*, he shall report his intention, if *shōya* to the *toshiyori*, if any one else to his *kumi*.
40. The succession to property must be determined on and reduced to writing before the death of the owner, and the document must be attested by the *shōya*, the *toshiyori* and the *kumi* so as to avoid disputes after his death. Therefore if a man seems to be at the point of death, his will must be made in the presence of the *shōya*, the *toshiyori* and the *kumi*, and must be signed by them and by the relatives, so as to avoid subsequent disputes. If any one dies suddenly without making a will his affairs shall be examined and the amount of his property ascertained by the *shōya*, the *toshiyori*, and the *kumi*, and an inventory sent to the *daikwan*.
41. When any one wishes to begin a suit or to make a petition he shall inform his *kumi* of his intention, and the *shōya* and the *toshiyori* shall be requested to undertake the suit or the petition on his behalf; but in case they refuse, he may act for himself.
42. Neither *shōya* nor *toshiyori* shall oppress the people, nor shall the people trouble or vex these officers.
43. No insult shall be offered to any person of *samurai* rank.

44. No present or loan whether of money, grain, clothes, or wine, shall be made to any Government officers or to other *samurai* or their retainers, even the lowest. When Government officers visit a *mura* no choice food shall be set before them. If any such officer or his retainers annoy the people of the *mura*, they shall immediately be reported.

45. No grain shall be disposed of before the taxes are paid.

46. If the *shōya* or the *toshiyori* changes his seal, the *daikwan* must be informed and the new seal sent to him. When any other person changes his seal, the new seal must be sent to the *shōya*.

47. The expenses of the *mura* for each year shall be recorded in a book, and the *shōya* and the *toshiyori* shall certify to it by signing their names, so as to avoid subsequent disputes. If through neglect of this rule any dispute arises, the *shōya* and the *toshiyori* shall be punished.

The above rules shall be strictly observed. In case of their violation, the offender, his relatives, his *kumi*, the *shōya* and the *toshiyori* shall be deemed culpable.

These being the rules which you have prescribed for the government of our *mura*, we shall endeavor constantly to have them observed by the people.

In case of their violation the offender, as you have said, his relatives, his *kumi*, the *shōya*, and the *toshiyori* shall be deemed culpable, and shall be punished as you may think fit. In accordance with your high will, we now offer you a copy of our *gonin-gumi-chō*.

4. *Kumi-chō from Chibadera Mura, Chiba Gōri, Shimōsa Kuni.*[24]

1. We hereby sincerely swear to obey not only the general law of the country (*go-hatto*) but also the laws and orders of our *daimyō*.
2. We will not make absolute sales of land (*yeitai-baibai*). If a sale for a term of years (*nenki-baibai*) is made, the *nanushi*, *kumi-gashira*, and chief of *kumi* shall attest the document. Second mortgages shall not be given.

   (*Extra Clause*). Sales of human beings shall not be made.
3. The succession (*ato-shiki*) of a farmer's estate shall be settled in accordance with his will (*i-zoku*), attested by the *nanushi*, *kumi-gashira*, and *gonin-gumi*. In distributing the estate, the *nanushi*, *kumi-gashira*, and *gonin-gumi* shall all meet and act in concert. An unattested will shall have no effect. An estate of less then twenty *koku* shall not be divided. If a man dies intestate, leaving no children, the nearest relative shall inherit, with the consent of the other relatives, the *nanushi*, the *kumi-gashira*, and the *gonin-gumi*. The performances of tax services by an heir shall be guaranteed, and notice of a proposed choice must first be given to the proper officer.
4. When there is a dispute or a suit at law in our *mura* or in another, no one not concerned in the controversy shall foster or take part in it. If any one officiously intermeddles in such matters, or by swearing to the gods (*shimmon suru*) or drinking the sacred water (*shinsui nomu*)[25] endeavors to encourage litigation or to defraud others in any way, he shall be punished.

   Extra clause. When a burglar is found in our

24. The original of this *kumi-chō* was lent to me by Mr. Satō, *Gun-chō* (County Superintendent) of Chiba *gun*, Chiba *ken*. The existence of date and signatures makes it especially valuable. The translator was Mr. Ishii.

25. See appendix II, 2. Art. 2

mura or when any loud noise is heard, the people shall hasten to the spot.

5. We will not become surety (*hito-uke*) for any but our fellow-villagers (*son-chū*). In case some one is obliged to become surety to a relative in another *mura*, he shall do so only with the consent of his *nanushi*, *kumi-gashira*, and *gonin-gumi*. If a suit (*deiri*) is brought against a servant, (*hōkōnin*) his surety must fulfil his obligation as such.
6. When any one comes to live in our *mura*, even though he is only a relative of some inhabitant, notice must be given to the *daikwan*.

   (*Extra clause*). If any one wishes to travel to another province, or to marry and reside in another province, or to take service elsewhere, he shall ask permission of the *daikwan*, through the *nanushi* and the *kumi-gashira*.
7. When merchants from other provinces visit our *mura*, even those who make a custom of doing so, the *nanushi* aud the *kumi-gashira* must be immediately informed. If a *rōnin* comes, the *daikwan* shall be immediately informed of his name and other facts concerning him, and he shall be treated as the *daikwan* shall direct.
8. New temples shall not be erected.
9. All taxes shall be assessed according to the rate recorded in the account-book (*wari-moto*) of the *nanushi* and the *kumi-gashira*, and the rate shall not be changed every year. If a poor farmer becomes unable, from sickness or other unavoidable cause, to cultivate his land, one of the *gonin-gumi* shall inform the *nanushi*, and the villagers shall give assistance by cultivating the land for him. If the land is left uncultivated, all the inhabitants shall be held responsible.
10. When a person is found dead on the highway, the *nanushi* and the *kumi-gashira* shall examine the articles found upon him, and take charge of them

so that they may not be stolen, setting some one to guard the corpse, and the proper officer shall be immediately notified. When a person is found ill on the highway, he shall be taken care of; if his home is known, he shall be sent to it; if it is distant, the *daikwan* shall be informed, and shall make such order as he thinks fit. Oxen, horses, dogs, hens, and other domestic animals found on the highway shall not be maltreated (*somatsunaru-gi*).[26]

(*Extra clause*). When any thing is found on the highway, notice shall be given to the *daikwan* through the *nanushi* and the *kumi-gashira*.

11. Gaming and lotteries of all kinds shall be forbidden.

(*Extra clause*). Great care shall be taken against fire. Fire-places shall be constructed according to the regulations therefor. When a fire breaks out, all shall hasten to help put it out.

The above rules shall never be violated. We hereby present this document with our seals, which have been carefully inspected and certified by the heads of *kumi*. If any one loses or changes his seal, he shall immediately give notice, and the new seal shall be placed on this document instead of the old one. When a seal is changed, of course both seals cannot be used.

These articles shall be read every year, in the presence of all the inhabitants of our *mura*, so that they may not be forgotten.

Shimōsa *Kuni*, Chiba *Gōri*, Chibadera *Mura*.

Seitoku, Sixth year, (1716) first month,

Nanushi.

Tokuyemon, Kichiyemon.

Kumi-gashira.

Heiyemon, Sahei, Hambei, Hikobei, Zenjūrō.

26. Mr. Ishii interprets this as follows. The boys of a village would play pranks on a neighbor by driving off his cattle or fowls, or by beat-them, if found on the road, and frightening them off in another direction. These escapades would be most likely to be directed against some one unpopular among his fellow-villagers.

Hosoda Rihei
Watanabe Kichizayemon } [27]

Name	*Age*	*Assessed value of land.*			
		KOKU	TO	SHŌ	GŌ
Shiroyemon	69	15	1	4	4
Yosoyemon	50	10	9	6	
Riyemon	61		1	4	4
Kichibei	48	14	1	3	7
Jūzayemon	69		1	2	
Hambei	46	11	1		
Kichiyemon	40	39	1	4	
Jirozayemon	61	19	1	1	
Hikobei	65		2	4	3
Ichisuke	23			6	6
Hikoyemon	53	7	2	7	8
Kichijūrō	31	9	4	3	9
Hanjūrō	35	7	7	8	8
Takisaburō	54	3	8	4	9
Shōyemon	44	14	6	8	7
Kinjūrō	44	11	6		
Moyemon	47	2	1	0	2
Zembei	41	3	9	1	9
Gorobei	28	23	9	7	1
Kichibei	45		1	4	3
Denzayemon	38	13	9	4	9
Sōjūrō	39			6	6
Matabei	36	25	3	3	8
Magobei	53	19	4	1	8
Shirobei	25		*taka-nashi* (landless)		
Hachirobei	40	9	4	2	
Hanshirō	40		4	2	
Kayemon	38		4	2	
Gohei	61		*taka-nashi*		
Shōkurō	35		,,		
Monjūrō	40		4	8	

27. Apparently the *daikwan* and perhaps his secretary.

Name	*Age*	*Assessed value of land.*			
		KOKU	TO	SHŌ	GŌ
Kichirobei	36	1		2	7
Chōjirō	66		3	4	
Chūyemon	16		5	4	8
Zenzayemon	41		5	4	
Gorobei	50		3	6	
Shichiyemon	50		4	8	6
Ichiyemon	58	8	2	0	2
Masabei	29	11	9	7	8
Seibei	39	2	7	9	2
Seiyemon	29	4	8	1	0
Suteyemon	46	3	6		
Jinzō	67		4	8	6
Seijūrō	51		2		
Shinyemon	63		4	9	2
Zenjirō	27		5	6	
Sanzayemon	31		6	0	8
Zentarō	26		5	0	2
Zenzaburō	34		4	2	
Chōyemon	53		3	6	
Zenjūrō	41	7	5	4	7
Sutesaburō	28	4	9	4	5
Niyemon	76		3	3	9
Chōbei	59		3	6	
Tōyemon	55		*taka-nashi*		
Chōzaburō	51		3	6	
Mohei	55		*taka-nashi*		
Sukejūrō	47		2	4	
by Uyemon (a relative)	58	[signing for Sukejirō.]			
Chōshirō	45		3	4	
Zembei	32	5	1		
Kōjūrō	59		3	4	
Shichirobei	50		3	4	
Kanshichirō	42		*taka-nashi*		
Kihei	42		7	4	
Hachibei	50		3	4	

Name	*Age*	*Assessed value of land.*			
		KOKU	TO	SHŌ	GŌ
Jūbei	20 ...	...	9 ...	2 ...	6
Sahei	42 ...	...	5 ...	6 ...	5
Magobei	41 ...	...	5 ...	4 ...	8
Hansuke	58 ...	...	5 ...	1 ...	
Hyōzaburō	40 ...	...	3 ...	6 ...	
Kinyemon	39 ...	1 ...	6 ...	5 ...	
Rokuyemon	76 ...	...	3 ...	9 ...	
Magobei	48 ...	1 ...	9 ...	9 ...	2
Yohei	40 ...	...	3 ...	6 ...	
Sanyemen	42 ...	...	3 ...	4 ...	
Zenshirō	40 ...	...	*takanashi* ...		

Forests belonging to the *mura*:

1. *Washino yama* — 70 *ken* × 30 *ken*.
2. [Name not mentioned] — 10 ,, × 13 ,, [28]

28. In a long *kumi-chō* given in full in *Chihō Seido-tsū* the following articles, which do not occur in any of the preceding *kumi-chō*, are found.

"When a *nanushi* orders the people to subscribe money or rice for a bribe, they shall refuse it, and if the *nanushi* still insists, they shall inform the *daikwan*. If it be discovered that a *nanushi* has bribed a higher officer, both he and the people of the *mura* shall be punished.

"Even when a family becomes bankrupt or dies out, the *kumi* shall not destroy the vacant house and cultivate the land left uncultivated; they shall seek for another family to occupy the house and cultivate the land."

II. OTHER LAWS FOR MURA.

1. *Proclamation issued by a new daikwan to the people*[29]

1. All laws of the Government, and all the good measures of the previous *daikwan* I promise to observe, as also the various old customs relating to the privileges of the seaboard.
2. I will carefully search for all Christians, in the manner already customary.
3. All persons are forbidden to cut trees in the forests without permission.
4. Farm lands long occupied cannot be sold. If a mortgage is given, it must be registered and must be sealed by *nanushi* and *kumi-gashira*.
5. No new comers wishing to rent land or become servants who have not the certificate of the priest of their sect, declaring that they are not Christians, can be allowed to settle. Theatrical performers and showmen and persons having no *nimbetsu-chō* are forbidden to remain in the village.
6. In regard to the villages where the Shōgun goes hawking—,birds are not to be frightened, and strange dogs are to be tied up.
7. All are warned to be prompt in the payment of the tax. Whoever fails will be imprisoned [Usually it was the shiftless only who could not pay].
8. If there is a fire in a neighboring *mura*, all must turn out and assist. Those who do not are to be reprimanded.
9. When an alarm of robbers is given, all must immediately go to render assistance. Whoever does not will be reprimanded.

29. This translation was found in the author's papers without any trace of the source of the original or of the places where it applied. The clauses in brackets are the author's.

10. Gambling of all kinds, lotteries, and cock-fighting are forbidden.

11. Quarrels and fights are bad and should be avoided. But if a fight occurs and some one is injured, the local officers should detain the parties and report to the *daikwan*.

12. If a traveller, even a beggar, is taken sick so that he cannot proceed, the local officers must call a doctor to give the necessary care, and report to the *daikwan*. [My teacher thinks that this regulation existed for the benefit of spies of the Government. A case occurred in Kanagawa, where a certain man, a Government spy in disguise as a beggar, was taken seriously ill; thinking that would die, he sent his secret commission to the *daikwan*, who took the greatest care of him].

13. Farmers should look to it that they are industrious and should not spend time in amusements or in dissipation. If they do, they are to be reported to the *daikwan*.

14. Meetings of thoughtless, irresponsible persons, for purposes of opposing the law or of appealing to the *Go-rōjū*, should not take place. If the farmers have real grievances, redress must be sought by petition made under seal of those aggrieved, and presented through the local officers.

15. On the occasion of Shintō or Buddhist *matsuri* or of a wedding, it is advised that much money be not spent [Cases of excess of this sort sometimes occur in Tōkyō, where under excitement large sums of money are spent by poor people]. Only *matsuri* of old standing should be celebrated, not new ones [For instance, in the case of an *hayari-kami-san* or popular god, if a remarkable cure occurred, branch shrines of this god would be established in various places. This was the subject of the above prohibition].

16. Farmers are not to wear two swords.

17. No new land is to be reclaimed without immediately reporting it.
18. Villages given to law suits are always poor. If trouble occurs, all efforts should be made to settle it by arbitration. [The special reference here is to disputes between neighboring villages about boundaries or irrigation. Sometimes the difficulty arose from an imperfect survey, e.g. in mountain districts or thinly settled localities].
19. The tax levy, as adjusted by the *daikwan*, must receive the assent of every farmer, even the smallest, witnessed by his seal upon the document. [For this purpose a list of all lands and their assessments was posted at a conspicuous place by the *nanushi's* office. It was examined by neighboring villages and compared with other assessments, so that any unfairness could be complained of. When any complaint was made, the local officers, including the *hyakushō-dai*, examined it, and usually succeeded in making the complainant listen to reason, if in fact he had not been unjustly treated].
20. Estimates of *mura* expenses must be made up with the greatest economy, and must be assented to by all the farmers. When *mura* officers travel on public business, their expenses are to be estimated as a fixed scale, and no extras are to be allowed.
21. Tax-rice should be packed with the greatest care, so that none may be lost in transportation.
22. The *daikwan* and his officers, on their tours of inspection, are allowed a fixed number of attendants and a fixed bill of fare. [One soup, one dish of fish or vegetables, a relish, and rice].

(On receipt of this notification by the farmers, they sent the following answer).

"We have examined each of the articles and we subscribe to them. If we break any of the rules, we will accept without protest the punishment, whatever it may be, that your displeasure may inflict.

In witness whereof we each affix our seals"

2. *Rules for mura (mura-gōsatsu) issued in 1721 by the Shōgun Yoshimune.*[30]

1. In every *mura* the people, including both large and small farmers, should organize into *gonin-gumi*, in a permanent and thorough manner, and for the sincere observance of the laws. In case any dispute arises, it must be first taken into consideration by the *gonin-gumi*.
2. All meetings of the people for conspiracy or sedition and all drinking together of the cup of water is forbidden. [It is a custom when going to war, to a duel, or on any dangerous errand, to drink a cup of pure water and repeat a prayer to the god or gods of the *mura* for success in the undertaking.]
3. Farmers who have ten *tan* or less of land are forbidden to divide it among their children. Any land over this amount may be divided.
4. Wills of land are void without the seal of the *nanushi*.
5. No one is to alter the size of his house without permission from the *daikwan;* but merchants are excepted from this rule.
6. No one is to cultivate new lands without permission.
7. Holding new *matsuri* and getting up great excitement at a *matsuri* is forbidden.
8. Land must not be sold.
9. The secret sale of land in the name of another is forbidden.
10. Heretofore there has been no limit to the length of time for which land could be mortgaged. Ten years is now fixed upon as the limit.
11. If a *nanushi* wishes to mortgage his land, the seal of the *kumi-gashira* and the *toshiyori* is necessary.

30. This translation and the next were found among the author's papers. Neither the original nor any reference to its source appeared. The clauses in brackets are by the author.

12. Secret sale by way of mortgage is forbidden.
13. On the death of a mortgagor, only a son or grandson can redeem it. If such a one has been adopted by another family, he too is excluded.
14. All must examine carefully the tax list of the *mura* posted at the *nanushi's* residence.
15. When one comes into possession of land by descent he must immediately report it to the *nanushi*.
16. If when a new survey of land is made, a portion is left over, it must not be divided by the *mura* but must be reported.
17. Speaking disgraceful things of another man, or publicly posting him as a bad man, even if he is so, is forbidden.
18. When a forest is resorted to by the farmers for leaf-manure, its enjoyment must be arranged in common; no one is to take more than his share.
19. A *kosaku* who has held his land for twenty years cannot be dispossessed.

3. *Rules for sea-coast-villages (ura-gōsatsu) issued in 1711 by the Shōgun Iyenobu.*[31]

1. Care should be taken during storms to look out for distressed or wrecked ships, and assistance must be given by the villagers.
2. In case of wreck, the salvage for flotsam shall be one-twentieth, for jetsam, one-tenth. [In rivers, the shares were respectively one thirtieth and one twentieth.]
3. When a junk arrives which has jettisoned its cargo, the *daikwan* and local officers are to visit it immediately and investigate the condition of things. If a fraud is discovered, the captain, the crew, and

31. As has been said, no authority for this law is mentioned by the author. But it is almost identical in its tenor with a law dated 1711 and appearing in the *Kujikata Osadamegaki*, II, art. 17 (*Mittheil. d. D. Gesells. Ost., Heft* 41, p. 48); and may be taken to have been drawn from that source.

the buyer are to be beheaded. [During storms the people of the sea-coast villages were apt to refuse assistance and even to wreck vessels intentionally. This was especially the case with vessels carrying tax-rice. The *nanushi* and *daikwan* not infrequently connived at this in sending out the rice from the villages, and were thus able to falsify successfully the amount sent to the Government. All guild chiefs engaged in such a matter were beheaded and the *daikwan* or *bugyō* in charge was banished.]

4. If a vessel seems to remain in a harbor unnecessarily long after discharging cargo, it should be visited by the *nanushi* and the *daikwan* and the cause inquired into. If the weather is good, and the vessel remains without good reason, the local officers must notify it to leave.
5. Tax-rice vessels or private freight vessels, if badly equipped, insufficiently manned, or otherwise unseaworthy, should be prevented from going to sea.
6. Where wreckage is saved and no one claims it within six months, it shall go to the village; no claim thereafter made shall avail.
7. Gambling in port is forbidden. Any one who discloses fraud which has been committed on shipboard will be pardoned, if an accomplice, and rewarded.

III. HOUSE-COMMUNITIES IN HIDA.

The attention of scholars deserves to be called to the apparent existence in some parts of Japan of what have received the name of House-Communities or Joint Undivided Families. Whatever may be the true explanation of the origin of the instances known to exist in Russia, India, and elsewhere, it is certainly a matter of the highest interest that we should be able to examine additional instances of an institution so seldom found at the present day and so valuable for the student. Perhaps it is not too much to say, in advance of thorough investigation, that the conservative and slowly changing character of Japanese social institutions makes it likely that the instances occurring in this country will be better preserved than elsewhere. This is the more probable as the (hitherto) best-known example lies in the most conservative corner of this conservative country, in the old province of Hida, a district surrounded by some of the highest mountain ranges of Japan, almost inaccessible during some parts of the year, and little known even to Japanese travellers. Students of history appear for some time to have known vaguely of a curious mode of living practiced in these mountains, but only recently has an account appeared of observations made on the spot. It is written, however, from the point of view of the antiquarian, and is entirely inadequate upon the facts pertaining to the social order of the family and the community. The account is published in volume III of the Bulletin of the Tōkyō Anthropological Society (*Tōkyō Jinrui Gak-kwi Zasshi*) for July, 1888 (no. 29, p. 305), and is written by Mr. M. Fujimori.

The relevant portions are as follows; "In the province of Hida is a place called Takayama. In all the *mura* of Hida situated north-east of Takayama, there are the

same customs as in the rest of Japan, but in the *mura* west of Takayama there are many curious differences. In the western part of Ono *gun* lies a village called Shirakawa *mura*, bounded on one side by mountains of the provinces Kaga and Echizen, lying on both sides of the river Shōno-gawa, and extending from Ogami *mura* to the river Koshira-kawa. The *mura* is divided into twenty-three *kumi*; in old times the *mura* was called Shirakawa *gō*, and each of the twenty-three *kumi* was called a *mura*. Of these twenty-three, the seven *kumi* Hokiwaki, Hirase, Kitani, Nagase, Miboro, and Fukushima are united, and are called Naka-giri.

"The customs, architecture, and mode of living of all the inhabitants of the *mura* are the same. There are however, two types of people to be seen, one having a slender face, high-bridged nose, and little hair, the other with broad forehead, flat nose, thick black hair, and strong bony frames.

"One of their most curious customs is that they live together in the same house. They do not care to separate from the family (*kanai*) and go to housekeeping for themselves as younger sons or daughters usually do. There are therefore, in each family many adults. The family of Mr. Yoheiji, in Kitani *kumi*, consists of thirty persons; that of Mr. Ōtsuka, of thirty-seven; and so on. Still, among so many persons, there are usually only two or three married couples. For, except in the case of the heir apparent (*sōzoku-nin*), no lawful marriages are made by the sons or the daughters; they have illicit relations with those of other families. One result is that the number of members of the family increases in proportion to the number of daughters it contains, for a child of such an illicit relation is brought up by the mother in her family. The head of the family supplies only the child's food; the mother must supply everything else; though if she cannot provide, the father assists. Formerly when a birth occurred, and notice was sent, as required by law, to the *Kochō* (head official of a *mura* under the Meiji

Government), the child was represented to be that of the married son or daughter in whom the succession was vested (*sōzoku-nin*). But recently the *Kochō*, beginning to think that the children of these couples were very numerous, discovered the truth. He then advised them to put an end to such customs and to contract lawful marriages, and to give up the practice of living together as one family and either establish separate homes or emigrate to other provinces. But these are their ancient customs, and, in spite of the advice of the *Kochō*, they have not changed them.

"Farming is their principal occupation. They cannot produce rice, however, in this region, so they cultivate a coarse grain called *hiye*. Besides this they cultivate pease, beans, barley, wheat, and mulberry. Raising silk-worms is an important occupation with them. They do not make silk, however, but sell the cocoon to merchants in other provinces; recently, however, silk-manufacture has been started. The head of the family does not take part in the work of the field, but stays at home and superintends household affairs; an overseer to goes the fields and directs the work. If one wishes to know the amount of the yearly cocoon product or its price, one must ask the head of the family; for the others are only laborers and do not know anything about the subject.

"The head of the family once a year gives a suit of summer clothes, made of hemp and colored with indigo, to each member of the family. There are certain days, however, when the latter work for themselves, keeping whatever they can earn. These are, in spring-time, one day in every seven, and in summer-time, one in every five. So that a thrifty person can earn enough to provide for himself a great many things besides the clothes given by the head of the family. On the other hand, a thriftless person will earn very little more, and the result is that, among the members of the same family, some may be rich and others poor.

"Their houses are sometimes of three or four stories.

There is of course a difference to be seen between the houses of the rich and those of the poor, but the general construction is the same.

"On account of the scarcity of rice, the head alone of all the family uses it. When, therefore, a father bequeaths his property to his son or daughter, and retires from the headship (*inkyo suru*), he is obliged to give up rice and eat *hiye*, while the son puts aside *hiye*, and now eats rice.

"We are accustomed to add *san* or *sama* to a name as a token of respect, and we omit it only with inferiors. But these people say 'Tarō' or 'Jirō,' not 'Tarō *san*' or 'Jirō *san*,' to all persons alike, high or low, gentry or common people, superior or inferior. Again, we usually say '*danna*' of the master of a house, and '*okami-san*' or '*oku-sama*' or '*go-shinzo-sama*' of the mistress of a house. But these people say '*āsa*' for the former, and '*oba*' for the latter. Again, we say '*musume*' and '*musuko*' for 'daughter' and 'son;' they say '*merō*' and '*bō*.' Our word for 'mother' is '*haha*;' theirs is '*uma-uma*.' They have many other peculiar expressions.'

IV. COPY OF A COMPLAINT MADE BY THE FARMERS OF THE PROVINCE OF OWARI TO THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AGAINST THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR (KUNITSU-KASA) FUJIWARA MOTONORI.[32]

Thirty-one articles of complaint against the Kunitsukasa Fujiwara Motonori.

Fujiwara Motonori has extorted in excess of what was due 330,248 bundles of unhulled rice, and 120,174⅝ bundles as interest.

He does not observe the distinctions between different taxes, but has collected as large a proportion in other taxes as in the land tax.

He has imposed a tax 3 to 6 *shō* of rice per *tan* in excess of the rightful amount.

He has extorted rice without any just cause.

He has imposed the payment of 13 bundles of rice per *tan* in excess of the rightful amount.

Under the name of an exchange he has extorted from us quantities of silk, hemp, and Shinano cloth, of lacquer, of grease, and of cotton, but we have received no goods in return from him.

He has extorted from the district officials (*gun-tsukasa*) and farmers clothing and rice which the *kuni-tsukasa* ought himself to have given freely to the people.

Under the name of a loan he has extorted from us 1212 bundles of silk.

He has failed to dispense to the poor the 150 *koku* of unhulled rice which every *kuni-tsukasa* is accustomed to give.

32. Quoted in the *Fudōsan;* only the heads of the articles of complaint, however, are there given.

He has not supplied to post-stations or the postofficials the legal compensation equivalent to the product of 156 *chō* of land.

He has not supplied the 6790 bundles of unhulled rice which should be given to post-stations for miscellaneous expenses.

He has not supplied the 13000 bundles of unhulled rice which has become due in the last three years for expenses connected with rivers and lakes.

He has extorted a quantity of wheat which he pretended was due as the price of land.

He has not waited until the regular time for collecting the silk cloth dues, but has sent officials every five or six days to collect them.

He has placed cruel officers in every district, who have extorted things from the people, sometimes by force.

He has compelled us to grind and give to him the rice which was left at the end of the year.

On the pretence that it is for the use of the Government, he is preparing unjustly to collect from us 170 *koku* of rice.

Whenever he crossed a river, he would call on us to ferry his retinue across.

He does not pay the expenses of the *kuni-tsukasa* office.

He does not pay the salaries of the persons employed in the office.

He has forced us to carry his rice and other merchandise to his house at cheap prices.

He has forced people to carry merchandise to Kyōto and Asame, although it was not a customary service. He has not supplied the 18000 bundles of unhulled rice required for the cost of repairing of Kokubun temple.

He has not supplied the 12000 bundles of unhulled rice due for the support of the priests and nuns.

He is not familiar with the needs of the province, because he has had no experience in such matters.

His vassals, brothers, and retainers have greedily extorted many things from us.

His son Yorikata especially has been guilty of numerous acts of extortion.

His vassals, sons, brothers, and relatives have by a forged map cheated us of the harvest of a large portion of territory.

He has brought many wicked fellows with him, on his return from Kyōto.

He has not notified us of three of the nine proclamations which the Government has issued since the third year of Kwanwa (987 A. D.)

V. ON THE MILITARY SYSTEM OF THE EARLIEST TIMES.[33]

By Kurita Kwan.

It is generally believed that the military system of incorporating five men into a *go* and fifty men into a *tai* was borrowed from China; but this system, as well as that of placing a military division in each *kuni*, really had its origin in our own country, at a remote period, certainly earlier than Taikwa (645-650 A. D.). The system of *go* was in use among both classes of people in the earliest times. "When the Father of Heaven sent his grandson to earth to rule the people, he sent with him gods of five *be* or *bu*, ordering them to attend the youth." From the words "five *be*" in this passage, it seems that the socalled "gods of five *be*" were the heads of their respective *be* or clans. These "gods of five *be*" are the *itsu-tomo-no-wo* of the *Kojiki*, *tomo-no-wo* meaning *buchō*, chief of a clan. Each of these clans was accustomed to attend its chieftain to the National Festival and to the battlefield. This division into five *be*, therefore, shows how in early times the system of *go* existed even among those holding civil, not military, positions [since the "gods of five *be*" were ordinarily only civil officials.] This is a sample of the arrangement as it was applied to civil officials:

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33. The object of this article is to show that the military system of the earliest time was based on a division into companies of five units; that it was of Japanese invention, not borrowed from China: and (impliedly) that the *gonin-gumi* system was an outgrowth of this military arrangement, not a borrowed institution.

The article appeared in the magazine *Kok-ko*, in the number for July, 1890.

Name of chieftain	*Name of be*
Nakatomi no Muraji	Nakatomi
Imibe no Obito	Imibe
Kagami-tsukuri no Muraji ...	Kagamitsukuri
Tama-tsukuri no Muraji ...	Tamatsukuri
Same no Kimi	Sarume.

So much as to the civil orders; now as to the military class. We read in the *Kojiki* that "when.....Amano-oshiho-mimi no Mikoto gave soldiers to Nigihayahi no Mikoto, he sent 'the men of five *be*' from heaven, and ordered them to accompany Nigihayahi as *tari* (attendants)," and that he also "sent *Miyatsuko* of five *be*, appointed them as *Tomo-no-Miyatsuko*, and ordered them to accompany Nigihayahi, leading '*Amatsu-monobe*.'" Now these *Miyatsuko* were the chieftains of the five *be* of which *Amatsu-monobe* was constituted, forming altogether five divisions of troops in one. But each of these *be* was again subdivided into five *be;* and in fact we read in the *Kojiki* that "the men of twenty-five *be*," that is, of these smaller *be*, accompanied Nigihayahi. Each of the smaller *be* contained fifty men. The arrangement would thus be as follows:

Name of Miyatsuko	*Name of small be.*
Futata...	Futata *no monobe*
	Tayema ,, ,,
	Serita ,, ,,
	Torini ,, ,,
	Yokota ,, ,,
Ōmiwa...	,, ,,
Yuso	,, ,,
Sakabe	,, ,,

Five *monobe*, therefore, under a single *Miyatsuko*, made two hundred and fifty men, and the whole force consisted of twelve hundred and fifty men. Besides the soldiers, there were blacksmiths or armorers (*amatsu-tsumara*),

makers of hats and rain-coats (*kasami-be*), and carpenters (*ina-be*). There were also sailors (*funa-ko*), steersmen (*kaji-tori*), and captains (*sen-chō*) for the ships. These troops were all under the command, it seems, of Nigihayahi, who led them all to Kawachi, and thence to Yamato. We may safely conclude, then, that the system of *go* was already in use in the age of the divinities.

Let us now turn to the evidence relating to the posting of soldiers in each *kuni*. That soldiers were thus posted is indeed true; but they were not soldiers by trade; they cultivated the land in the ordinary time of peace, and only in case of war did they lay aside the plough and the spade and accompany their chiefs to battle. For example, Nakatomi *be* accompanied Nakatomi *no muraji*, *Imi-be*, Imibe *no-Obito*. We find too, in the *Wamyō-shō*, that the names of places in various *kuni* correspond with the above clan name. For example, we find Nakatomi *gō*, in Harima, Iho *gōri;* another Nakatomi *gō* in Buzen, Nakatsu *gōri;* Imibe *gō*, Awa, Ōye *gōri;* another Imibe *gō* in Kii, Nagusa *gōri;* another in Izumo, Ire *gōri;* Kagami-tsukuri *gō* in Yamato, Shishimo *gōri;* Kami *gō* (a corruption of Kagami); in Tosa; Kakumi *gō* in Settsu and in Mino; Tama-tsukuri *gō* in Shimōsa and in Mutsu. These places seem to have been inhabited by the descendants of the people of the original five chiefs (*itsu-tomo-no-wo*) above mentioned. We find additional instances in the *Wamyō-shō:* a *Mono-no-be gō* in Owari, Suruga, Shimōsa, Mino, Shimotsuke, Tamba, Tango, Echigo, Bizen, and Iki, where descendants of the people of Mono-no-be *Muraji* seem to have settled; a *Tomo-be gō* in Hitachi, Sagami, Awa, and Hizen; a Tama *gō* in Etchū and Higo; a Sayeki *gōri* in Aki; a Sayeki *gō* in Echigo, Tamba and Mino. This military system, then, by which in each *kuni* there were men who when called upon left their fields and went to war, was of very early date, and when Kōtoku Tennō (645-655 A. D.) introduced the more systematic military system called *gun-dan*, very few objectors were found.

The order of things, at this time, then was neither exclusively military nor exclusively. As the farmers were by turns soldiers, the whole nation was military. Civil government involved military matters, so that a governor might be a general and a general might be a governor.

VI. RULES RELATING TO THE STATION IN LIFE (BUNGEN) OF THE FARMERS OF MAIZURU HAN.

I. OF THE *BUNGEN* OF A FARMER OF 100 *KOKU* ASSESSMENT OR OVER.

A farmer of 76 koku *or over is treated as belonging in this grade.*

1. Such a farmer may build a house whose length, with the privy, is 10 *ken* [1 *ken*=5.98 feet]. But there must be no parlor (*zashiki*), and the roof must not be tiled. If the householder wishes to tile the roof, to protect it against fires, he must first get permission.
2. On the occasion of the marriage of a son or daughter, the gifts of the householder must be limited to the following:
   Two *nagamochi* (a chest used for bed clothes)
   One *tansu* (a chest of drawers)
   One *tsuzura* (a vine used in basket-making)
   One *hasami-bako* (a case for scissors)
   A *yuinō obi* (a present, usually the sash called *obi*, exchanged at the time of the wedding)
   One *sensu* (a fan)
   One *taru* (a vessel containing wine)
   Surume (a kind of fish)
   Kobu (a kind of sea weed)
   Tai (a kind of fish, used in occasions of ceremony).
3. The viands on the wedding-day must be as follows:
   1) *Zōni-zuimono* (a kind of soup);
   2) The things placed on the *honzen* (a small table): *a*) in the *hira* (one of the dishes), *namasu* (a kind of fish), *b*) in the *choku* (the other dish), something roasted or broiled;
   3) *Hikimono* (viands taken home by each guest):

a) ***suimono*** (soup), two kinds, *b*) ***torimono*** (a liquid), two kinds, *c*) ***hikigashi*** (a kind of cake).

These three kinds altogether must not make more than a small amount.

4. The family must never wear silk clothes. If a son or daughter is to marry a person whose station allows the use of silk, the householder must request him not to use it on the occasion of the wedding.
5. No guests should be invited other than relations of the family, ***ko-bun*** (people who are under obligations to the householder for kindness received and stand in the place of children), and a few of the most intimate friends. But this rule refers only to the day of the wedding.
6. At a wedding or a New Year's call, the use of ***jū*** (lacquer boxes, containing confectionery, given as presents) is forbidden.
7. When a member of the family makes a visit to a relation or elsewhere, he should not carry valuable presents. When he is visiting a sick person, he may take anything which happens to be at hand.
8. When there is death (***fukō***), and people come to the house on visits of condolence, no wine should be offered.
9. At a funeral (***butsuji***) wine should not be offered to the persons who follow to the grave.
10. On such occasions the viands should be of five kinds only; but there should be no wine. If wine is offered, it should be given in soup cups, not in wine cups, nor should ***tori-zakana*** (a dish served only with wine) be prepared.
11. On the occasion of the birth of a first child (***Ui-zan***) the presents from the grandparents should be as follows only:

    A cotton garment:
    One set (four boxes) of *jū*;
    One *taru*;
    Viands.

From the other relations only small money-presents, if any, should be sent.

12. When the child is taken to the *mura* temple (the occasion called *miya-mairi*) *jū* may be offered to the grandparents, but not to others.

13. At the time of *hatsu-bina* (the first third-of-March festival after the birth of a girl; presents are exchanged and a feast given) and *hatsu-nobori* (the first fifth-of-May after the birth of a boy; *nobori*, flag, is the typical present, as *hina*, doll, is at the girls' festival) grandparents and other relations should not present *hina* and *nobori;* the whole family should present a single *kami-nobori* (paper flag) and two *yari* (spears), and relatives may also make small money-presents.

II. OF THE *BUNGEN* OF A FARMER OF 50 *KOKU* ASSESSMENT OR OVER.

Those above 40 koku *are treated as belonging to this grade.*

1. The house, with the privy, may be seven and a half *ken* in length. Tiles should not be used, unless special permission is given.

2. The presents at a wedding may be:

   One *nagamochi;*
   One *tansu;*
   One *tsuzura;*
   One *hasami-bako;*
   A *yuinō* worth not over 200 *hiki* (50 *sen*) in all.

3. Silk clothes are forbidden. Even in private only *tsumugi* (a poor silk) is to be used.

4. At a wedding the *honzen* and *hikimono* together should not exceed five kinds, the soup, one kind, the food with wine, one kind.
5. The rules for the number of guests at a wedding, for the presents at the birth of a child, for *miya-mairi*, *hatsu-bina* and *hatsu-nobori*, *fukō*, and *butsuji*, are the same as in the previous grade. Presents on the occasion of a wedding, a new year's call, a call on a sick person, and other calls should consist only of what happens to be at hand.

III. OF THE *BUNGEN* OF A FARMER OF 20 *KOKU* ASSESSMENT OR OVER

Those having over 16 *koku are to be treated as belonging to this grade.*

1. The house, with the privy, is not to be longer than six *ken*. The woods called *hinoki* and *keyaki* and other ornamental materials are not to be used. The roof should be covered with straw or bamboo thatch.
2. Mats (*tatami*) are not to be used. Those who already have them must inform the officials, and must put away their mats, using them only on occasions of ceremony.
3. If a storehouse (*kura*) is to be covered with tiles, as a protection against fire, permission must first be obtained.
4. On the occasion of a wedding, the presents must be no more than the following:

   One *nagamochi;*
   One *tsuzura;*
   A *yuinō* of not more than 100 *hiki;*
   One *taru;*
   One *sensu;*
   Sakana.

5. At the time of a wedding or great entertainment, clothes of cotton and silk mixed may be worn; at other times, in public, cotton clothes only. At such entertainments the viands should be only one kind of soup, three other dishes, wine, and a dish accompanying it. Roast viands and fish are forbidden, as *ōzara* (a large, toothsome dish)
6. The rule about guests is the same as in the previous grade.
7. As to *haki-mono* (foot-wear), women should use clogs or sandals having cotton thongs only, and should not use *setta* (a sandal having iron heels and bound with leather) or *nara-zōri* (a sandal made at Nara), and men should use sandals made of *take-nokawa* (bamboo).
8. Men should never wear *tabi* (socks); but men over sixty years old may wear them privately at home and women on occasions of ceremony (*tairei*).
9. Hair-ornaments should not be of silk (*takenaga*). *Kushi* (combs), *kōgai*, and *kanzashi* (kinds of hair-pins) should not be made of tortoise-shell. *Kushi* of wood or of *chōsen-zōge* (a poor kind of ivory from Corea) should be used.
10. *Higasa* (sun-shades) should not be used.
11. As to other things, the rules are the same as in the previous grade.

IV. OF THE *BUNGEN* OF FARMER OF 10 *KOKU* ASSESSMENT OR OVER.

Those under 10 *koku are also included.*

1. The house may be five and a half *ken* in length, including the privy, and the roof should be of straw or bamboo thatch.

2. If a *kura* is built to protect articles from fire, the roof should not be tiled.
3. The presents at the time of a wedding may be:
   One *nagamochi*.
   Yutan (a cover for a chest of drawers) are not to be given. As to viands, one kind of soup and two kinds of *sai* (a dish eaten with rice) may be set out; but roast things and large wine cups are forbidden. Wine and one accompanying dish are allowable.
4. Silk or mixed cotton and silk clothes are forbidden. Combs and hair-pins of tortoise-shell are forbidden; combs of wood or Corean ivory must be used.
5. Hair-ornaments (*kami-kazari*) should consist of *nori-hiki* and *motoi*, and nothing more.
6. Foot-wear should be *narazōri*, not *setta*. Women are to wear bamboo-thonged sandals ordinarily, but at occasions of ceremony sandals with cotton thongs; men should wear only bamboo-thonged sandals on all occasions.
7. At the time of *hatsuzan* the clothes given to the child should not be mixed cotton-and-silk; for other articles of clothing, the rules of the previous grade apply.
8. At the time of *hatsu-nobori* the grand parents may present a *yari* (spear), and at the time of *hatsu-bina*, a *kami-bina* (paper-doll) or *tsuchi-ningyō* (earthen-doll).
9. At the time of a funeral (*butsuji*) one kind of soup and two of *sai* may be used, but the latter must be vegetables (*yasai*). For other dishes the rules are the same as for the previous grade.

V. OF THE *BUNGEN* OF *MIZUNOMI*.

1. The house may be of the same size as in the previous grade.
2. The presents at a wedding may be.

   One *tsuzura*.

   Nagamochi are forbidden.
3. At entertainments, one *hira* and one soup may be offered, but not in cups.
4. The collar and the sleeve-ends of the clothes may be ornamented with silk, and an *obi* of silk or silk crepe may be worn, but not in public.
5. The rule for hair-ornaments is the same as in the previous grade.
6. The same is true of foot-wear.
7. At the time of *Ui-zan* the grandparents may send two *jū* and money for rice and fish; other relations and friends should send only money for fish.
8. At the time of *hatsu-nobori* and *hatsu-bina* the rules of the previous grade apply.
9. In all other matters the rules of the previous grade apply.

VI. GENERAL MATTERS.

1. *Mura-yakunin* and the *ō-byakushō* (large farmers) as well as chiefs of *kumi* (*gashira-byakushō*) may use *karakasa* (umbrellas) but *ko-byakushō* (small farmers) and *mizunomi* must use only *mino* (straw or hemp rain-coats) and *kasa* (broad straw hats); still, when there is great need, they may use *karakasa*.
2. A family ranking less than 20 *koku* must use the *Takeda-wan* (a cup made in Takeda *mura*) and the *Nikkō-zen* (a small eating-table, made at Nikkō;

both of these articles were of the cheapest sort). If they have more costly articles already, they must get permission before using them. No articles of luxury of any kind are to be used, even if now on hand.

3. There are some families which are assessed at only 40 or 50 *koku* and yet enjoy net incomes of 100 *koku* or more and wish to live accordingly. In such cases after consultation and decision by the *kumi* or the villagers the family may be ranked in the 100 *koku* grade.
4. There are some families which are not assessed at all as farmers, but have from other sources incomes of perhaps 50 *koku*. In such cases the *kumi* and the villagers should treat the family as of 50 *koku* rank; yet not quite the same, for such a family belongs in the merchant class, which is a less honorable one. Still if the family is of old standing and has a good name, it should be treated exactly the same as a family of 50 *koku* rank.
5. Servants (*hōkōnin*), whether men or women, should in their *bungen* rank as *mizunomi*. If they violate the rules, their masters are responsible.
6. *Mura-yakunin* should be treated by every one with greater consideration than others of equal income.
7. A family of more than 50 *koku* assessment may give 120 *sen* as a present (*sakana-dai*) literally, money for fish; a family of over 20 *koku*, 75 *sen*; and a *ko-byakushō* or *mizunomi*, 50 *sen*.

VII. KOKOROYE (RULES TO BE KEPT IN MIND).

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1. In some villages there are continual disputes about *iyegara* (family rank) and about whether a family is *kyūka* (an old family, standing in high rank

among the farmers) or *shinke* (a new family, in low estimation, even though well off). Now *kyūka* should be treated by all persons as such, even though at the time the family is poor; and *shinke* should be regarded as such, even though at the present time it happens to be rich. All families should respect the *kyūka*. But if a *kyūka* continues poor for three generations and is so reduced as to have to ask assistance from others, then it should be regarded as *shinke*. So if a *shinke* continues rich for three generations, it should be regarded as *kyūka*.

2. There are sometimes persons who treat with contempt a family that has immigrated from another village. This is very wrong, and henceforward immigrants shall not be so treated.
3. There are sometimes families who on account of there being many children, or of sickness, or of having to assist relations in need, have themselves become poor and unable to support themselves. These is the result of what may be called natural causes, and is unavoidable. In such cases a *mujin* (a combination or club for the purpose of contributing to the support of poor persons) should be formed. But there are also families who build dwellings so large and costly that they can scarcely meet the expense, or indulge in delicacies of the table that are beyond their means and at last have to sell the property they have inherited from their ancestors. Where there is such a family, the fellow-villagers should in a friendly way look after them and keep them from extravagance; all the villagers should also be diligent themselves to keep within their station and their means.
4. According to the rules here set forth, the *bungen* of *chō-byakushō* (large farmers), *ko-byakushō* and *mizunomi* are distinctly separated in rank. These rules, however, are not made to force families of

one rank to be equally intimate with all others of the same rank, or to prevent a family from occupying a high rank merely because it is poor; but because unless some such rules are laid down, families are very likely to be unable to live upon their means in the station they would like to occupy, and thus would come to grief. So that these *bungen* have been established and rules carefully laid down. Still, the *kami*-(upper)-*byakushō* must not be arrogant with the *shimo*-(lower)-*byakushō*, and the *shimo-byakushō* and *mizunomi* must not hate or dislike the former. *Shimo* should respect *kami*, and *kami* should treat *shimo* kindly. This is the natural law, established by Heaven, and it should be obeyed, not struggled against. The community will then be orderly and peaceful.

Another reason for the making of these rules is the habits of luxury and extravagance which have grown up of late years among the people of this *han*. The result has been that many families have ruined themselves, and have been obliged to sell their patrimony, so that the community is disordered, and quarrels between this man and that man and this village and that are constantly occurring, and it is difficult to maintain order. The lord of the *han* has come to the conclusion that if rules of this sort about *bungen* are established, these bad ways will cease and order will be restored; and so the *mura-yakunin*, by order of the lord of the *han*, have held a meeting to discuss the subject of *bungen* and have made these rules. But, as they are very complicated and minute, it is to be supposed that people may sometimes find it necessary to violate them, and in such a case one may, if one is within one's own home, act according to his discretion.

These rules are to be observed by all the people for ten years, that is, from this year of the Dragon

to the year of the Ox. If any one violates them without due excuse he is to be punished, and his *kumi* will also be held responsible. So that every member of a *kumi* must carefully watch the conduct of his fellow-members.

Each one will strive to increase his income and rise to a higher *bungen;* but he must of course commit no wrong in order to succeed and must faithfully pursue his vocation.

These rules are established in order that people may be frugal and economical.

VII. "EARLY JAPANESE CIVILIZATION."

(The following extracts are from Dr. Florenz's essay, already referred to.)[34]

.....The nation which resulted from these earlier and later immigrations was far from being a political unit: it was rather a number of units, holding together only loosely. These units were the so-called *uji* or clans, that is, the patriarchal families including a number of persons related by blood. We must distinguish between the greater and the lesser *uji*. The former are the chief families, the latter the branches of these. The branches were subordinate to the respective chief families. In case one of the latter died out, the fittest of the branch *uji* was chosen to succeed. The word *uji* is identified by Japanese scholars with *uchi* (inside) and signifies a family inclusive of ancestors.

These *uji* had each at the head an hereditary chief or patriarch, and were called sometimes after the place of residence, sometimes after the calling they followed. They had also, in their corporate capacity, their own landed possessions and their own serf population, called *tami*, then *shinabe*, then *tamibe*, then *bukyoku*. It is further self-evident, as the constitution of the early family requires, that orders emanating from the head of a chief family were always addressed to the other heads as representing their *uji*, and never to the individual members, who as such had generally no importance. The predecessors of the present Japanese Emperor played at that time a special role, which however was quite different from the later development of imperialism. If we retain the term "Emperor" in the Japanese chronicles in speaking of this earliest ruler, we must nevertheless, if we would avoid a very natural error, not

34. "*Altjapanische Culturzutände*," by Dr. C.A. Florenz, of Tōkyō, in *Mittheil. d. D. Gesellss. Ostas., Heft* 44.

fail to remember that the Emperor was nothing but the chief or patriarch of one of many *uji*. His *uji* was, to be sure (reckoning all its branches), larger and more powerful than the others, and it grew constantly in size and strength and acquired a more and more influential position in the group of clans which had originally possessed equal privileges. The Emperor's rights over territory and subjects had never extended beyond his own *uji* and its branches, and in this respect he stood on the same plane with every other chief. Over the remaining *uji* of the group he possessed only three privileges, which, though they formed the source of a genuinely imperial sovereignty, show how little they were in the beginning to be identified with real imperial authority. In the progress of time the growth of the family-power of the Emperor (that is, his rights over the blood-relations subordinate to him) was accompanied by greater definiteness in these privileges, and the final result, especially after the grafting of the Chinese conception of imperialism, was the centralisation of the administration in the hands of the leading family of the chief *Uji*. It is worth remarking, however, that Japanese scholars always deny that the Emperor belonged to an *uji*. "Since the creation of the world, the Tennō has had no *kabane* (see *infra*), no *uji*. His lineage has been a direct one in all generations, for he has stood in the highest place and has never lost his authority" (Konakamura Yoshikata, *Nihon Seido-tsū*, vol. II).

The three above-mentioned prerogatives of the Emperor were; 1. The representation of the different *uji* before the ancestral deity (at first of the chief family only, finally of the whole people) Amaterasu, and thus the possession of the functions of a high-priest; 2. The representation of the different *uji* in foreign relations, for example, with Corea and China, whose envoys were sent to him; with this prerogative was involved the supreme command in war; 3. The right to regulate the affairs of the *uji*,—including the settlement of disputes between individual *uji*, the nomination of a new patriarch when the direct line in any *uji* came

to an end, the creation of new *uji* and the degradation or even extinction of an existing *uji* which had been guilty of conduct seriously affecting the common welfare.

.....*Seishi-roku*, also called *Shōji-roku*, is a catalogue of Japanese family names, compiled by Prince Mata in the fifth year of Kōnin (814 A.D.), under the Emperor Saga, for the purpose of making clear once more the proper rank of the various families, for the social changes that had occurred had resulted in a pernicious confusion of caste-relations. This work divides families into two classes, those living in Kyōto, and those living in the provinces. Both are divided into *kōbetsu*, *shimbetsu*, and *bambetsu*, and in these divisions we find another classification into *sei*. These *sei* (or *kabane*, in the early Japanese equivalent) have absolutely nothing to do with the Chinese *sei* (except that the characters are the same), as Japanese scholars have thought; they are the "colors" or relative rank of the different "castes," and correspond exactly to the Indian word *varna*, "color" that is, "caste." The *kabane* of the patriarchal time were the *omi*, *muraji*, *kuni-no-miyatsuko*, *tomo-no-miyatsuko*, *wake*, *kimi*, *atae*, *agata-nushi*, *inagi*, and *sukuri*. Every *uji* belonged by descent to one of these *kabane*. The *kabane*, and with it the occupation and calling, could not be changed. *Kabane* and "calling" are identical. After the period Taikwa, however, a distinction began between *kabane* and "calling." A given occupation was no longer hereditary and unalterable in each *uji*, the necessary result of which was a confusion in the former classification. The Emperor Temmu was therefore obliged (684 A.D.) to make new regulations in regard to these castes. He divided the *uji* into eight *sei* or *kabane*, named after colors. It is this division which *Seishi-roku* sought to make clear.

.....But in the above-mentioned division into *kōbetsu*, *shimbetsu*, and *bambetsu*, we recognize one of the oldest classifications, based on the closeness or distance of relationship between the individual *uji*; 1. *Kōbetsu* were the imperial families, who traced their descent from the greatest

national deity Amaterasu or Tenshō-daijin; they appear first in Japanese histories as the relatives of Jimmu Tennō; 2. *Shimbetsu* were of divine origin, divided into *tenshin* (heaven-deities) and *chiki* (earth-deities). The former are the descendants of those who came with Jimmu Tennō from Heaven, that is, his co-immigrants, those who had come to Tsukushi with the chief *uji*. The latter are the descendants of those who were found by the Tsukushi immigrants already settled in Yamato; their ancestors were worshipped as local deities; 3. *Bambetsu* or *banzoku* were those who at different later times had immigrated from Corea and China and afterwards became *uji* or slaves.

But this classification, though it gives the essential elements forming the Japanese people, is nevertheless a theoretical rather than an actual one.....We must first distinguish between free and unfree persons; the former must then be divided into five classes; I, the imperial family; II, *omi*, nobles of *kōbetsu* descent; III, *muraji*, nobles of *shimbetsu* descent; IV, *kuni-no-miya-tsuko;* V, *tomonotsuko*, including the *fuhito*. We will consider first the slaves.

.....On this point Mr. Chamberlain, in his Introduction to the *Kojiki* (p. XLI) makes a strange remark when he says: "The absence of slavery [in early Japan] is another honourable feature." This erroneous conception is founded doubtless on the absence of the word *nuhi*, which is even yet the customary term for slaves. The word occurs first and as a regular designation in *Taihō-ryō*, the oldest Japanese code, and is a Chinese word (*nu* meaning a male and *hi* a female slave). But before the time of *Taihō-ryō* we find instead a whole group of terms of purely Japanese origin.

1. As the oldest designation for slaves we meet the word *tomobe*. *Tomo* means "group," "band," and *be* (now occurring only in proper names like *Watanabe*) means a tribe or clan which is bound to a special place. We find, also, other very old words. 2. *Yakabe*. *Yaka* is "house," "family;" thus *yakabe* is "bound to a family." 3. *Kakibe*.

To *kaki* (house), an old and forgotten word, corresponds the modern *kaki*, signifying "hedge," "enclosure," "boundary" and may be traced back by a special, earlier meaning of "boundary of a house." The *kakibe* are thus "the dependants of a house." Of later origin must be the following word, which occurs in the *Nihongi*. 4. *Watakushi-no-tami*, meaning "private people." The conception of private ownership, unknown in earlier times, must be set against the equally unknown idea of "government."

...The *tomobe* always belonged to a special *uji*. They were regarded as property and were therefore bought and sold. Originally their owners had unlimited power over their lives. In numerous articles of *Taihō-ryō* and *Ritsu* the slaves were placed in the same category with cattle and lifeless things.

.....After the disappearance of the patriarchal system and the establishment of a true administrative system there came about many limitations on the rights of the masters over their slaves. First a distinction arose between slaves related by blood to the master and those not so related, between *kenin* or *kajin* and *nuhi*. The word *kenin* appears in the authorities in *Nihongi* at the same time that *nuhi* comes into use. In earlier times, so long as they employed the vernacular expression *kakibe*, the conception of *kenin* was unknown or at least not distinguished from *kakibe*. *Kenin* signified slaves related by blood to the family, but obliged by circumstances (e. g. poverty) to enter into relations of dependency with their own *uji*. They ranked somewhat higher than the *nuhi*, as appears in several instances. They could not be employed for all kinds of work, but only in special matters, as is remarked in a commentary on the passage of *Taihō-ryō* which enacts that the children of *kenin* shall also be *kenin* and shall belong to the owner of the parents. According to the same passage, *kenin* could not be bought and sold.

.....In the sixth century the State began to interfere in the buying and selling of slaves, by establishing a special office called *shokatsu no kwanshi*, where a slave-register

was made out, the transaction communicated, and official ratification given.

.....As regards the price paid for slaves, there were of course variations depending on age and family; there was, however, an average price; 1000 *soku* (bundles) of rice, for instance, were given in *Tempyō-shōhō* 147-157 A. D. for a slave in his prime.

.....There was for slaves in Japanese, as for slaves in Rome, no such thing as *connubium;* their union in marriage (which could exist only between two slaves) must be compared to the Roman *contubernium*....In case of a union between a free person and a slave, the children were in all cases slaves.

.....The origin of slavery in Japan is a subject which still needs critical examination. We can here offer only a few positive assertions. If a man fell into debt and was unable to pay, he became the slave of his creditor. A thief who was unable to make restitution of the stolen property and pay the proper fine became the slave of the aggrieved person. An offence against the Emperor was often punished by degradation to slavery. It is probable that the aborigines, the Aino, were made slaves, so far as they were not exterminated by the conquering tribes or driven to the north or into inaccessible mountain districts. Finally, the immigrants from China and Corea were serfs; but where they possessed some special useful accomplishment and were on that account deemed worthy of a better position, they were then established as free persons.

.....The second rank of Japanese society, counting from beneath, and at the same time the first grade of free persons, of the people properly so-called, was the *tomo-no-miyatsuko* (usually abbreviated to *tomonotsuko*) or *tomo-no-wo*. Those *uji* were so-called who followed a trade, usually an hereditary one. They generally had to labor for a special need of the imperial *uji*. So the *sasahito* followed the trade of *sasa*, that is, sake-brewing; the *miyabe* were builders of the imperial mansions and temples;.....

We have already mentioned that those immigrants from

China and Corea who possessed some particular trade became not serfs but *tomonotsuko*. The trades they followed were almost all such as we do not find among the early Japanese and had been introduced into Japan by the more highly civilized immigrants. The extraordinary utility of these people explains the position which they took in its society. As foreigners they would necessarily occupy a lower position than native Japanese; but on the other hand their services were so important that they received great consideration, and so it came about that they occupied a scarcely inferior position to the next higher grade. The *tomonotsuko* following trades (for upon the others, such as *mononobe* and *ōtomo* we will not risk any opinion) are all to be regarded as foreigners, that is, as Chinese, Coreans, or their descendants following the hereditary trade; and it is our opinion that the position of the *tomonotsuko* owed its origin entirely to the immigrants.

.....Characteristic of the well-known centralization of the government is the fact that the *uji* of *tomonotsuko* were always attached to the chief *uji*, in order to help strengthen the imperial power. The number of *tomonotsuko-uji* seems to have been quite large, for the old texts speak of *momo-yaso no tomo* (180 clans). Within the *tomo no tsuko* we find another class, the so-called *fuhito*, sometimes placed as a separate grade next to the *tomonotsuko*. These *fuhito* (*fude*, pen, *hito*, man) were those who could read and write,—in Chinese, of course, for the Japanese had no writing of their own. In all known instances the *fuhito* were from China or of Chinese descent.

The third grade from below, ranking only a little above the *tomonotsuko*, was the *kuni no miyatsuko*, or more briefly *kunitsuko*. Over the signification of the term *miyatsuko* various opinions have been expressed.....To understand it properly, one must go back to the word *yatsuko*, which was used in contrast with *kimi*, "prince," "Emperor," and is still in use in modern times with the signification "knight." By *yakko* were afterwards meant also the lowest retainers of a *daimyō*, who were not *samurai*

and could carry only a short sword. The *mi* of *miyatsuko* is the honorific prefix occurring in *mikado;* it indicates a relation of the *yatsuko* with the Emperor.

The *kunitsuko* were the agricultural landholders. The large landowners were called *okunitsuko*, the smaller ones *agata-nushi*, *inagi*, *suguri* or *mura-nushi*. The *uji* in this grade are known by place-names, rather than true family-names. In *Seishi-roku*, above referred to, forty-two *uji* are given who bear place-names. The *Nihongi* and *Kogo-shōi* relate that the *kuni no miyatsuko* and the *agata-nushi* were established by Jimmu Tennō. The number of their *uji* under Yūryaku Tennō must have increased to 144. If their land was in an island, the title of the owner was *shima no miyatsuko*. After the time of Keikō Tennō (71—130 A.D.) the *Nihongi* mentions several instances in which descendants of the Emperor were owners of large amounts of land. These were for five or six generations known as *kimi* or *wake*, but after the sixth or seventh they usually became *kunitsuko*. It is proved by a whole series of instances that the *kunitsuko* were the absolute, independent lords of their land and soil and not merely feudal lords holding imperial land. If a *kunitsuko* had been guilty of an offence against the Emperor for which he became liable to punishment, he could make satisfaction and obtain immunity from further punishment by giving up to the Emperor a piece of land belonging to his *uji*.

VIII. MAP OF A MURA.

(Umahashi mura, Tama gōri, Musashi kuni.)

Schedule of proprietors of land in the *mura*, with extent of land and number of lots owned by each.

Name of *Asana*	No. of Lots	Area				Kind of Land
		Chō	*Tan*	*Se*	*Bu*	
I. *Ō Kan Minami*	1 to 75	9	1	9	20	U
(South of Road) ..			8	7	20	H
		1	9			F
				4	13	G
			7	8	29	B
Total..		12	8		22	
II. *Nishihara*	76 to 158		2	16	22	L
(West Meadow) ..		7	3	7	25	U
			9	4	4	H
		3	9	7	20	F
			8	1	17	B
Total..		13	4	3	28	
III. *Hommura*	159 to 281	2	3	8	16	L
(Main Village)		8	8	3	5	U
		1	6	7	13	H
		2	5		13	F
		1	2	5	26	B
Total..		16	9	15	13	
IV. *Uchide*	282 to 438	4	2	8	8	L
(Inside)		9	3	3	14	U
		1	4		2	H
		3	7		8	F
			1	7	24	M
				5	18	G
				8	13	T
					12	F
		1	3	2	18	B
Total..		20	3	6	27	

Name of *Azana*	No. of Lots	Area				Kind of Land
		Chō	*Tan*	*Se*	*Bu*	
V. *Hara*	439 to 564		2	4	17	L
(Meadow).....		10	8	3	3	U
		1	1	1	3	H
		10	6	1	16	F
			4	8	27	M
				8	15	G
		1	3		23	B
Total..		24	9	2	13	
Total for the *mura*		7	5	8	3	L
		45	5	7	7	U
		6			12	H
		22	7		9	F
			6	6	21	M
			1	8	16	G
			3	3	3	T
		5	5	5	23	B
Total..		88	6		15	

Name of Owner	Lot No.	Area			Kind of Land
		Tan	*Se*	*Bu*	
Aizawa Kihei	385		5	24	M
Arai Imagorō	150		6	20	F
	151	3	4	8	U
			4	23	B
	153		6	21	U
			1	16	B
	154		2	7	F
	157		7	12	H
	274		8	29	L
	425	2		19	,,
				15	B
Arai Sajūrō	34		5	6	F
	35		9	7	H
	36	4	1	2	U
			1	13	B
	37	2	7	19	U
			1	2	B
	38	2	2	22	U
	39		6		F
Asaga Shōtarō	50	1	4	29	U
			4	11	B
	161		5	29	H
	162		6	6	F
	165	3		2	U
			3	16	B
	166	1	5	2	U
Asaga Ogorō	61	1	6	16	U
			2	29	B
	64	1	9	25	U
	65	1	6	24	,,
				28	B
	146	2	2	24	U
			4	26	B

Name of Owner	Lot No.	Area			Kind of Land
		Tan	*Se*	*Bu*	
Asaga Urakichi	63	2		2	U
			2	14	B
	72	1	2		F
	73	1	7	29	U
			1	29	B
	74	1		20	F
	75		5	21	H
	81	2	8	26	U
	301	1	1	7	U
			2	3	B
	302		8	26	U
			2	26	B
Asaga Yūkichi	160		5	18	H
Asaga Kihachi	163		9		U
				12	B
	164	3	5	23	U
			2	27	B
	177		2	25	F
	178		6	27	H
Asaga Hanzō	246		7	19	U
				22	B
	247		4	15	F
Asaga Itarō	404	1	2	25	U
			2	9	B
	405		2	15	L
	406		9	17	L
	413	1	1		,,
	414		4	3	,,
	415		3	6	U
			1	4	B
	482	1	2	3	F
	483	2	3	27	U
			5	8	B
	484	4	3	3	U
			3	18	B
	485	3		15	U
				27	B
	492	1	4	27	F

Name of Owner	Lot No.	Area			Kind of Land
		Tan	*Se*	*Bu*	
Asaga Itarō	493	1	4	25	H
	494	1	7		U
			2	4	B
	562	3	8	22	F
	563	2	6	4	"
Asaga Ushitarō	407	1		27	L
				16	B
	524		6	29	F
	525		9	12	H
				26	B
	526		6	24	U
				20	B
	527		6	10	U
			1	11	B
	553	4	5	25	U
			5	2	B
Asaga Tokumatsu.....	496	1		5	U
			3	24	B
	554	1	4	2	F
	555		9	24	H
	556		5	18	F
Asaga Tatsugorō	528	2	4	27	F
	533	1	7	8	F
Government	349		8	13	T
	457		2	6	F
	458	1	4	2	T
	474		1	9	"
	481		8	9	"
Hida Shigemasa	390	1	4	4	L
				13	B
	420		9	9	L
				8	B
	421	1	1	13	L
				14	B

Name of Owner	Lot No.	Area			Kind of Land
		Tan	*Se*	*Bu*	
Hida Shigemasa	433	1	3	10	L
				6	B
	434		9	9	L
				3	B
	435	1	9	4	L
				21	B
Ichimura Jenjirō	359	2	5	21	U
			3	15	B
	360	2	8	9	U
			2	27	B
	361	1		7	H
	362	1	1	18	F
	363		8		,,
	502	3	1	6	,,
Ichimura Tamizō.....	364	1	3	14	F
	365		9	26	H
	366	1	6	17	U
			1	26	B
	370	2	6	10	U
			6	9	B
	495	2	2	10	U
			3	10	B
	501		9		F
	506	3	5	13	,,
Itō Kichibei	488	1	9	12	U
			1	20	B
Itō Kumajirō	549	3	1	3	U
			2	16	B
Itō Takejirō	547	2	1	5	U
			1	28	B
Kaneko Satarō	113	1	2	10	F
	114	1	8	14	H
	115	2	8	20	U

Name of Owner	Lot No.	Area			Kind of Land
		Tan	*Se*	*Bu*	
Kaneko Satarō	116	2	3	29	,,
			3	10	B
	117	2		22	U
			3	8	B
	118		7	29	U
			1	8	B
	367	1		19	U
				23	B
	399	1	7	4	L
				19	B
	402		9	27	U
			1	26	B
	403	1		9	U
			1	15	B
	500	3		21	F
	504	2	5	25	,,
	557	2	9	23	U
			3	12	B
	558	3	2	11	U
			4	26	B
Kawara Tanizō	9	2	3	19	U
	10		8	1	H
	25	1	8	23	U
	28	2	5	5	,,
			2		B
Kawara Kumajirō	15	2		5	U
	16		8	18	,,
				15	B
	26	1	9	10	U
	27	2	3	15	,,
	29	1		6	F
	172	2	6	12	U
			4	12	B
	173	1	5	13	U
				26	B
	175	2	4	13	U

Name of Owner	Lot No.	Area			Kind of Land
		Tan	*Se*	*Bu*	
Kawara Kumajirō			1	24	B
	176		3	25	F
	179	1	2	13	H
	260		3	3	L
	261		9		,,
	262		6	7	,,
	447	4	2	21	F
Kawara Tokujirō	76		6	27	H
	77		6	25	F
	78		8	28	U
				18	B
	79		8	10	F
	80	2		17	U
			2	18	B
	139		7	29	U
				16	B
	418	1	1	11	L
				3	B
Kawara Iyemon.....	199	2	1	16	U
			4	19	B
	238	2		22	U
			3	18	B
	239	1	7	22	U
			3	2	B
	241		3	15	F
	242		9	19	H
	243		4	6	F
	252	1			L
				9	B
	320		7	9	U
				7	B
Kawara Bunshirō	298		8	9	F
	299	1	2	16	U
			2	3	B
	300		9	22	U
	304		3	5	F
	305		6	28	H

Name of Owner	Lot No.	Area			Kind of Land
		Tan	*Se*	*Bu*	
Kawara Bunshirō				18	B
	306		5	15	F
	307		9	18	U
			2	8	B
	308	1		24	U
			2	28	B
Kawara Kumagorō	311	1	4	3	U
			4	2	B
	389		9	22	L
				8	B
Kawashima Suyegorō	66	1	7	17	U
				18	B
	67		6	4	H
				16	B
	68		5	28	U
				22	B
	69		6	12	F
	83	1	1	6	U
			1	2	B
	84		3	3	F
Ōtani Tōkichi	387		8	23	L
				11	B
	388		7	21	L
				7	B
	431		4	25	L
	432		4	10	L
				10	B
	436	1	6	17	U
			1	25	B
	437	1	3	28	U
			1	8	B
	438	1	4	3	U
			2	15	B
	446	3	4	6	F
	448	2	7	8	,,
	449	2	4	20	,,
	450	2	4	21	,,
	453	1		15	F
	454	1		8	H

Name of Owner	Lot No.	Area			Kind of Land
		Tan	*Se*	*Bu*	
Ōtani Tōkichi	519	1	5	21	F
	520	1	7	24	,,
	550	2	3	26	,,
	551	2	8	15	U
			3	7	B
	553	3	4	15	U
			2	25	B
Seikenji (a temple)	21		8	25	F
	22	1	5	6	H
				29	B
	23		3	13	U
	24	1	1	22	U
Sekiguchi Kinjirō	487	1	8	21	U
			2	10	B
	490	3	5	6	U
			2	1	B
Sekiguchi Kintarō	541		4	11	F
	542		6	12	,,
	543	1		6	H
Sekiguchi Tsunagorō	267		8		L
				3	B
	268		9	29	L
				24	B
	291	1	9	15	F
	293	1	2		M
Sekiguchi Seizō	303	1	5	21	U
			9	15	B
	312	1	3		F
	313	1		2	U
	314	1	1	6	H
	357	2	3	2	U
			1	8	B
	358	2	3	6	U
			3	2	B
	391	1	6	17	L
	514	1		15	F
	515	1	2	21	,,

Name of Owner	Lot No.	Area			Kind of Land
		Tan	*Se*	*Bu*	
Sekiguchi Seizō	516	1	3	24	F
Sekiguchi Heikichi	475		3	7	U
				20	B
	478	4	8	29	U
			7	7	B
	479	1	1	2	H
	408		7	12	F
Sekiguchi Uhei	534	1	2	24	F
	535		6	14	H
	536	1	2	12	F
	537	1	9		,,
	538		9	9	,,
	544	2	4	4	U
			4	2	B
	545	1	2	9	U
			1		B
	546		8	23	U
			1	6	B
Sekiguchi Ukichi	548	2	4	1	U
			2	19	B
Sekiguchi Amigorō	120		6		F
	122	2	9	12	,,
	123	3	1	6	,,
	124	1	5	7	H
	125	1	6	24	U
	129		3	27	,,
			1	22	B
	130	1	5		F
	131	1		24	U
				21	B
	132	1		29	F
	133		7	9	U
			1	22	B
	134	2	1	1	U
			2	24	B
	135		7	21	L
	136		7	14	,,
				8	B

Name of Owner	Lot No.	Area			Kind of Land
		Tan	*Se*	*Bu*	
Sekiguchi Amigorō	137		7	6	U
				10	B
	138	1	3	21	U
	142	1	4	3	F
	143	2	5	15	U
			3	7	B
	144	2	2	8	U
			2	10	B
	145	1	3	17	F
	147	4	6	23	U
	148	1		10	,,
			1	7	B
	149	1	1	17	L
				21	B
Sekiguchi Masugorō.....	44	1	9	29	H
	45	1	6	9	U
	46	1	3	4	,,
			2	3	B
	47	2	8	22	U
	48	3	4	25	,,
	119	3	4	7	F
	128	3	2	1	U
	159		4	17	F
	269		9	5	L
				10	B
	278		6	6	L
	297		5	18	G
	412	1	1		L
	498	1	1	3	F
	510		8	12	,,
	511	2	6	27	,,
	512	2	6	21	,,
	513	2	7	28	,,
Sekiguchi Kakuzō.....	315	1	9	1	U
			2	7	B
	316	1	9	10	U
			1	1	B
	317	2	2	29	U

Name of Owner	Lot No.	Area			Kind of Land
		Tan	*Se*	*Bu*	
Sekiguchi Kakuzō.....			2	22	B
	321		2	23	U
				10	B
	330	1	1	16	F
	331		6	6	H
	332		2	8	F
	416		5	3	U
				13	B
	417		2	27	L
				2	B
	430		6	13	U
				23	B
	505	2	9		F
Sekiguchi Yeijirō	126	1	4	26	U
	127		3	10	H
Sekiguchi Kyūzō ..,.....	198	2	6	19	U
	232	2		15	,,
			2	4	B
	233		3	26	U
				12	B
	234		9		F
	235	2		12	U
	236	1	9	20	H
	237		9	2	F
	240	1	6	15	U
	322	1	9	1	,,
			1	3	B
	323	2		10	U
			1	9	B
	324	1	2	17	U
			1	22	B
	424	1	6	12	L
				15	B
	472	2	1		L
				5	B

Name of Owner	Lot No.	Area			Kind of Land
		Tan	*Se*	*Bu*	
Sekiguchi Kyūzō	473		1	19	L
	486	3		2	U
			3	16	B
	521	2	4	3	M
	522	2	9	5	U
			1	11	B
	523	2			F
Shimbori Kuwajirō	101	1	6	8	U
				22	B
	102	1	1	10	F
	174	1	2	8	U
	180		7	8	H
	184	1	1	25	U
				12	B
	185		5	8	U
				24	B
	394	1	1	8	L
				9	B
	395		1	29	U
				3	B
Shimbori Tomojirō	256	1	1	22	L
				17	B
	258		6	17	L
				3	B
	294		6	18	F
	296	2	5	24	U
			2	5	B
	345	1	2	27	F
	346	1	6	23	H
Shimbori Suyejirō	325	1	4	4	U
			1	23	B
	326	2	4	21	U
			2	7	B
	327		8	2	U
				5	B
	328	1	5	22	U
			2		B
	329	1	1	14	F

Name of Owner	Lot No.	Area			Kind of Land
		Tan	*Se*	*Bu*	
Kawashima Ginjirō	49		9	18	F
	51	1		1	,,
	52	2	2	7	U
			2	10	B
	53	2		13	U
	54	1	3	10	,,
				24	B
	55		6	10	F
	56		6	16	H
				12	B
	57		8	10	F
Masuda Tatsunosuke	386	1	5	25	L
				19	B
Ninomiya Kamejirō	408		2	6	L
				4	B
	410		4	19	L
				7	B
Okata Isuke	40	1	2	15	F
	41	5	2	22	U
				25	B
	62		8	15	F
	71	2	3	21	U
			3	29	B
	155	1	6		F
	156	1	2	12	H
Okata Kunigorō.....	42	2		20	U
				25	B
	43	1		5	U
	58	1		8	,,
			1	2	B
	59	1	6	11	F
	60	1	9	21	U
				24	B
	152		9	6	U
				13	B
	158		7	8	H

Name of Owner	Lot No.	Area			Kind of Land
		Tan	*Se*	*Bu*	
Ōtani Sasuke	17		2	10	U
	87	1	1	7	,,
			4	2	B
	88		5	6	U
			2	27	B
	89	1	6	3	U
			5	24	B
	90	2	2	6	U
			6	27	B
	91		4		F
	92		1	12	,,
	93	2	4	3	U
			6	13	B
	94		2	6	F
	95	2	2	21	U
			2	24	B
	96	1	7	3	U
	97	1	9	5	,,
	107	1	9		F
	108	1	8		,,
	109	1	4	17	,,
	110	2		8	,,
	111	1	1	2	H
	112	2	5	2	,,
	167	2		3	U
			3	16	B
	168	1		7	U
				26	B
	169		6	13	U
			1	1	B
	170		8	19	U
			2	27	B
	171	2	1	14	U
			1	21	B
	186	1	3	15	U
			4	9	B
	187		5	10	U
	188	1	5	2	,,
			1	17	B
	189	1	2		F
	190	1	4		,,

Name of Owner	Lot No.	Area			Kind of Land
		Tan	*Se*	*Bu*	
Ōtani Sasuke	191	2	2	15	H
				12	B
	192		5	18	F
	193		4	20	,,
	194	1	4	13	,,
	195	1	6	6	,,
	196	1	4	3	,,
	197		5	10	,,
	200	1	8	19	U
			4	16	B
	201		9	18	U
			2	9	B
	202		2	25	F
	203	1	2	16	U
			3	25	B
	209		9	19	H
	244	1	4	20	F
	248	2		9	,,
	263		9	22	L
				12	B
	264		7	29	L
	265		8	7	,,
				14	B
	266		8	24	L
				6	B
	271		8	25	L
				20	B
	272		2	14	L
	273	1	3	10	,,
				14	B
	276	1		25	L
				6	B
	277	1		8	L
				16	B
	279		5	27	L
	280		4	5	,,
				2	B
	281		5	27	L
				16	B
	295			12	F
	309		8	10	U

Name of Owner	Lot No.	Area			Kind of Land
		Tan	*Se*	*Bu*	
Ōtani Sasuke			3	5	B
	310		8	23	U
			2	25	B
	348.1		3		F
	348.2		2	6	,,
	396		1	4	L
				5	B
	397		1	16	U
				8	B
	398		6	16	L
				8	B
	428	1	3	24	L
				2	B
	429	1	5	12	L
				7	B
	443	2	2	14	U
			5	23	B
Ōtani Kijurō	282		3	27	L
				10	B
	283	1	7	4	U
				11	B
	284	1	7	29	U
			2	9	B
	285	1	2		F
	286	1	1	22	H
	287	1		1	U
				22	B
	288		4	15	F
	289.1		6		,,
	289.2		7	19	U
				26	B
Shimbori Suyejirō.....	333	1		12	F
	334		5	19	,,
	335		7	9	U
			1	1	B
	340	1	5	21	F
	341	1	4	14	H
	342	2	1		F

Name of Owner	Lot No.	Area			Kind of Land
		Tan	*Se*	*Bu*	
Shimbori Chūyemon.....	409		3	10	U
	411		7	16	L
				7	B
	336		9	18	U
			1	20	B
	337		5	8	U
			1	10	B
	338		8	10	H
				24	B
	339		4	24	F
	343	2	5		U
			6	23	B
	344	1	7		F
	347	2	1	18	,,
Shimbori Jūroyemon	2	2		3	U
				16	F
	18	2	1	11	U
	19	2	2	27	,,
	181	1	3	2	H
	182		6	27	U
	183	2	7	13	,,
			3	20	B
	207		8	18	U
			1	14	B
	208		5	20	F
	270		7	2	L
Shimidzu Hatsugorō	11		8	22	H
	13	2	5	5	U
	14	2	5	17	,,
Shiono Kamejirō	30		8	6	F
	31	2	1	21	U
	32	1	5	22	,,
			5	29	B
	33		8	1	F
	215	1	1	26	H
	216	2	9	8	U
			1	6	B
	217	1	9	8	U
			2	17	B

Name of Owner	Lot No.	Area			Kind of Land
		Tan	*Se*	*Bu*	
Shiono Sakichi	1	2		14	F
	3	1	8	4	U
	4	2	2	1	,,
			3	10	B
	5	1	4	25	F
	6	1	2	17	,,
	213	2	1	16	U
	214		6	7	,,
	118		7	27	,,
	219		7	11	,,
	220	1	7	28	H
	221		4	15	F
	222	3	3	11	U
			4	27	B
	223	3	8	13	U
			5	12	B
	224	1	8	7	F
	227	2	5	18	U
			8	6	B
	229		4	1	U
			1	20	B
	250		9	7	L
				10	B
	251	1	3	1	L
				19	B
	253	1	4	13	L
				7	B
	254	1	3	9	L
				21	B
	255		9	22	L
				10	B
	419	1	8	11	L
				25	B
Shiono Magojirō	7		8	4	H
	8	2	8	16	U
			1	18	B
	206	1	5		U
	423		8	11	L
				14	B

Name of Owner	Lot No.	Area			Kind of Land
		Tan	*Se*	*Bu*	
Shiono Tomojirō	204	2		15	U
			2	24	B
	228	2	3	4	U
			2	2	B
	229	1	1	20	F
	230	1	7	29	H
	231	2	6	15	U
			3	10	B
	245	1	5	10	U
			2	23	B
	422		6	20	L
				15	B
Shiono Shingorō	275		9	13	L
				10	B
Shiono Kametarō	392	1		9	L
				7	B
Shiono Magojirō	559		3	5	U
			1	24	B
	560		9	17	F
	561	1	9	16	U
			1	14	B
	564	1	4	12	F
Shiono Shintarō	205		9	10	F
	211		5	20	,,
	212		7		H
	225	2	6	15	U
	226	3	3	18	,,
	400	1		3	L
				6	B
Takahashi Yasohachi	82	1	3	11	U
			1	11	B
	85		6	20	U
	86		5	5	H
	98	2	1	23	U
	99	1	5	7	,,
				18	B

Name of Owner	Lot No.	Area			Kind of Land
		Tan	*Se*	*Bu*	
Takahashi Yasohachi	100	4	5	14	U
			1	3	B
	103		5	28	F
	104	1	2	7	H
	105	2	3	14	F
	106	1	2	22	,,
	257		9	13	L
				7	B
	259		7	17	L
				11	B
Takahashi Shinyemon	121	1	6.	28	U
				24	B
	290	1	8	5	U
			1	17	B
	368	1	5	17	U
			1	25	B
	369	2	6	25	U
	371	2	8	12	,,
				13	B
	372	2		5	U
				8	B
	373	1	8	6	H
	374	1	2	9	F
				8	B
	507	1	2	21	F
	508	2	8	23	,,
	509	1	2	9	,,
Takahashi Yūzō	292	1	1	12	U
			5	21	B
	350	1	4	4	U
			1	2	B
	351	1	8	25	U
			1	17	B
	356	2	7	24	U
			4	19	B
	382	2		27	F
	383	1	2	7	H
			1	3	B
	384		3	23	F
	465		4	17	,,

Name of Owner	Lot No.	Area			Kind of Land
		Tan	*Se*	*Bu*	
Takahashi Yūzō	470		2	8	U
				12	B
	471	2	2	12	U
			4	27	B
	497	2	6		U
			4	26	B
	503	2	5	3	F
Takahashi Tetsugorō	352	1	7	14	U
				27	B
	353	1	7	18	U
				13	B
	354	1	6	22	U
			2	15	B
	355	1	4	20	F
	376	1	6		,,
	377	1	3	27	,,
	378	1	9	3	,,
	379	1	3	14	H
				24	B
	380		4	13	F
	381		4	29	,,
	517	1	2	21	,,
	518		9	15	,,
Umehara Iwagorō.....	401	1	2	14	L
				3	B
Umehara Iwajirō	393		5	10	L
				8	B
	440	3	5	5	U
			1		B
	441		1	28	L
	442	1	5	12	U
			2	24	B
	444	3		21	F
	*445		8	15	G
	455	3		18	F
	456	2	6	8	U
	459	2	2	8	,,

* With 13 others.

Name of Owner	Lot No.	Area			Kind of Land
		Tan	*Se*	*Bu*	
Umehara Iwajirō				25	B
	460	1	8	25	H
	461		9	4	U
			1	21	B
	491	2		9	U
			1	20	B
	539		4	1	F
	540		7	9	U
			1	21	B
Umehara Sagoyemon	451	3		5	U
			5	4	B
	452	3	1	4	U
			4	16	B
	466		9	5	F
	467		6	24	H
	468	1	4	5	U
	469		5	24	,,
Umehara Kisuke	439	2	1	6	U
			1	24	B
	462		9	24	F
	463	1	3	13	H
	464	1		8	F
	476	5	3	5	U
			7	8	B
	477	1	3		F
Yokugawa Buyemon	375		9	3	F
Yoneda	210	2	3	16	F
Yoshida Tokuyemon	70	3	1	8	U
			2	3	B
	140	1	8	20	F
	141		5	22	H
	427	1	3	15	L
				8	B

TABLE OF SIGNS.

	MAP	SCHEDULE
Road		
River		
Azana boundary		
Shintō temple (*Miya*)		T
Forest (*Hayashi*)		F
Lowland (*Ta*)		L
House-lot (*Takuchi*)		H
Graveyard (*Hakachi*)		G
Upland (*Hata*)		U
Meadow (*Kayano*)		M
Balk (*Aze*)		B

THE MUSIC OF THE JAPANESE.

BY

F. T. PIGGOTT.

(Read January 14th, 1891.)

Knowing that the unwritten motto of the Society is, "Above all things diligence: and above all things completeness: and above all things accuracy," I should have hesitated for the present to lay the material I have gathered, and the opinions I have formed, before the Society, had not the force of circumstances determined otherwise. I cannot pretend to an approach even towards completeness, but I think there is sufficient material to form a basis for others to work upon if the spirit should move them to do so. There are many points also on which I could have wished to express myself with greater clearness and perhaps accuracy; the absence of the necessary books of reference must be my excuse. I could not trust my memory even so far as to say whether the connexion between the early Chinese instruments and the instruments of the West has been traced or not: and I have to say the same with regard to the Chinese scale. I have therefore limited myself to giving independent descriptions and measurements of the instruments, and the results of my own investigations into the scale. With regard to the instruments, many of them are full of interest: the music written for the *shō*, for example, if it were possible to investigate it with more ease: and the tuning of the six strings of the *Yamato-goto*, if it were possible to find out something of its history, would give us, I think, important information as to the earliest notions of harmony. With regard to the notes of the scale, the

Society has already had laid before it the accurate measurements of their vibrations made by Dr. Veeder. As to the scale itself I have dealt with the practical aspect of the question rather than with the scientific.

Generally it seems to me that there are two points which are of special interest and worthy of study: first, the old music of Japan, and its reduction on to the Western stave: second, the spirit of the more modern *koto* music with a view especially to ascertaining whether it is quite exhausted, or whether it is not possible to develop it along the lines laid down by those whom I have no hesitation in calling its great masters.

I have made use of the following authorities in compiling the following paper.

Sōkyoku-tai-i Shō : by Yamada Ryū. 1781.
Miyako-no-nishiki : by Miyakoji Bungo. 1785.
Seikyoku Ruisan : by Saitō Gekkin. 1840.
Kabu-Ongaku Ryakushi : by Professor Konakamura. 1887.
MS. Records of Ancient Music : by Abe Suyenao.
The Encyclopædia *Sansai Zuye*.
Honchō Seidan : by Kikuoka Senryō.

The translations have all been made by Mr. A. T. Kawaji of Tōkyō, who has also interpreted a great number of conversations with various musicians.

In the following list of instruments it has not been possible to distinguish accurately those of Japan from those of China. A few instruments are indigenous to Japan: others are of Chinese origin and have been modified in Japan: others again preserve their original Chinese form. The list therefore includes all instruments in use in Japan, but it cannot pretend to be complete with regard to Chinese instruments.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF JAPAN.

KOTOS.

The *koto* is the chief of modern Japanese instruments, nearly the whole of the national music having been composed for it during the two hundred years it has been in vogue. Parts for the *samisen* and *kokyū* are generally added, occasionally also a part for the *shakuhachi*. Japanese music in its highest development is written for a quartette of two *kotos*, *samisen*, and *kokyū*, somewhat in the manner of Chamber music in the West. These quartettes form the classical music of Japan.

The *koto* as now used is the last of a long series of instruments originating in China, the one developed out of the other, some with many strings and some with few, of which at least six different kinds remain in use at the present time. Its name means literally 'things': but in accordance with the teaching of the oldest times which connected music with purity and sacred things, the word has been looked upon as an abbreviation of *Kami-no-norigoto* the oracles of the gods, and hence *koto* playing as synonymous with invocation of the divine advice. In this way the Japanese name for the instrument has been paralleled with *kin* 琴 its Chinese name, said to have been given to it on account of the similarity of sound with *kin* 禁 'prohibition,' whence the idea sprang that the sounds carried with them the prohibition of anything impure, and that the music was symbolical of the purity of the human heart.

Its form, a number of strings each with its own bridge stretched over a long narrow sounding-board, seems to have been the same at all periods of its existence; the

variations in the different kinds consisting chiefly in the number of strings, and consequent tunings, and in the size of the sounding board; minor changes, in the *tsume*—the playing nails—the quality of the gut, the height of the bridges and so forth, having been made in more recent times to improve the tone. Like the *kin*, the *koto* is fantastically supposed to be a dragon symbolical of all that is noble and precious, lying on the seashore; by his side the angels come to listen to the music of the waves. The various parts are named accordingly.

The upper surface is the dragon's back; the under surface his belly. The upper part of the side is the sea shore, *ō-iso*; the lower, *ko-iso*, the lesser shore. The oval of tortoise-shell at the right end of the upper surface, *umi*, the sea. The long bridge at the right end the dragon's horn, *ryōkaku*; the long bridge at the left end the horn of cloud, or angel's seat, *temmyō*. The angular projection at the right end is the dragon's tongue, *ryō-no-shita*; the other end, *kashiwaba*, his tail. The cavity at the right end of the under surface is the hidden moon, *ingetsu*, and that at the left end, *marigata*, bow-shaped.

According to the "Outline of the origin of the *sō-no-koto* music" written by Yamada Ryū, a master of the Japanese *koto*, and the inventor of the form of it in principal use at the present time, the period in which the *kin* is supposed to have originated in China is that of the Emperor Fukki—B. C. 2000. It measured 7 feet 2 inches, (one foot longer than the modern instruments) and had only five strings. In the Chew dynasty 150 years later, a sixth string was added; and later still a seventh. As a seven-stringed instrument the early *kin* remained for a long period, and as such it is generally quoted in the books. It was made in two sizes, the smaller being an octave instrument measuring 3 feet 6 in. An 'octave' to the *koto*—the *hangoto*—used, in old Japanese days, to form part of a traveller's luggage; and it seems reasonable to suppose that the small *kin* in older times was made for the same purpose, and was called into being by the same

fondness for its music. In the Chin dynasty another miniature *kin*, 3 feet 7 in. long, seems to have been in vogue, and also a one stringed instrument, *ichigenkin*, which disappeared from China to reappear in later times in Japan under the same name.

An endeavour to make the *kin* a twelve-stringed instrument seems to have failed, probably because the need for a many-stringed instrument was already supplied by the *hitsu-no-koto*, which is attributed also to the reign of the Emperor Fukki. The precise differences in construction between the *kin* and the *hitsu-no-koto* are difficult to discover, the only record being as to the number of the strings. At first the *hitsu-no-koto* had fifty; but in the reign of the Emperor Kōtei the number was reduced to twenty five; by the Emperor Shun, it was again reduced to twenty-three, "many other alterations being made at the same time." It measured 8 feet 1 in. long, by 1 foot 9 inches broad. After a time three more strings were discarded.

Two further varieties are noticed in the books: the *shō-hitsu-no-koto*, 7 feet 3 inches long, with twenty five strings, and "ornamented with precious stones:" and the *chiku-no-koto*, a thirteen-stringed instrument struck with a short bamboo—*chiku*. "Even the *kin*" says the historian "was sometimes struck with a stick, the idea having originated with a poet who derived inspiration from striking the strings with his pen."

The Encyclopædia gives drawings of two Corean *kotos*, the *Kudaragoto* and the *Shiragigoto*, said to have been sent from Corea to China. The information is not very reliable, and I have not discovered any further reference to them. The drawings (see Plate I. Fig. 1) show one to have been in the ordinary form with a figure-head of a man at one end; and the other to have more resembled the traditional form of the ancient harp.

At the points of greatest interest in the history of Japanese music, when the thirteen-stringed *kin* was finally established in China, and which of the many forms al-

ready noticed came to Japan, we unfortunately find the greatest doubt. The Chinese instrument now used for Chinese music in Japan is neither the pure *kin* nor the *hitsu-no-koto*, but the *sō-no-koto*; and even in the sober work of so accomplished a musician as Yamada Ryū, its introduction into these islands is surrounded by angels, mountain-tops, clouds and lovely ladies. The period is given as the reign of the Emperor Temmu, about A. D. 673; and this roughly coincides with the date given by other historians of the advent of Chinese music, and the construction of the musical bureau (*Uta-Ryō* or *Gagaku-Ryō*) for its special study.

The *chiku* is the first thirteen-stringed instrumen mentioned but this again is treated as quite distinct from the *sō-no-koto*. The number, though as a matter of course it is connected with all other human and divine things which have settled themselves into thirteen, seems undoubtedly to have been finally determined upon because it could give the full octave of *ritsu* or semitones, one string for each, when they were required.

Somewhere then in the mists of the Chinese dynasties about two thousand years ago the *sō-no-koto* developed out of the *hitsu-no-koto*, and came to Japan with Chinese music, dancing, and the rest of the Chinese orchestra, about the middle of the seventh century. It remained the fashionable instrument of the Court for upwards of a thousand years, but was used for Chinese music alone. National music was left to the *Yamato-goto*, of which more hereafter, the *satsumabiwa*, and the other instruments which had gradually developed in Japan.

The development of the Japanese *koto* out of the *sō-no-koto* is however given by Yamada Ryū with some precision.

In the year 1527 a priest of the Zentōji Temple in Chikugo became very famous as a player on the *sō-no-koto* of the *Tsukushi-gaku*, or Kyūshū music, then very popular with all classes. He taught Kenjun a priest of Hizen, and Genjō of the Keiganji Temple also in Hizen. Among Genjō's pupils was a young priest of the Zentōji Temple,

Hosui, who came to Yedo during the reign of the Emperor Go-mizo-no-o, in 1614, and played before many noble families, and was much admired. His fame reached the ears of a blind *biwa* player, Yamadzumi *Kōtō* of Ōshū, who thereupon came to Hosui for instruction: and who afterwards completed his education in Hizen under Genjō. Having become a first-rate Tsukushi musician he returned to Yedo with the higher degree of *Kengyō*, and assumed the name of Yatsuhashi.

Yatsuhashi was the inventor of the Japanese *koto* and the father of modern Japanese music. He thought that the solemn Tsukushi music might give place occasionally to something lighter and more melodious, and that a wider audience might so be obtained among the people. Taking his subjects from the famous novels the *Ise-monogatari* and the *Genji-monogatari* he composed thirteen pieces called *kumi*—one for each string of the *koto*, or one for the twelve months with one over for the leap-month. These pieces are the classical standards of the present day, the well-known *Umegae* which I shall have to refer to frequently in the course of this paper being among them. The date given for the first production of *kumi* is 1649. Within a very short time the grace of the new music appealed successfully to popular taste, and many composers of *kumi* arose; among them a *daimyō* of Iwaki is specially referred to, though not by name.

In the meantime Hosui the young priest of Hizen had become a layman, still teaching the *koto*, under the name of Kashiwaya; his former pupil became his master, and an intimate friendship sprang up between them. They spent their time practising the new music and composing fresh pieces. Yatsuhashi attained to the highest proficiency, taking the degree of *Sōroku*, and not content with his past cahievements elaborated a second series of compositions, *shinkyoku* or "new pieces."

During this period the composer had gradually been improving the instrument, turning his attention in the first place to the selection of hard *kiri* wood for the

sounding-board, and to its proper seasoning. His earliest attempts he christened *akikiri-gata*—the "Autumn mist" *koto*: *matsu-nami*—the "murmuring of the pines" *koto*: and *yame-gata*.

From these developed what is now called the *Ikuta-goto*, from the name of its maker Ikuta, a pupil of the second generation from the master; and finally, towards the close of the eighteenth century, the *Yamada-goto*, called after Yamada Ryū its originator who brought the manufacture of the instrument to its highest pitch. It seems capable indeed of no further development.

It has been impossible to give more than the barest indication of the differences between the earliest different forms of *koto;* but with regard to the three now in use, the *sō-no-koto*, the *Ikuta*, and the *Yamada-gotos*, they can be pointed out with more precision. The *sō-no-koto* has low bridges, the gut is somewhat coarse, and the *tsume*—or playing nails—are of thick paper, gilt or silvered, with a very small piece of bamboo let in, not more than one fifth of an inch in length. In playing the paper stall first rubs the string and the bamboo strikes with very little force; the result is a soft woolly tone. In the Japanese *koto*, these three points are altered; the bridges are raised, the gut is of finer quality, and the *tsume* are of ivory standing clear of the leather stall, enabling the strings to be struck clean. The result is a clear bright tone, tending naturally to the production of lighter and brighter music.

The *Ikuta-goto* is used now almost exclusively in the west of Japan, though occasionally in the east by ladies. Its sides and extremities are covered with elaborate lacquer designs and inlay of tortoise-shell, ivory and silver: the strings are of different colours, like those of the Western harp, enabling the octaves to be more easily distinguished. The *tsume* are of thick ivory or tortoiseshell set in laquered leather stalls, and are cut square at the top. In the *Yamada-goto*, used by all the profession in the east of Japan, superfluous ornament is.

discarded, the whole energy of the maker being devoted to the selection of the finest wood for the body; only on very costly instruments is a little gold lacquer ornament of the most severe kind introduced. The bridges have again been raised; they are made much stouter, and are either tipped with ivory or made of solid ivory; the strings are of the finest white or yellow gut. The *tsume* are about an inch long, of ivory in leather stalls, with an elliptical top. On the whole the instrument is more substantial and more workmanlike than the delicately built *Ikuta-goto*, and gives a much clearer and more resonant tone.

The chief compositions of *Yatsuhashi* are comprised in the following list, all of which are frequently performed at the present day. *Umegae. Kokorozukushi. Tenkataihei. Usuyuki. Yuki-no-asa. Rokudan. Seirō. Kumo-no-ue. Usugoromo. Kiritsubo. Hachidan. Midare. Suma. Kumoi. Shiki-no-kyoku. Ōgi-no-kyoku.*

His chief pupils through several generations were Kitajima, Ikuta, Kurahashi, Mutsuhashi, Yasumura, Hisamura, and Ishizaka, all of whom held the degree of *Kengyō*. Most of them were composers of *kumi*, and were thus admitted to the honour of founding a house of musicians.

Thus much for Yatsuhashi and his work.

We have now to go back to the old *koto* of Japan, the *Yamato-goto*—otherwise called *Wagon*—which differs essentially in structure and principle from any that have been described. The Japanese authorities agree, and I see neither reason nor authority for disputing with them in claiming it, as the name indicates, as a purely national instrument. In such a paper as the present it would be out of place to mention the mythical personages who in the dusky ages were either charmed by its tones, or were themselves the charmers. The story of its development from six long bows tied side by side is a familiar one: and the form of the instrument suggests that it is by no means an improbable one. It is to be remembered that in almost all cases the old instruments which are in use

in the present day preserve their old forms intact. Improvements have developed new instruments; but when the old music is performed the old instrument takes its place as it did hundreds of years ago.

The sounding board of the *Yamato-goto* is cut at one end into five long notches, the six strings being attached to the six 'bow' projections by thick coarse cords. The bridges are made of untrimmed joints of maple twigs: the strings themselves being of coarse gut. The idea of the roughness of the instrument is further preserved in the idea that it ought not to have a case of any sort. Crude though its construction is, its tone is very sweet and mellow.

Again, the principle of the instrument is entirely different from that of the ordinary *koto*. The six strings are tuned in the following order—D.F.A.C.G.C, the major triad of the tonic, and the minor triad of the second of the diatonic scale of C major: an interesting and harmonious combination with which Western musicians are perfectly familiar.

The method of playing is as follows. In the right hand a small slip of ox-horn, or other hard material, is held with which all the six strings are scratched (literally *koto-saki*) rapidly from the sixth to the first, close to the long bridge at the right end of the instrument. The strings are then at once damped with the left hand, and a little melody accompanying the voice is tinkled out with the left little finger, the "scratch" coming to mark the pauses in the rhythm.

The instrument is used now only on the rare occasions when the music which was originally written for it is performed: the *Kagura*, the *Saibara*, and the rest of the old music of the country.

The following diagrams of the proper positions of the hand in playing the *koto* are taken from Abe Suyenao's "Records of Ancient Music."

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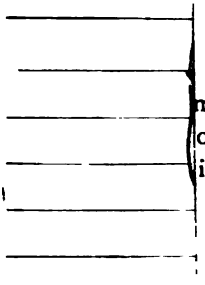

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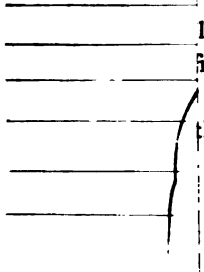

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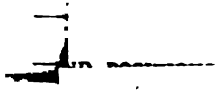

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PRINCIPAL MEASUREMENTS OF THE FOUR KOTOS NOW IN USE.

	Yamato-goto. (Old Japanese)	*Sō-no-koto.* (Chinese)	*Ikuta-goto.* (Modern Japanese)	*Yamada-goto.*
Length	6 feet 3 inches	6 feet 4½ inches	6 feet 3 inches	6 feet
Breadth	5⅜ in. upper end 9½ in. lower end	10 in. 9½ in.	9⅜ inches	9½ inches
Depth of sound board	2 in.	1⅜ in.	3 in.	3 in.
Height of upper end	4¼ in.	4½ in.	5 in.	5¼ in.
lower end	3 in.	3½ in.	2½ in.	3½ in.
Height of string bridges	2½ in.	2 in.	2 in.	2¼ in.
Upper bridge from end	3 in.	4½ in.	5¼ in.	4½ in.
Lower bridge from end		10 in.	9½ in.	8 in.
	Length of fastening ropes 11½ in.			
Strings apart	½ in. at upper bridge 1½ in. at rope fastening	⅜ in.	⅜ inch	⅜ inch
	Notches of 'bows' project 2⅜ in. from lower end			

The following are subordinate varieties of the *koto*.

Hangoto, the half or octave *koto;* the ordinary instrument in miniature, used while travelling. The idea of an octave instrument, as I have already indicated, had its origin in the earliest times.

Yagoto, the eight-stringed *koto*. This *koto* I have only seen once and then unstrung: it would be exceedingly

interesting to get some reliable information about its history and the music played upon it. Its distinguishing features are that it is double strung and has no separate string bridges. The only information I have at present is that it is a purely Japanese instrument, and has been developed out of the *Yamato-goto*. Certain points in its construction would seem to bear out this statement.

The sounding-board measures 3 feet 7 in. long, by about 5 inches high: and is more convexed than that of any other *koto*. The eight double strings pass over two long low bridges giving a string length of 32 inches. Above the upper bridge they pass through ivory holes let into the surface of the sounding-board, and are wound round eight long tuning pegs which are fastened underneath. These pegs terminate in small spear-heads which project from the upper end of the instrument.

Yokin. A miniature intrument which has some affinity with the *koto*, though it is constructed on different principles. It is said to be of Japanese origin. The sounding-board is of black wood, 26 inches by 10: it is 4 inches high, convexed, and decorated with metal ornaments. It is strung with 13 double brass wires, attached to a double row of pins at either end placed beyond two low bridges which run across the sounding-board. I have no definite information as to the tuning or method of playing: nor do I feel very certain about the statement that the instrument is of Eastern origin. It is possible that it may have been adapted from the Zither, which is found occasionally under the name *yankin*, with fifteen double wires, and is said by the instrument-makers to have come to China from Italy.

Ichigenkin, or *Suma-goto*. A one-stringed instrument, first made at Suma near Kōbe. It is supposed to have been invented in the golden Engi era by an exiled prince. I am not sure that it was not revealed to him in a dream, this means being adopted by the spirit of the defunct Chinese one-stringed instrument (as indeed it was adopted by other antique instruments, as the histories affirm) for

coming back to the earth to charm the monotonous leisure of many weary mortals.

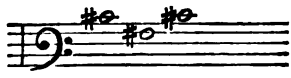
It is made of *kiri* wood, almost flat, 3 feet 7 inches long, by 4½ inches broad. Its one string, 2 feet 9½ inches long, passes over an ivory bridge at one end and round a peg, 4½ inches high, at the other. It is played with an up stroke of an ivory cylindrical *tsume* held between the thumb and the first finger of the right hand, striking near the bridge; the notes are produced by placing a heavy ivory cylinder, 2½ inches long, and worn on the second finger of the left hand, on different parts of the string; small white spots painted on the body of the instrument indicate the proper position for the cylinder to rest on the string. It is tuned to F♯, the second string of the *koto*, and fundamental note of the scale.

Nigenkin: a two-stringed variety of the *suma-goto*. Its dimensions are the same, but the body, instead of being almost flat, is hollowed to a depth of 2 inches. The pegs are generally of ivory and 2½ inches in length. The two strings are tuned in unison to F♯, and are struck together. On leaving the pegs they pass through a hole in a small piece of brass, over an ebony bride with one notch, and at the other end over a second bridge with two notches half an inch apart. The notes are indicated by small metal nails let into the body.

Yakumo-goto, the old form of the *nigenkin*, which it resembles except that the body is a true sounding-board.

Sangenkin: a three-stringed variety of the *suma-goto*. The dimensions are the same as those of the one and two-stringed instruments, but the body has become a regular sounding-board in which three wires are loosely strung to produce a slight vibration, like those of the *viol d'amore*. The upper end of the sounding-board is cut into three bow notches, showing the affinity between this instrument and the *Yamato-goto:* it is also bound thrice in its length with wicker to preserve the idea of the three bows tied together. Purple tassels hang from two small holes in the side.

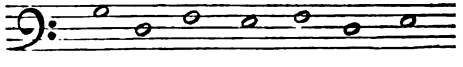
The outer strings are tuned in unison to C♯, the middle one to F♯: thus



The same heavy *tsume* and cylinder are used as for the *suma-goto*, the position of the notes being indicated as in the *nigenkin* by smallm etal nails let into the sounding-board. The three strings are sometimes struck together, and sometimes the third alone, when the melody does not permit of the harmony of the common chord of the tonic.

It is almost superfluous, I suppose, to add that the sounding-boards of these three instruments are sometimes made of a broad piece of split bamboo.

Shichigenkin, a seven-stringed instrument without bridges, differing in some respects from those just mentioned and in others resembling them. It is exceedingly rare, and I have not been able to obtain any very reliable information as to the method of playing on it. Like the *suma-goto* there are marks on the sounding-board indicating the position of the finger for pressing the different notes; in this case they are of ivory; but no *tsume* are I believe used either for pressure or for striking, the first and second fingers of the left hand being used for the former, and the strings 'plucked' by the thumb and first finger of the right hand. The strings are not in unison, but are tuned to G, D, F, E, F, D, E: thus,



I have been unable however fully to understand the use of the first to the sixth strings, the melody apparently being played only on the seventh.

The strings are fastened to loops of silk cord which are fastened underneath the sounding-board to seven small pegs: the cords come up to the upper surface through small

holes, the knots between the cords and the strings resting on a ridge, half an inch high, which serves to keep the strings free of the sounding-board. On the ridge the strings are $\frac{3}{4}$ths of an inch apart; from this point they converge, and passing over the lower end within a space of $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch, they are tightly wound round two stout pegs fastened underneath the sounding-board one foot from the end; these pegs serve as rests for the instrument. It will be observed from this description that the strings of the *shichigenkin* can only be tuned by untying the knots at their upper ends.

The length of the sounding-board is 3 feet $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches, with a string length of 3 feet 7 inches. The breadth is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, tapering to $4\frac{1}{4}$: the height $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches; the thickness 1 inch at the outside edges, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in the centre. I can find no authority for assuming that there is any resemblance between the *shichigenkin* with the old seven-stringed *kin* of China.

BIWAS, AND STRINGED INSTRUMENTS WITH FRETS.

The *bugakubiwa* was introduced from China by the commissioners sent to that country by the Emperor Jimmyō to study its music. It came originally from the 'Barbarians,' according to the chronicles, about A. D. 935. It is a massive stringed instrument with a gourd-shaped body measuring 3 feet 3 inches long and 16 inches across the broadest part of the face and having a string length of 25 inches. It is said formerly to have been played on horse-back. Now it rests on its lower edge on the ground between the knees of the performer; the neck is bent back at right angles to enable it to rest on its back at a slight angle when it is being tuned.

It has four strings passing over three high frets and collected in a notch at the upper end. The normal tuning is a combination of *niagari* and *sansagari*. The other tunings will be found in the diagram of the tunings of the *sō-no-koto* with which it is invariably used for private performances of the *bugaku* dances. It is played with a *bachi* of hard wood; but this is very much heavier than that of the *samisen*, and has rounded instead of pointed ends. It is grasped firmly in the right hand and dragged over the band of black leather which runs across the face of the instrument, and over the strings, which are strung close to the body, actually striking only the third or fourth string, on which the melody is thus played. The effect of the music therefore is that of a series of open chords. The tone of instrument is sonorous and rich.

The body of the *biwa* is made of *shitan*, the neck of willow, and tuning handles of peach: the *bachi* of 'yellow willow.' The side, like that of the *koto*, is called *ō-iso*, the sea shore. The measurements are given with the corresponding ones of the *satsumabiwa* for convenience of comparison.

The *satsumabiwa* is a smaller and more delicate instrument than the Chinese *biwa* from which it is derived; but is constructed on the same principle. Four frets rather less than half an inch in breadth are placed at intervals on the neck; the Chinese *biwa* has three frets only, and these are much lower. The different notes are produced by different pressures above the frets, the strings being struck with a very big *bachi;* a peculiar bird-like trill is imparted to the notes by the vibrations of the string on the broad surface of the fret. These delicate vibrations are emphasized by the up and down stroke with the *bachi*, which is a chief characteristic of the music. The instrument is used to accompany heroic recitations, and ancient songs of love and war. The chief recitation is the famous *Heike-monogatari*, which tells of the conflict between the Heike and the Genji clans, the discomfiture of the Heike, and the drowning of the infant Emperor Antoku. This accompaniment shows the instrument at its best, and taxes the powers of the musician to the utmost. Short phrases of the poem corresponding almost exactly with operatic recitative are chanted, and after each of them comes descriptive music, increasing in vigour as the battle wages, and sinking into melancholy cadences with the retreat of the vanquished. This descriptive music is of the simplest nature, consisting merely of rythmical beats on the lower strings with occasional beats on the wood, or a series of very rapid sweeps over all four strings each finishing with an upstroke on the fourth: the dexterity with which these passages are executed astonishes, but their simple appropriateness gives the whole composition, without exaggeration, a charm which not all ancient music, even in the West, can be said to possess. Apart from these descriptive passages the music is rugged, and devoid of melody. One short lilting phrase, which has without doubt descended to the modern music of the *samisen*, alone remains in the memory, and this occurs in nearly every composition. The repertoire consists of over one hundred pieces, of which however only thirty are considered classical. *Biwa*

players are almost entirely confined to the region round Kagoshima where the *Heike-monogatari* first came into existence, the defeated clansmen having taken refuge there. The story of the war seems gradually to have taken poetic shape among their descendants, and was handed down like a Saga from generation to generation. It was not reduced into its present from till about the year 1445.

There are said to be at present two professionals only of first rank, and this is not to be wondered at considering the difficulty of mastering the instrument. Its tones depend for their accuracy both on the position of the fingers between the frets, and also on the amount of pressure placed upon them: the frets stand up from the neck about an inch, and as many as five semitones can be produced by a finger in one position. This seems to form a link between the *biwa* and the *koto*, which has both single and double pressures.

The leathern band which runs across the body of the *bugakubiwa* is replaced by a broad band of black ornamented lacquer: the belly is made of polished mulberry or cherry wood, the back and neck being inscribed with poems and the fanciful name of the instrument in bold gold lettering: e.g. "Phœnix-voiced!" At the point where the neck meets the back it expands into a large conical form, called *tōyama*, the distant mountain.

The following are the accurate measurements of the instrument: the figures in brackets are the measurements of the *bugakubiwa*:

full length: 3 feet [3 ft. 3 in.]

length of neck measured from lowest fret, 13 inches [8½ in.]

breadth of neck, tapering from 1.2 [1 in.] inch to 1.4 [1.5]: depth about 1.3 [1.2]

length of neck-rest in which the handles are placed, 11 inches [9½]; the handles themselves measuring 5 inches [4]

greatest breadth of belly, 13 inches [16]

greatest thickness, 2 inches [2] ½: both faces are slightly convexed, the thickness of the body at the edge being 1

inch [1½]: in the face are two ivory crescents 'new moons,' 6½ inches [11] from the lowest fret: in each of these a very small aperture is cut. In the *bugakubiwa*, the apertures are themselves crescent-shaped, and are rather larger: there is also a circular aperture underneath the string holder.

breadth of lacquer band, 4.8 inches [7.25]

The strings are fastened at the base to a large holder, 3. 2 inches long [3. 5] by 4. 8 [5.25] broad, which stands .8 of an inch [.5] clear of the body except at its lower end; the strings at the holder are one inch apart in both instruments: they get closer together as they pass over the frets, finally meeting in an ivory [ebony] notch at the head of the neck which comes down at right angles to the body. The handles are 5½ inches long [4½].

The fret measurements are as follow:

length of string from the holder to the first fret at the nape of the neck, 17½ inches [25 in.]

„ between first and second frets 2. 1 inches [1 in.]

„ „ second „ third „ 2 „ [1. 1]

„ „ third „ fourth „ 4. 8 „

„ „ fourth „ ivory notch, 1. 6 „ [5. 1 in. between 3rd fret and notch]

The frets are .45 [.3] inch broad; the three lower ones 2.5 [1. 2 and 1 in.] inches long, the upper one 1.8, sloping down to about an inch where they are fastened to the neck.

Their heights are 1 inch [.3], 1. 1 [.35], 1. 3 [.4], 1. 5, respectively: thus allowing the strings to pass clear of the lower frets when the pressure is on one higher up.

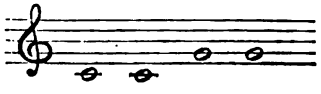
The strings are tuned to A, E, A, C.

The first and second are almost invariably used as open strings: the third string is also often used open, very few touched notes being played on it, the melody being left almost entirely to the upper string which is drawn clear of the others by the little finger of the left hand. Being lighter than the *bugakubiwa* it is played sitting with the instrument resting on the right leg. The *bachi*

is 6½ inches [7½] long, with a striking edge of 9½ [2¾] inches.

The *gekkin* is sometimes called the miniature *biwa*, and sometimes the 'Moon-shaped *koto*.' Although it differs entirely in construction from the *biwa*, its high frets put it clearly in the same class of instruments. The body is circular, 14 inches in diameter, and 1½ inch thick, the two surfaces being parallel; they are without apertures, on the upper face are generally placed two carved flowers where the apertures would be. The neck is one foot long, and 1¼ inch broad, capped by a large flat-headed ornament. There are in all nine frets, decreasing in height, like those of the *biwa*: the upper one over which the strings pass to the pegs is half an inch in height, and is placed 5½ inches up the neck. Four of the frets are on the face of the instrument, one at the join of the neck and the body, the remainder on the neck.

There are four strings 16 inches in length tuned in pairs to a fifth, the first and second to C, the third and fourth to G, thus

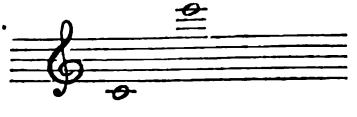


The frets give the Chinese scale in two octaves in the following way:

No. of fret.	*1st and 2nd strings.*	*3rd and 4th strings.*
0. [open strings]	C	G
1.	D	A
2.	E	B
3.	F	C
4.	G	D
5.	A	E
6.	C	G
7.	D	A
8.	F	C

second strings, the sixth fret giving the octave to the open string, is characteristic of the tunings of the Chinese *koto*, but as the note is given on the third and fourth strings, I doubt whither this fact supplies any argument in support of what I think is often stated, that the seventh is omitted in the Chinese diatonic scale. The music for the *gekkin* consists entirely of quaint little Chinese songs, many of them very melodious and pretty. It is played with a small ivory or tortoise-shell plectrum, the double strings giving a trill to the notes which is accentuated by the vibrations of a wire fastened loosely inside the body: this wire produces a curious jangling whenever the instrument is moved. The up and down stroke of the plectrum, which is characteristic of Chinese and Japanese music, acquires additional grace by coming on different strings.

The *genkan*, another Chinese instrument of the same class which has evidently developed out of the *gekkin*, being without apertures, and containing a wire vibrator in the body. The chief differences are a smaller and hexagonal body, and a longer neck. The sides of the hexagon are $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and the measurement from side to side 10 inches. The neck is 2 feet long, and the string length also 2 feet. In addition to the upper fret which gives the open notes, there are eleven frets on the neck and one on the body giving the full diatonic scale, including the 7th which is absent in the lower strings of the *gekkin*. The four strings are tuned in pairs to C and G, the compass of the instrument being two octaves and two notes:



THE SAMISEN, FIDDLES, AND STRINGED INSTRUMENTS WITHOUT FRETS.

The *samisen*, the popular instrument of *geisha* and beggar women, the leading instrument in the orchestra of the theatre and later forms of *Nō* dance, is supposed to have been introduced from Liu Chiu about 1560 where it was used more as a plaything than as a serious musical instrument. It was advanced to this dignity by the *biwa* players who found it a more portable instrument than their own, and was first used for accompanying *jōruri-bushi*. The names of the chief players were Nakanokōji, and his pupil Torasawa; and later, in the Keichō era, Sawazumi, who became proficient in the *ko-uta* and other offshoots of the *jōruri-monogatari*. He settled at Ōsaka, and his two pupils Kagaichi and Jōhide came to Yedo, where they acquired same reputation and afterwards took the degree of *Kengyō*, with the names Yanagawa and Yamahashi. Yamahashi *Kengyō* is regarded as the father of the modern *samisen* players: he gave the instrument the name '*sansen*'—three strings, which was afterwards converted into the three character word '*samisen*' or "three tasteful strings." Another but rather doubtful theory is it that the instrument existed in Japan at the time of the Ashikaga dynasty (15th century). It is probable however that it was in use in China during the twelfth century, and travelled thence to Liu Chiu. Originally the belly was covered with snake's skin, and it was strung with two strings only, the third being added by one Ishimura. There are three tunings, used merely for convenience in the way of getting as many open strings as possible: they are all adapted to *hirajōshi*, the plain tuning of the *koto*. It is rarely used when the *koto* is tuned in any other way, though

the possibility of using it is recognized. The three tunings are as follow:—

Honchōshi	D	G	d
Niagari	D	A	d
Sansagari	D	G	c

There are also these two special tunings used only for comic music:—

Ichisagari	C	G	d
Sansagari	D	G	B flat

The *samisen* is played with a *bachi* of wood, ivory, or tortoise-shell, which strikes the strings just below where the neck joins the body; at this point the face is strengthened with a small extra piece of parchment, which recieves the first blow from the *bachi*: there are thus produced two distinct sounds, the drumming on the face, and the vibration of the strings. In the fingering great care is used to let the strings be pressed by the fingernails.

The measurements of the *samisen* are:

the body, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, by 7 inches broad, by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep.

the neck, 2 feet $5\frac{1}{4}$ long, tapering from 1 inch broad to seven tenths.

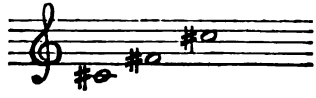
the pegs, 3 inches long.

the *bachi*, $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches long; rather less than an inch square at the top, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long at the lower edge.

The *jamisen* is the original instrument from which the *samisen* has descended. The neck is somewhat shorter being only 2 feet long: the body however is the same size but with rounded edges. It is covered with snake skin on both sides.

The *jamisen* is a Chinese instrument whose history I have not been able to trace clearly. Although it differs in the construction of its body from the *samisen* it so much resembles that instrument in other respects that there seems very little doubt that they both sprang from the same source. Both front and back of the body of the

jamisen are covered with snake's skin, but instead of being a hollow rectangular frame like that of the *samisen*, the body is an oval block of hard wood, measuring 6 inches in length, 5 in breadth, and 2¾ in thickness, in which a hole 2 inches in diameter is cut. It has three strings which pass over a small ivory bridge and are fastened to an ivory knob at the base of the belly. It is played with a small tortoise shell plectrum. The neck is two inches shorter than that of the *samisen*, but the pegs are much larger. The strings are tuned to *honchōshi*.



The *kokyū*, the Japanese fiddle, seems to have come to China from Hindustan; thence it travelled through Liu Chiu to Japan. It is described in the Encyclopædia as having been originally used by the Southern Barbarians to ward off the attacks of venomous reptiles on account of its mournful tone. Originally the bow was of one stout gut string in the shape of the long archery bow; it is now made of a bundle of loose horse hair two feet and a half long. It has four strings nearly always tuned to *sansagari*, the third and fourth—the upper and not the lower as with us—strings being tuned in unison, imparting to the high notes a greater strength and clearness, thus: F♯,B,E,E.

It is played resting on the floor in front of the left knee of the musician, a metal pivot fixed in the base of the body, enabling it to be turned in order that the outer strings may be pulled clean. This position and the cumbersome bow with its heavy swaying tassel prevent any elaborate music from being played upon it: it has thus been relegated to a subordinate position among instruments, being used merely to reinforce the melody. It is not often that one hears the *kokyū* well played, as the system of instruction is entirely at fault: it ignores 'position,' the fingers of the left hand learning their places on the strings by rote, the pupil sitting.

The omission of the 7th of the scale on the first and

fingering both of the *kokyū* and the *samisen* is recognized by the double fee which is charged by the masters. With so crude a method of teaching the playing of any but first-rate professionals must necessarily be lamentably careless and untrue: but in their hands the notes are pulled with great accuracy and precision, and I find the tone exceedingly sweet though somewhat plaintive. It is curious to note too that the loose bow string is capable of making the sound float from the string without a trace of 'scratching.' A small wooden rest, with a hole in it for the pivot, fixed in the *obi* enables the *kokyū* to be played by beggars in the street: and, when held under the left knee, by foreigners sitting in a chair.

The measurements of the *kokyū* are:

the body, 5½ inches long, by 4.9 broad, by 2.3 deep.
the neck, 18 inches long, tapering from ♯.7 to ♯.6.
the pegs, 2½ inches long.
the bow, 3 feet 8¾ long, with a bend at the upper end 3 inches long: length of horsehair 2 feet 6½ inches.

Keikin, a four-stringed Chinese fiddle, with a body made of a small segment of bamboo, 5 inches long by 4 in diameter; the neck measures 27 inches. The pegs are placed one below the other and project beneath the neck; the strings pass separately through an ivory notch half way down the neck and over a small ivory bridge on the face of the body, the string length being only 10½ inches. They are tuned in pairs to a fifth (I think). The most curious feature of this instrument is that the horsehair of the bow is twined in and out of the strings, making it impossible for a single note to be produced. The only fingering which is possible is by pressure on the strings between the lowest peg and the ivory notch: they are then quite close together. The bow is pulled close to the body on which a lump of resin is stuck.

The face of the body is covered with snake's skin; the back with an open black-wood ornament.

Kokin, a two-stringed variety of the *keikin*. The body is only 4 inches long by 2 in diameter, and the neck of

bamboo 18 inches long. There is no ivory notch on the neck, but the strings are tied back with a loop of gut. They are tuned to a fifth, the bow being twined in and out of them as in the larger instrument. The face of the body is covered with snake's skin, and the back is uncovered. It has a lump of resin stuck on to it.

Teikin, another form of Chinese fiddle. It is the same length as the *keikin*, but has only two strings, and the pegs project at the side of the neck. The body is spherical in form and made of black-wood with carved open work at the back. The face is of lighter wood 4 inches in diameter. The strings are tuned to a fifth and pass over a small ivory bridge, to which they come straight from the pegs. The bow is twined in the strings as in the case of the *keikin* and *kokin*, and there is also a lump of resin on the body.

FLUTES, AND BAMBOO WIND INSTRUMENT.

The *fuye* or flute, is said to have originated in North-West Asia, and thence to have come to Japan through China. The Japanese however claim their flute as indigenous to the country. The Chinese flute is called *ōteki* or in Japanese *yokobuye*,—'Side blowing flute'—probably to distinguish it from the *hichiriki* which is blown from the end. It is also called *ryūteki*, the Dragon-flute. It has seven fingerholes, and was made originally of monkey-bone, but afterwards of bamboo. There were two kinds, the long and the short; the latter alone seems to have been in frequent use. It measures 15.5 inches in length: the internal diameter being about .55 inch: and the lip-hole 10.9 inches, the first finger hole 6.5, and the last 1.3 from the end. The long variety was made of a thinner bamboo and produced more delicate notes.

The Japanese flute or *yamatobuye* of which we hear so much in the chronicles of early times, is claimed by mythology to have been first made by Amano-Usume, the divine singer and dancer who drew Amaterasu from her cave; she gathered the bamboo on Amano-kagu-yama, the mountain of the heavenly fragrance, and christened the flute *Amano-Tori*, the Bird from Heaven.

It is, like all the Eastern flutes, lacquered red inside, and closely bound outside between the holes with string laid on with paste and afterwards fixed with lacquer. The string is a substitute for strips of cherry-tree bark which was formerly used, this itself being a substitute for the bark of the *kaba*-tree of China, with which the old Chinese flutes were bound. The top is plugged with lead wrapped in rolls of paper fastened with wax, and finished at the end with wood decorated either with brocade or a highly finished metal ornament.

The instruments are kept for an extraordinary number of years, many of those now in use being said to be over a thousand years old; a list of the temple flutes was kept at Court, and like most of the old instruments they were known by special names, such as 'The Snake charmer,' 'Green leaves,' 'The Fisherman.'

It is difficult fully to appreciate the clear tones of the Japanese flute, as the notes are seldom blown 'clean.' Weird quarter-tones disfigure both the beginning and the end of all sustained notes, the musicians being specially taught to acquire the art of producing them; and for some reason which much enquiry has not revealed to me, the music would be considered as shorn of its beauties if they were omitted.

It has 6 holes, and measure 17¾ inches long, with an internal diameter at the base of slightly less than half an inch. The lip-hole is 12.6 inches, the first finger-hole 7.5 and last 2.7, inches from the end. The *yamatobuye* were divided into two classes: the *kagurabuye*, the measurements of which have just been given; and the *azumabuye*, made of a thinner bamboo and giving a more delicate tone. As their names imply the former was used in the *kagura* orchestra, the latter in that of the *azuma-asobi*. In the same way the Chinese flute is sometimes called the *bugakubuye*. The *azumabuye* has now given way to the Corean flute, *komabuye*, which is usually carried by the temple musicians with the *kagurabuye* in a doublebarrelled lacquer case.

The *komabuye* has 6 holes and is made of very thin bamboo, 14½ inches long, with an internal diameter of only .4 inch. The lip-hole is 9.9 inches, the first finger-hole 5.7, and the last 2 inches, from the end.

Seiteki, a primitive Chinese flute, used with the *gekkin*, *teikin* and *keikin* which are often played together. It is made of plain bamboo, unlacquered inside, 21 inches long, with six finger-holes. Its chief peculiarity is that between the upper finger-hole and the lip-hole there is opposite to the teacher. The difficulty of teaching the

another hole which is covered with paper before the instrument is played, which gives a quaint buzz to the music. At the lower end also holes are pierced for a cord and tassel.

The Encyclopædia gives two additional forms of flute.

Dōshō, or 'cave flute,' said to have been much used during the Tong dynasty in China. It measured 2 *shaku*. It was originally made as a toy, but was afterwards adopted seriously and bound with ornamental strings. It was never popular with the Japanese.

Chi, a bamboo flute with seven holes, said to have been first made about 1000 B.C. The tones resembled a baby's crying, and hence it was never much used.

Hichiriki, the 'sad-toned tube,' in appearance and structure resembles a small flute, bearing the same proportion to the flute, as the piccolo does in the West. It is made of bamboo, lacquered inside, and bound with lacquered string like the flute, with seven holes above and two thumb holes below. It is however played with a loose reed mouthpiece which is inserted at one end and bound with paper which, having been damped, swells and keeps it firmly in its place. The instrument is the diapason of the classical orchestra, and on it must be laid the blame of those sounds, often attributed to the *shō*, which are entirely gruesome to Western ears.

Hichiriki players are even greater sinners than the flautists in the matter of those superfluous quarter tones already referred to: the antecedent slur is often a prolonged wailing slide through a full tone, more or less; the note finishing with an excruciating rise of a semitone, more or less, cut off short. These sounds seem always to have pleased the Japanese ear, the old *hichirikis* being as much prized as the old flutes, and their history recorded with as great care. It is more correctly kept in a box shaped like a closed fan, but a cover is only an invention of modern times. It measures 7.1 inches long, with an internal diameter tapering from .6 to .4 of an inch. The first hole is 1.4 inches from the top, the last 1.1 from the bottom.

The under holes are 1.9 and 4.1 from the top respectively. The reed mouthpiece, *shita*, is 2.3 inches long, but when in place it only projects one inch from the end of the instrument. Special instructions are given for the manufacture of this mouthpiece. It should be made from cane cut at Udono in the province of Yamashiro, in the depth of winter, and dried slowly in the kitchen. It should be bound with the best Mino paper.

The Encyclopædia refers to a larger form of the instrument, the *ōhichiriki*. The only detail given concerning it is that it has nine finger holes instead of seven.

The *shakuhachi* is made of thick bamboo lacquered inside, measuring from 20 to 20½ inches long. The approximate measurements from joint to joint are 6¾, 5¾, 4, 3½ inches respectively, but in the best instruments these measurements should be 6, 5, 4, 3, *sun*. The internal diameter measures 1 inch at the top, and 1½ at the base: the external diameter 1½ inches at the top, and 2 inches at the base which is cut so as to include the swell of the reed.

Well played it is one of the mellowest of wind instruments; but the exceeding difficulty of playing it at all justifies the tradition of secrets which have been handed down from Ōmori Toku, a hermit of Yedo, from generation to generation of patient teachers and patient pupils. The principle of the instrument corresponds with that of an organ pipe, being no more than a hollow tube with a slight cut at the end fitted with a hard ebony 'voicing.' The under lip of the player almost covers the upper cavity and thus takes the place of the language of the pipe, the breath entering between the edge of the lower lip and the 'voice.' It has four upper holes, the centre of the first being 9½ inches from the lip, and a thumb hole underneath 8½ inches from lip. By dint of half-opening the holes the full Chinese chromatic scale is produced.

There are some small kinds of *shakuhachi*, some of them being most elaborately carved.

Hitoyogiri, given by the Encyclopædia as a variety of *shakuhachi*, a little shorter but of very sweet sound.

It measures 21 inches and is made out of two joints of bamboo only; the finger-holes coming below the ring, the lip above. The difficulty of finding the necessary bamboo probably accounts for its scarcity.

Shōnofuye. See Plate I, Fig. 2. A very ancient instrument composed of 22 pipes arranged side by side like panpipes. The Encyclopædia gives no information as to how it was played. The largest pipe measured 17 inches.

A smaller variety contained only 16 pipes.

The *shō* (*shi-yō*), is composed of a compact bundle of seventeen thin bamboo reeds fixed into a circular lacquer wind-chamber of cherry wood or hard pine, the air passing in a channel round the central support. It is fitted with a silver mouthpiece.

The following are the precise details.

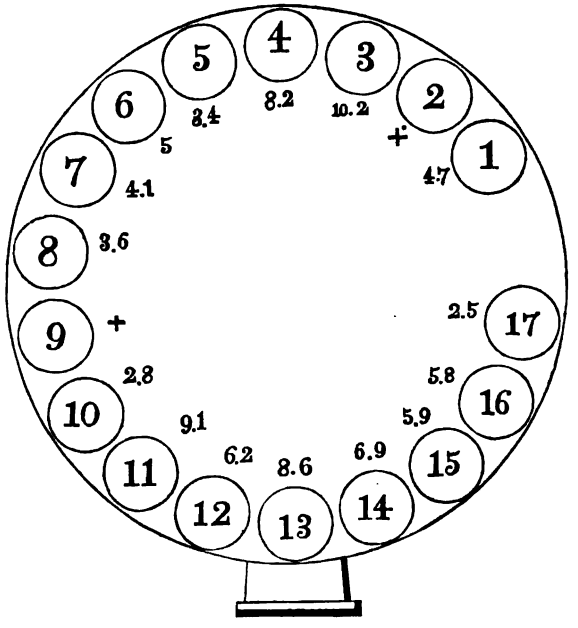
Wind box: height 3.4 inches; diameter 2.8 which decreases slightly at the base.

Projection of silver mouthpiece .7 inch: length 1.8; breadth 1. 1.

Rectangular hole in mouthpiece .35 by .6.

Height from wind box of silver band holding the reeds in position, 5½ inches.

The reeds are arranged in two sets, those opposite one another being of equal height: each set is also arranged like the front pipes of an organ, the longest in the middle, the remainder getting shorter in couples, one on either side. The longest pipes are in a line with the centre of the mouthpiece, these are the 4th and the 13th, the first being on the right side. The following diagram shows the arrangement and measurements in inches and decimals.



No.	Name.	Length.	True Pipe length.
1	Hii	8.3	4.7
2	Mō	10.7	
3	Kotsu	13.5	10.2
4	Bok	17.2	8.2
5	Jō	13.5	3.4
6	Gyō	10.7	5
7	Hichi	8.5	4.1
8	Gon	5.9	3.6
9	Ya	5.9	
10	Hachi	8.3	2.8
11	Ichi	10.7	9.1
12	Bei	13.8	6.2
13	Kū	17.2	8.6
14	Otsu	13.5	6.9
15	Gei	10.7	5.9
16	Jeu	8.3	5.8
17	Sen	5.9	2.5

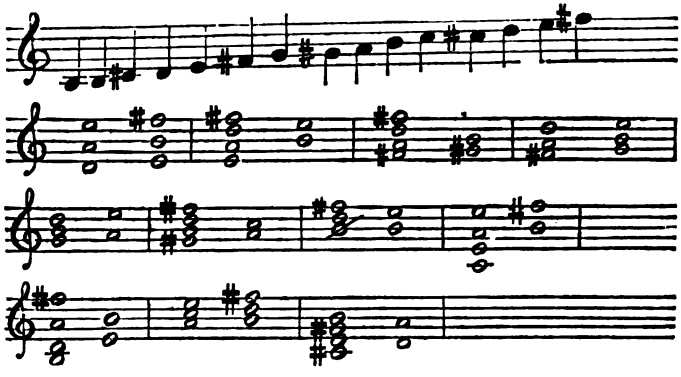
The inner numbers, given also in the last column, are the heights of the bases of the slits above the upper surface of the wind-box, and give therefore the true pipe length. These slits are inside, with the exception of those of the 8th and 9th pipes, which are on the outside and silver mounted: the tops of the 8th, 9th, and 17th pipes are also silver mounted, all the others are plain. The 2nd, and 9th are dummies. The pipes are made of the oldest bamboo procurable, much of it being obtained from old country houses; their internal diameter is .3. They are closely packed side by side, some of the outer surface being cut away to allow them to fit tightly; they are inserted into the wind-box to the depth of 1.2 inch. Inserted in their bases are small metal reeds which are silent till the finger holes are closed: these are all one inch from the top of the wind-box, except those of the 6th and 7th pipes, which are 1.9 inch: those of the 14th and 15th pipes are *inside*; that of the first pipe at the side facing the player. The breath is inhaled very gently, the player having always at his side a *hibachi* over which he occasionally warms the wind-box to prevent the accumulation of moisture.

The instrument is held to the mouth with the both hands, the pipes being disposed among the fingers for stopping as follows:

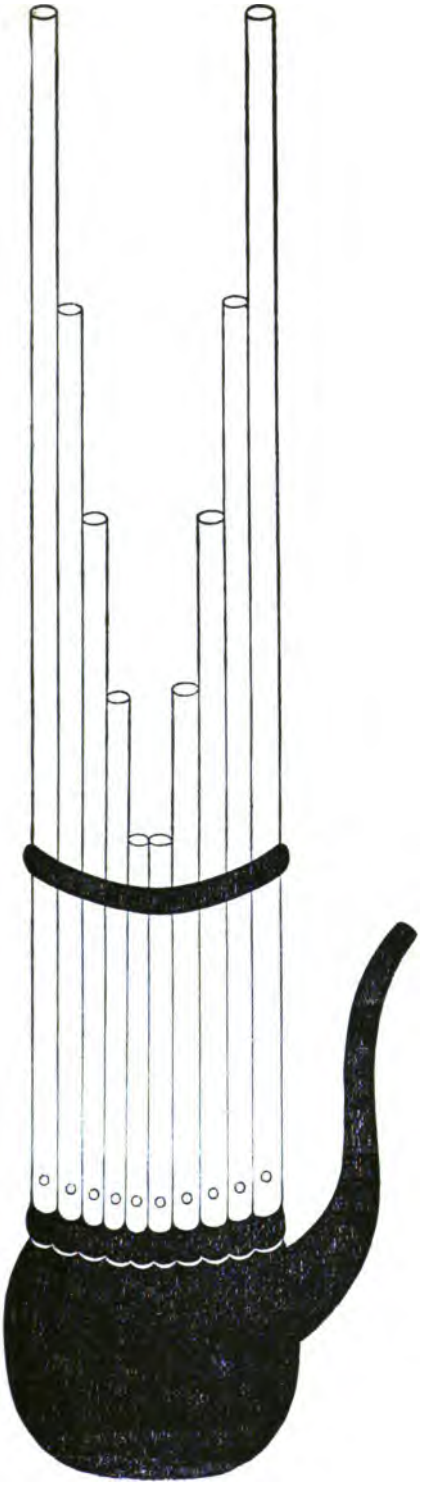
1st finger right hand.	14th and 15th pipes, hole inside: and 1st pipe, with outside of the second joint of the finger.
2nd ,, ,, ,,	3rd, 4th, and 5th pipes.
thumb ,, ,,	16th and 17th pipes.
thumb left hand.	8th, 10th, 11th, and 13th pipes.
1st finger ,, ,,	7th pipe.
2nd ,, ,, ,,	6th pipe.

The first line of the following score gives the notes of

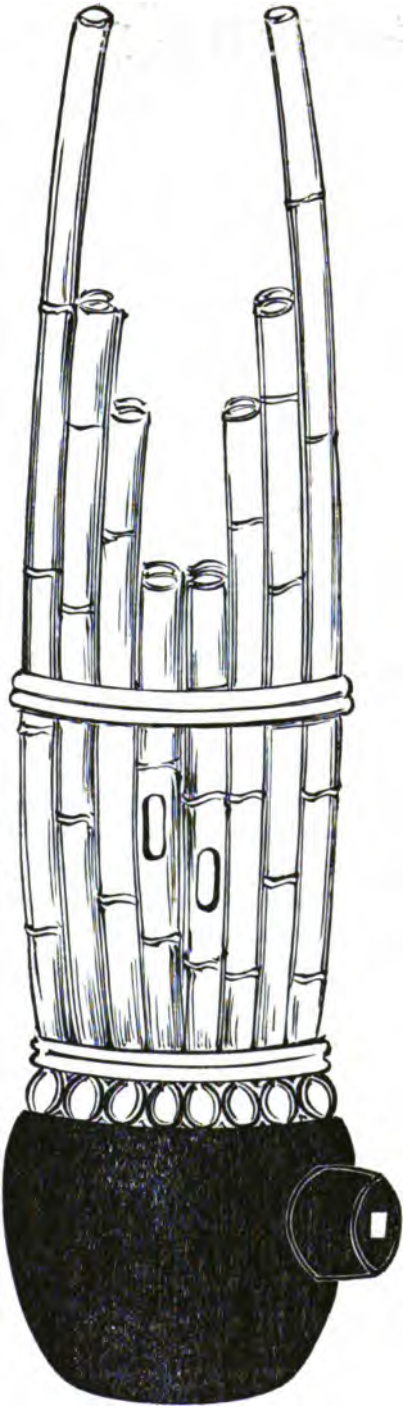
the *shō* (an octave up); and the other three lines (also played an octave up) give chords that occur in music written for the *shō*.



There seems to have been a great variety of *shō* at different periods, varying chiefly in the number of reeds. One is mentioned as having had 36, and others with 26, 19, and 13 respectively. A curious form with a 'tea-pot spout' mouthpiece, said to have been called in China the 'Barbarian *shō*,' is figured in Abe Suyenao's "Records," a copy of which is here given. The *shō* is probably the oldest Eastern instrument; the date of its introduction into China being given as the early part of the Chin dynasty, 400 years before the time of Confucius.



The "Barbarian Shō"



Modern Shō

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DRUMS.

The generic name for drums of all kinds in Japanese is *taiko;* they are however divided into three classes: the *taiko* proper, the *kakko*, and the *tsuzumi*. But this classification, in the case of the *taiko* and *kakko* is one of nomenclature simply; a better one may be made which depends on construction. The three classes will then be I, plain cylindrical drums; II, drums with braces or cords; III, drums with dumbbell shaped bodies, or *tsuzumi*.

I. PLAIN CYLINDRICAL DRUMS.

Ōdaiko. The large drum used occasionally in temple services. It is generally seen in large temples standing on the right of the altar; it also forms part of the *daidai-kagura* orchestra. It rests on a black lacquer stand, the surface of the cylinder being usually elaborately decorated either with gold clouds or coloured dragons, the faces having a large black *mitsudomoye* on a plain ground. In the cylinder are fitted two large iron rings which enable it to be carried, as it sometimes though rarely appears in processions.

The origin of this drum, beyond the fact that it came from China, is not clear. It is said to have been developed from the *bugakudaiko (tsuridaiko)*, but the connexion between the two, if it exists at all, would seem to be the other way round.

The faces measure 2 ft. 5 in. in diameter, the parchment overlapping 5 inches on to the cylinder to which it is fastened by two rows of heavy studs. The cylinder is 2 ft. 9½ long, its section being slightly convexed, giving a central diameter of 2 ft. 10. With its stand the height is 4 ft. 10.

Kodaiko. A small form of *ōdaiko*, used chiefly in processions and in the orchestra for some of the shorter performances of the *kagura*. The cylinder of the orchestral drum is decorated, and it rests on a stand; the processional drum is plain: in both cases the faces are undecorated. It is placed in an cubical frame suspended from a pole carried on the shoulders of two men, the drummer walking by the side delivering vigorous blows on the parchment with two plain thick sticks of hard wood without knobs or leather: these sticks are about one foot in length and over an inch and a half in diameter. Before the procession starts it is placed at the temple gate where it is beaten continuously for two hours or more to summon the people.

Either this drum, or a smaller variety, was formerly used in battle.

The faces measure 1 foot 10½ inches in diameter, the parchment overlapping 3½ inches. The convexed cylinder is 2 feet 2½ inches in length, with a central diameter of 2 ft. 4½ in. With its stand the height is 3 ft. 11 in. The stand however is occasionally much higher, as in the Temple of the second Tokugawa Shōgun at Shiba.

Tsuridaiko, the hanging drum—more commonly called simply *taiko*. The larger of the two drums used in the *bugaku* orchestra. It is a shallow cylinder very slightly convexed, hung in a circular rim or frame on a stand, and so arranged as to height that the drummer sitting in front of this instrument may, without the slightest stretching of his arm, strike the exact centre of the face. The sticks have leather-covered knobs, and measure only 11 inches: when not in use they are placed in rings at the side of the frame. The right stick is called *obachi*, the male stick: the left *mebachi*, the female stick. Both faces and the cylinder are elaborately painted in the usual style of temple decoration, the phœnix or the dragon being surrounded by gorgeous clouds. The stand

The inner measurements give the height from the surface of the wind box to the base of the slit in the pipe, and

and frame are richly lacquered and terminate with the *kwayen*, the flame ornament, and balls of fire, made in brass.

In tone the drum is very full and mellow. Its use in the orchestra is to mark the larger divisions of the time—the *hyōshi*—which are practically equivalent to the Western 'bars.'

On very great occasion a much larger drum—*dadaiko*—is used: but this belongs properly to the second, or 'braced' class.

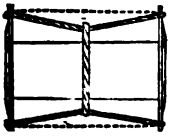
The *tsuridaiko* drum varies slightly in size; its average dimensions however are as follows: diameter of face 20 inches: diameter of circular frame 32 inches, the rim being 2 inches broad and one inch thick. The cylinder is only 8 inches long. The height from the floor to the top of the *kwayen* ornament is 4 feet 3 inches.

Very special instructions are given for playing this drum. As will be seen in the analysis of the time of *bugaku* music given after the description of the *kakko*, a loud drum point with the 'male' is invariably preceded by a stof beat with the 'female' stick. The position of the sticks at the time of striking is indicated in the following cut.

Kerō. See Plate II. Fig. 3. A small drum used in China, according to the old records, about the period of the Tong dynasty, to signalize the appearance of dawn. It is now used in Japan for the purpose of marking the time for processional orchestras: being hung round the leader's neck by a cord which he holds in his left hand together with the rattle, *furitsuzumi* (Fig. 4.), beating the *hyōshi* with the stick in the right hand. The face measures only $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, with a cylinder 6 inches long, the sides slightly convexed, giving a central diameter of $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The faces are silvered, with black *mitsudomoye*, and are fastened on to the gilt cylinder by gilt studs, the parchment overlapping as in the large drums of the class.

II. DRUMS WITH BRACES.

The chief characteristic of this class is that the faces have a larger diameter than the cylinder, giving roughly the following section:



The braces, generally of thick silk or hemp cords, run through holes cut in the rims of the faces, as in the dotted lines in the diagram, and are drawn tight by a central cord.

Dadaiko. (Plate II., Fig. 1). The large drum used only on the greatest occasions in the *bugaku* orchestra instead of the *tsuridaiko.* It is erected on a special platform, draped and tasseled, with a gold railing and steps. The drummer, who must be specially selected for his skill, stands in front of the drum, the directions being that he should, for greater vigour in striking, place his left foot on the platform, and his right on the upper step. It is surrounded with a broad rim ornamented with phœnix and dragon, and edged with red flames *kwayen.* This frame which is fixed into a socket in the platform. The whole is surmounted by a black lacquer pole, 7½ feet in length, which supports a gold sun more than a foot in diameter, with rays 18 inches long. The faces are gilt, and bear in front a black *mitsudomoye,* and at the back a *futatsudomoye.* The cylinder is richly decorated on red lacquer; the hemp braces are black white and red, and are nearly an inch in diameter.

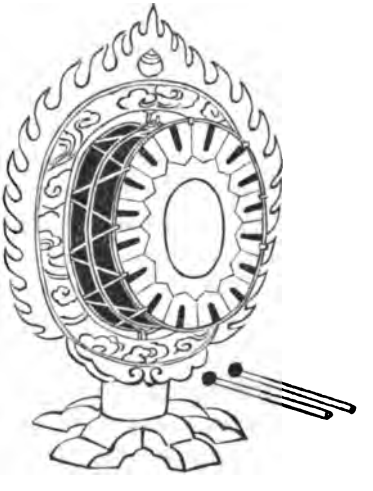
The diameter of the faces is about 6 feet 3 in. The length of the cylinder 5 feet, with diameter 4 feet 2 in., the wood of which it is composed being 2¾ inches thick. The drum is not fastened to the pole, as appears in the accompanying sketch, but rests on a stand, which is shewn in a separate cut (Plate III., Fig. 1). The cylinder

(Plate III., Fig. 2) is provided with two 'ears' which serve as handles. In, Fig. 3, Plate III. is shown the form of the internal supports of the case of the body of the *dadaiko*.

The description and rough sketches of this huge drum are taken from the Suyenao's M S. Records of Ancient Music, the drums themselves being exceedingly rare. The two belonging to the Temples at Nikkō are hopelessly broken; another sent to the Vienna Exhibition in 1873 lies at the bottom of the sea.

Nidaiko, the 'portable' drum (Plate II., Fig. 2). The smaller processional variety of the *dadaiko*. It is carried by a black lacquer pole, 8 feet long, on the shoulders of two men, the drummer, as in the case of the *kodaiko* walking by the side. The tone is very poor and thin. Its gilt faces with black *mitsudomoye*, red lacquer body and coloured strings correspond with those of the larger drum: it has however no outer rim, and is merely surmounted by one red flame, 15 inches high by 20 broad. The diameter of the faces is 2 feet 7 inches: the cylinder is 1 foot 3 inches long, and 1 foot 8 inches in diameter.

Happu, a very old Chinese drum filled with rice powder. It was similar in shape to the *nidaiko*, but was hung in a circular frame on a stand embellished with flame ornament like the *tsuridaiko*, and was probably about the same size. The figure in the annexed cut is taken from the Encyclopædia.



Kakko, called in the Encyclopædia 'the Barbarian Drum which came through China from Turkestan and Thibet.' It is the small drum of the *bugaku* orchestra, and the leader, its function being to mark the 'beats' of the music. It is composed of a painted wooden cylinder, one foot long and 6.2 inches in diameter, with a parallel section. The projecting faces are 10 inches in diameter: these faces are painted white. The drum is braced eight times with thick silk cords. It rests on a small stand in front of the player, the height of the whole being, 15 inches; the sticks are unpadded, 15½ inches long, and knobbed like those of the Western kettle-drum.

It is struck in three different ways.

Katarai: a number of quick strokes with the left stick slightly increasing in speed.

Mororai: a number of alternate strokes with both sticks, also increasing in speed, making a slow roll.

Sei: a single tap with the right stick.

The stroke is a circular motion, figured in the "Records" as a *tomoye*, thus,

Bugaku music is divided into bars, *hyōshi*, which are each subdivided into divisions or beats called *kobyōshi;* the half beat of each *kobyōshi* is called *kage*—corresponding with 'and' in Western counting. *Katarai*, or *mororai*, exactly fills one of the full beats, and as the time is about *alla breve*, the length of each roll can easily be estimated.

There are three species of time, *yohyōshi* or *shihyōshi*, containing four beats, the common time: *yahyōshi* or *hachihyōshi*, with eight beats; and *muhyōshi* or *roku-hyōshi*, with six.

The conclusion of every *hyōshi* is marked by a tap on the *kakko*, (*sei*) and a *forte* stroke on the *taiko* with the right stick (*obachi*), which is itself prepared by a *piano* stroke with the left stick (*mebachi*) at the half-beat immediately preceding it: in the common time at 'three and.'

It will thus be seen that this music differs from Western music in working up to its accent, instead of starting with it.

The emphasis of the dance follows naturally the accent of the music, the drum point being marked by the stamp of the foot with which those who have seen these dances are familiar.

Ku, the places where the singers take breath, correspond with the *kobyōshi*.

These explanations will be sufficient to explain the following scheme of the different 'times.'

Yohyōshi.	*Beat.*	*Kakko.*	*Tsuridaiko.*
[the bar of 4 beats]	1.	mororai.	
	2.	sei	
	3.	katarai	
	and	*kage*	mebachi
	4.	sei	obachi
Yahyōshi.	1.	mororai	
[the bar of 8 beats]	2.	mororai	
	3.	mororai*	
	4.	sei	
	5.	sei katarai	
	6.	sei	
	7.	sei katarai†	
	and	*kage*	mebachi.
	8.	sei	obachi.
Muhyōshi.	1.	mororai	
[the bar of 6 beats]	2.	mororai	

* This is not continuous roll for three beats; the *mororai* recommences at each beat.

† *Katarai* follows the *sei* immediately.

(*Muhyōshi*)	3.	mororai		
	and	katarai		
	4.	sei		
	5.	sei	katarai	
	and		*kage*	mebachi.
	6.	sei		obachi.

In addition to these a mixed time, *tadabyōshi*, is sometimes though rarely used, which contains three beats. In this there are no rolls on the *kakko*.

1*st hyōshi*	1		sei	
	and		*kage*	
	2		sei	
	and		*kage*	
	3		*kage*	mebachi
	and		*kage*	
2*nd hyōshi*	1		sei	obachi
	and		*kage*	
	2		sei	
	and		*kage*	
	3		*kage*	mebachi
	and		*kage*	
3*rd hyōshi*	1		sei	obachi

D. C. from ❁

The full time of *tadabyōshi* contains four *hyōshi* which are all alike, except that the *forte* beat on the big drum on the first beat of the bar does not occur in the first bar: and the last bar is incomplete, containing only the *obachi* beat. The cycle of four bars is ranked as a species of *ya-hyōshi*.

The principle of time is the same in music which is composed without drums.

Daibyōshi, sometimes called *ōkakko*. A large form of the *Kakko* used in the *kagura* orchestra.

Its dimensions are: diameter of face 1 ft. 6½ inches, with a gold band 3 inches broad, and an inner black band about ⅝ inch broad: length, 1 ft. 6¾, diameter of the cylinder 11 inches: it rests on a small stand, the whole standing 2 ft. 2¾ from the ground. It is strung with 12 braces and is struck with plain sticks, without knobs, 1 foot 10 inches long.

The name, the 'grand time beater,' signifies the instrument used to mark the beats on a special occasion.

When the short benedictory dance, the modern *kagura*, is performed at festivals this drum is always used to mark the *hyōshi*.

Kaiko, 'an enlarged and shortened *kakko*,' not now in use. See Fig. 4, Plate III. According to the "Records of Ancient Music" it was called 'the third processional instrument,' the *nidaiko* and the *nishōko* probably being the first and the second. It was carried on the left shoulder and struck, or rubbed with the fingers of the right hand, the beating being accompanied by short shouts, which it is said caused the instrument to be disliked. The face, painted white, measured 14 inches in diameter: the length of the cylinder was 6½ inches with a diameter of 10 inches: it was painted red and decorated in the usual elaborate manner; the thick red cords formed eight braces.

Utadaiko, the "song drum;" commonly called *shimedaiko*, the "tied drum;" and also *gezadaiko*, the drum of the *geza* theatres. The commonest of the Japanese drums, used in the theatres, in the orchestra of *sarugaku*, and on many other occasions. In shape it resembles the *kaiko*, its dimensions being practically the same. The painted body of the Chinese drum gives place however to one of plain *kiri* wood, and the white face to one of plain parchment with a black lacquer border 1½ inch wide. It is played with two plain sticks without knobs, the drum being placed in front of the player in a wooden frame which gives it a slight forward inclination, so that the lower edge of the instrument is 7½ inches high, the upper 11 inches. It seems to have been first played about

1540 A.D. by Komparu Gon-no-kami, a *taiko* player in the court band, and one of the famous house of Komparu. The cords are as usual orange red, but the dignity of the pale blue and lilac cords used formerly to be conferred on the celebrated players.

III. DRUMS WITH DUMB-BELL SHAPED BODIES—TSUZUMI.

This class of drums seems to be a modification of the *kakko*. They have overlapping faces, but a curious dumb-bell shaped body has been substituted for the straight cylinder. It came to Japan from China but, like the *kakko*, is not of Chinese origin; it is said that it was used by the barbarians 1000 years before the time of Confucius. It was always used to accompany the worship of the gods. In Japan its chief use is to supply the place of the *kakko* when the orchestra is standing.

The body is red and highly decorated; the leather face painted white with eight metal faced holes for the red cords. It is struck with black sticks one foot long..

The drum is made in three sizes.

Ichi-no-tsuzumi, or *ikko*; the face 8 inches in diameter: length of cylinder 14 inches, and diameter where it meets the face 6 inches. See Fig. 5, Plate III.

Ni-no-tsuzumi: mention of this drum is to be found only in ancient records, it is now never used: its dimensions were, diameter of face 10 inches: length of cylinder 16 inches, and diameter 7½ inches.

San-no-tsuzumi: used only for *koma*, or Corean music. Its dimensions are not given, but are probably: diameter of face 12 inches, length of cylinder 11 inches, and diameter 9 inches.

From this drum the Japanese variety was invented by the Crown Prince Umayado in the reign of the Empress Suiko, at the beginning of the eighth century. The Japan-

ese drums are of two sizes both smaller than the *ikko;* the cords are grasped tightly in the left hand, and the drum struck with the right, the larger being held over the left thigh, the smaller over the right shoulder, the musician sitting in the usual Japanese position.

Ototsuzumi, or *kotsuzumi;* the 'younger,' or shoulder drum. Diameter of face 8¾ inches: length of body 11½ inches, diameter at ends 4 inches, and in the centre 2 inches.

Etsuzumi, or . *ōtsuzumi;* the 'elder,' or side drum. Diameter of face 8 inches: length of body, 10 inches: diameter at ends 3½ inches, and in the centre 1½ inches The faces of the side drum are plain; those of the shoulder drum have black lacquer rims, one ring inside, and trefoil ornaments at the six holes through which the cords pass.

The red body of the Chinese drum is replaced by black lacquer with gold decoration, and the parchment faces are unpainted. The only difference in the structure of the body is that the centre part of the dumb bell is moulded in the Japanese drums, and has a parallel section in the Chinese.

Yamato and Kyōto produced the most famous drum-makers. The colour of the silken cords denotes the grade of the musician: the ordinary colour is orange red, the next rank has light blue, and the highest lilac. This rule applies also to the *utadaiko.*

The function of the drum in the orchestra was to mark and emphasize the rhythm of the dance: the orchestra of the later *Nō* contained one side and three shoulder drums: they are tuned together, but they do not necessarily play all together.

The tone is much fuller than might be expected, more especially that of the *ōtsuzumi* which is struck with more vigorous strokes than the shoulder-drum.

GONGS.

Shōko. The gong of the *bugaku* orchestra and the first metal instrument introduced into Japan. In China it dates from a little later than the time of Confucius. It is said that until brass instruments were made in Japan it was used in the place of a bugle for the words of command. It is of bronze, saucer shaped, and measures 5½ inches in diameter and ¾ inch in depth: it is struck with two very hard knobbed sticks 18 inches long, joined by a cord, giving a very acute sound. It is used to emphasize the *hyōshi* beat of the *tsuridaiko*, the authorities on the ancient dancing saying that it is always struck immediately after the big drum. It is suspended by orange silk cords from a lacquer stand resembling in form that of the *taiko*, but with a proportionately longer stem: it stands 2 feet 5½ inches from the ground, the player sitting in front of it in the usual Japanese position. The diameter of the circular part of the stand is 11 inches: the rim being 1½ inch broad by ¾ thick.

There are two larger sizes of *shōko*, corresponding with the two large sized drums, *nidaiko* and *dadaiko* with which they are respectively used. Both the *nishōko* and the *daishōko* are exceedingly rare instruments and not often seen, I have therefore again had recourse to the "Records of Ancient Music," already referred to for illustrations.

Nishōko, the 'portable' *shōko*, carried by two men on a long pole, and used to accompany the *nidaiko* in processions. See Fig. 1, Plate IV.

It is gilt, and has an elaborate frame of clouds and fire, measuring 3 feet 5 inches in height by 2 feet wide. The black lacquer pole is 7 feet long, and the gong 8 inches in diameter.

Daishōko, the 'grand' *shōko*, (Plate IV., Fig. 2) used to accompany the *dadaiko*. Like the drum it stands

on a special platform with its steps, draperies and tassels, 2 feet high and 3 ft. 7 in. square: the railing 9 inches high. The gong is gilt and has the usual frame of fire which fits into a socket into the platform; the frame is 5 feet high, and 3 feet broad at the base. The gong is 14 inches in diameter.

The *shōko* sticks are shown in Fig. 3, Plate IV.

Kei, or hokyo. The temple gong which stands on a table at the right of the altar. It is of solid metal three fifths of an inch thick and is often gilt, being suspended by curiously interlaced silk cords from a lacquer stand 2 feet 3 inches high, by 1 feet 10 inches broad: it is struck with a very hard knobbed stick, 1 foot long, and gives a lower and mellower note than the *shōko*.

There are various shapes, but they may all be roughly described as a truncated half lozenge.

The length of the gilt *kei* in use in the Nikkō Temples is 8½ inches at the top and 10¾ at the bottom, with an average breadth of 4½ to 5 inches.

A smaller and thinner variety in plain bronze measures 6¾ inches at the top, 9¼ at the bottom, with an average breadth of 3 to 3¾ inches.

Dobachi, the copper cup. The large cup-shaped gong used in the Temples. It is placed on a cushion on a lacquer stand, and struck with a short stick covered with leather. The best tone is produced by an upward stroke, the stick just catching the rim of the gong. It is called *keisu* by some sects who use it instead of the *kei*.

The following instruments are taken chiefly from the Encyclopædia *Sansai Zuye*.

Dōko, a small brass or copper gong from Southern China, it is hung on a stand, and generally arranged in a set of three. See Fig. 3, Plate I.

Ken, a small gong originally made of porcelain, the size of a goose's egg. It was pierced with six holes and was tapped with a stick. See Fig. 4, Plate I.

Kuretsuzumi, a wooden ring, struck with sticks: from South China.

Hi, a tea-cup shaped porcelain gong, its use having been suggested by the sound of drinking cups when accidentally struck. See Fig. 5, Plate I.

Shoku, a box of wood or metal, 2 ft. 5 in. by 1 ft. 10: a clapper was fixed inside with which the player struck the sides of the box. See Fig. 6, Plate I.

Mokugyo, the 'wooden fish;' a wooden gong used in the temples, struck with a padded stick. It was formerly shaped like a fish bent backwards with its tail in its mouth: it now takes the shape of a bird in the same position.

Dora, the ordinary gong. It was originally used in China by the night watchmen.

Waniguchi, the 'shark's mouth' gong: a gilt gong hanging at the entrance of the shrines, struck with a hanging rope by worshippers.

Gyo, a hollow wooden figure of a recumbent tiger, 1 foot long; it was struck with a small broom or split bamboo. See Fig. 7, Plate I.

Dobyōshi, brass cymbals of different sizes: now only used in temples. See Fig. 8, Plate I.

The name, like that of the drum *daibyōshi*, indicates its use, to mark the *hyōshi* of the dance: they are the 'copper time beaters.'

Hyōshigi, two hard wood clappers, used on a variety of occasions (Plate I., Fig. 9). In the Theatre they are beaten on the floor rapidly to emphasize confusion. The conductors of juggling, athletic and other performances use them to attract attention: also the night-watchmen during their perambulations of the streets. The word *hyōshi* again appears: these are the 'wooden time beaters.'

Byakushi, nine long tablet-shaped pieces of hard wood strung together; used as clappers. Now made of bamboo. See Fig. 10, Plate I.

Yotsudake, 'the four bamboos:' clappers like the preceding, used at the theatre and by beggars. See Fig 11, Plate I.

Furitsuzumi, the 'shaking' drum, or *tōko:* a rattle

used in processions. It is composed of two miniature drums, about 3 inches in diameter, and 4 in. length placed at right angles one on top of the other, at the end of a stick about 20 inches long. Five or six little bell rattles are hung on the drums by short strings. The faces of the drums are silvered with black *mitsudomoye* painted on them, and are surrounded by a row of gilt studs. The bodies are red and elaborately ornamented: the stick is painted red and black, and terminates with a gilt spear-head 3 inches above the drums. The rattle is held by the leader of the processional band with the small drum *kerō*. See Fig. 4, Plate II.

Fūrin, the 'wind bell.' A bell with a broad flat clapper coming below the body of the bell which catches the wind. Occasionally streamers were tied to the clappers.

Mokkin, thirteen wooden tablets on a frame in the forms of a Western Harmonicons. It measures 20 inches long by 9 in. high, by 9 in. broad. It is played with two sticks.

BRASS.

Rappa. A brass bugle used in camp: sometimes called the 'foreigner's flute.' See Fig. 12, Plate I.

Dōkaku. Another bugle made of copper, and formerly of wood. See Fig. 13, Plate I.

Charumera. A keyed bugle. Both the *charumera* and *Dōkaku* are said to be much used in Corea as processional instruments. See Fig. 14, Plate I.

TECHNICAL TERMS USED FOR KOTO MUSIC.

Ritsu, a semitone.

Osu, to press a string below the bridge, and thus sharpen its tone. The pressure should raise the natural note of the string one *ritsu*, the term is therefore equivalent to the Western 'sharp:' *e. g. ku osu*, the 9th string pressed is properly translated A♯. It is most commonly however called *ka*, the Japanese sign being 卌.

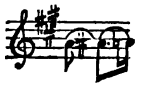
Nijū oshi, 'double pressure,' which raises the natural note of the string a full tone. In some places it seems proper to render it as the Western 'double-sharp:' but its use, as explained by Mr. Yamase, is to produce the notes of the scale which the open strings do not give. Thus the phrase in *Kasugamōde*

9
10
to osu
to nijū oshi

is translated on the Western stave thus

E, the sharpening of a note after it is struck, the pressure being continued until the next note is played. I use this sign to indicate *e* ⸗; the Japanese sign is 工. On the Western stave *ku e* ,for example, should be rendered

Yu, a shorter form of *e*, the string being allowed to slacken again immediately after it has been pressed. I use this sign to indicate *yu* ⸗; the Japanese sign is 一. On the Western stave *ku yu* should be rendered



Ke, another form of sharp introduced into the vibrations of a string by twisting it slightly with the thumb and first finger below the bridge.

I use this sign to indicate *ke* 𝄲 ; the Japanese sign is ケ. On the Western stave *ku ke*, should be rendered, the two as being tied, but the second one played.

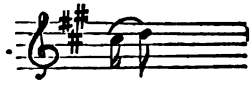
Agari, to raise a string from its normal tuning one semitone or more, by moving its bridge up.

Sagari, to lower a string a semitone or more, by moving its bridge down. One of the tunings is called *gosagari rokuagari*, in consequence of such changes in the fifth and sixth strings.

There is obviously no other way of flattening the natural note of a string: where it is necessary therefore the bridge is moved by the left hand when the flattening is required. This occurs to the 6th and *to* strings during the progress of the tune *Kuramajishi*, written in *hirajōshi* with those strings raised a semitone.

Kaki, 'to scratch:' two adjoining strings struck rapidly: thus *kaki* on 1st and 2nd would be

and on the 5th and 6th would be



It is often used to mark a pause in the melody, as in *Sakurai;* and in the same way to mark the conclusion of a part of the composition, or as we might say 'variation,' as in *rokudan*. In this case the *kaki* is

always on the 1st and 2nd strings, and is played more vigorously, like a short roll on a drum, a strong accent being laid on the second note.

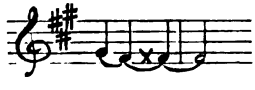
In the Japanese notation the strings on which *kaki* is to be played are not always indicated: like many other things they have to be remembered bythe player. I have indicated the strings in the following way.

$$\overline{12} \quad \overline{34} \quad \overline{56} \quad \overline{67} \quad \overline{78}$$

These five are in commonest use; they are played with the first or second finger.

Hayakaki, quick or double *kaki*: two *kaki* beats played in quick succession, thus represents *hayakaki* on the 6th and 7th strings.

Warizume an inverted *kaki* on the eighth and seventh strings, with an 'after sharp' (*e*) on the seventh: it is played slowly, and is often used in the concluding phrase of a composition, the *e* being prolonged: it may be thus rendered on the stave



Another inverted *kaki* is sometimes found on the thirteenth and twelfth strings, the latter sharpened: it has however no distinct name being written simply *kin i osu*; on the stave this is

Hazumu, a short phrase in frequent use composed of the tenth string and an inverted *kaki* on the ninth and eighth: thus 10, $\overline{98}$; and on the stave thus

Kake, the name given to a phrase of five notes of frequent occurence: it may be given on any string, the number of the string on which it ends being written before the word *kake:* the phrase consists of two consecutive strings played with the first finger, then two, one string lower, played with the second, then one with the thumb, four strings higher: thus

to kake 7 8 6 7 *to*

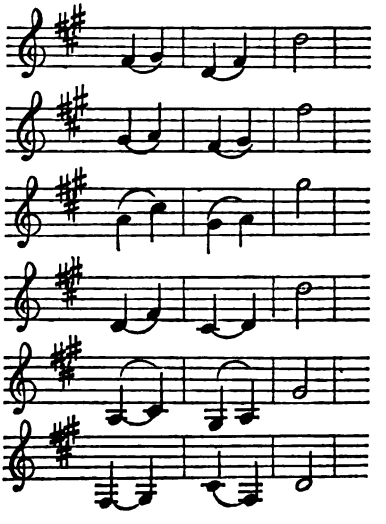
i kake 8 9 7 8 *i*

kin kake 9 10 8 9 *kin*

jū kake 6 7 5 6 10

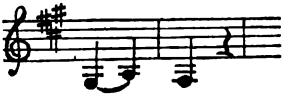
hachi kake 4 5 3 4 8

roku kake 2 3 1 2 6



and so on.

The piece *umegae* is built up on this phrase. An interesting variation of it occurs, in which the *kake* is shorn of its last two notes: thus *shichi kake*, 3, 4, 2, 3, 7, appears as 3 4 2



So far as I have been able to observe no common phrases with the exception of *kake* and *hazumu* have special names given to them. *kake* is literally 'to superpose,' referring evidently to the thumb note which stands up prominently above the gentle swaying of the first four notes of the phrase: and with the exception of *roku kake*, this superposed note is the octave of the third note.

Nagashi, 'to flow': a slide or *glissando* with the first finger over the strings: both the first and last strings of the slide are given: *nagashi* is however generally used for the common glissade 1 to *kin*.

Hikiren is used for shorter glissades from the first string, as from 1 to 6, 1 to 10. For both these terms I use the following sign ↖; thus ↖ $\frac{1}{10}$.

In rapid movements *hikiren* is often only a swift sweep over the strings from right to left, of the first and second fingers held together, without much regard to the actual strings struck.

Uraren is also used for short glissades, those starting downwards from the last string. This is a very graceful *glissade* often used in finishing part of a composition: it is played with the first and second fingers turned back moving slowly with a slight circular motion outwards, finishing with an inverted *kaki* on the indicated string played with the thumb.

Thus *rokumade uraren* is a slide from *kin* to 6: or *kin* to $\overline{\overline{76}}$.

Namigaeshi, 'waves coming and going:' probably in allusion to the fanciful idea of a dragon lying on the sea shore which the form of the *koto* suggests. *Namigaeshi* is made up of the two motions *uraren*, to draw outwards, and *omote* or *nagashi*, to draw inwards. It is a double glissade over all the strings, from 1 to *kin*, and back from *kin* to 1: this is done once or twice, and occasionally thrice, in all cases terminating with a *hikiren* from 1 to $\overline{\overline{56}}$.

Shū, 'to whistle:' a moderately rapid sweep from right

to left on one string, generally the 6th; the first and second fingers are used close together: it must be cleanly finished.

I use the following sign for *shū*, 6↑

Surizume, 'rubbing with the fingers:' a double sweep, from right to left and back from left to right, also on one string, which is held tightly between the ivories of the first and second fingers. *Surizume*, like *shū*, is moderately rapid, must be cleanly finished, and is usually confined to the sixth string. I use the following sign: 6↑↓

Awaseru, 'to put together,' hence 'to harmonize.'

It is used both for octaves as well as other harmonies, the commonest examples of which have already been noticed. I indicate 'harmonies' thus:

$\begin{smallmatrix}8\\3\end{smallmatrix}$] $\begin{smallmatrix}9\sharp\\5\end{smallmatrix}$] $\begin{smallmatrix}7\\2\end{smallmatrix}$] $\begin{smallmatrix}to\sharp\\8\end{smallmatrix}$] the Japanese sign being 合. In octaves the upper note is called *kan*, the lower *ryō*. *Awaseru* is also used for the unison of the first and fifth strings which is frequently met with.

$\begin{smallmatrix}5\\1\end{smallmatrix}$]

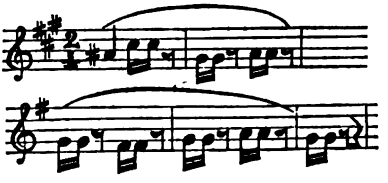
Haneru, an up stroke with the first or second finger: for which I use this sign.

Sukui, an up stroke with the thumb, commonly used to finish a sequence of beats on the same string.

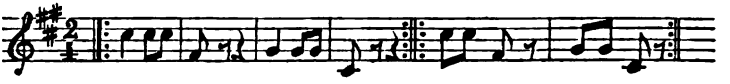
A down and an up stroke with the thumb are often used in rapid succession; no special name is given to this; as however the effect is quite different I use< for *sukui* as well as for *haneru* and< for the double stroke.

Both the single and the double stroke are played on the *samisen;* when however the double stroke occurs on the *koto* a trill is played on the *samisen* by touching the string lightly with the third or fourth finger above the finger which presses the note directly after the string is struck with the *bachi*. The following are examples from *Kasugamōde*, of the single and double stroke rendered on the stave.

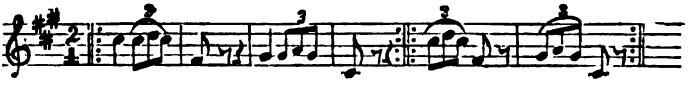
No. 1.



Koto No. 2.



Samisen



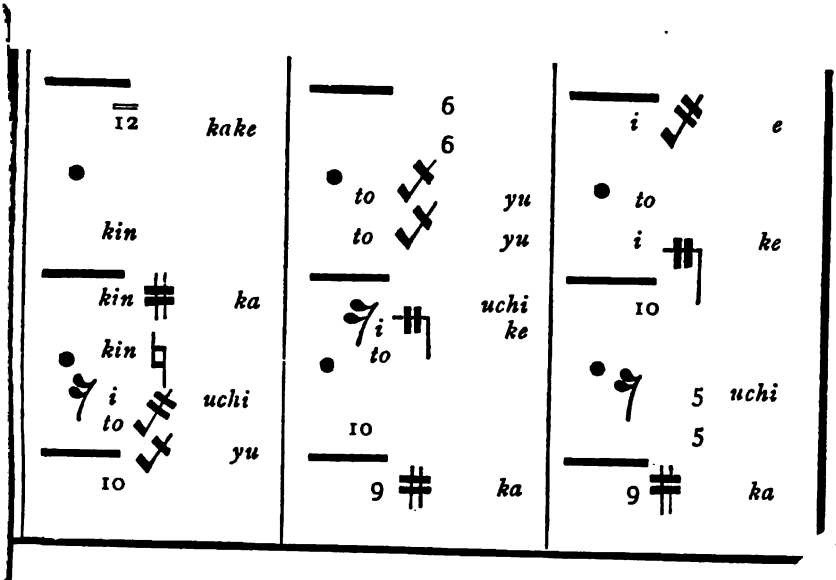
Although triplets accurately represent the *samisen* phrase, they would alter the character of the phrase on the *koto:* the accent however is on the first note of each of the 'doublets,' both in No. 1. and No. 2, of the same nature as the accent on the first note of a triplet.

Maotoru, 'to measure the interval:' a rest or pause.

Uchi, beating with the left hand on the strings below the bridges, during long pauses: used whether the song is continued during the pause or not.

The word *hyaku* is sometimes used as we use *accelerando*. Where the notes are of less value than the common unit of time, which I have taken for commoner illustrations as a crotchet of $\frac{2}{4}$ time, a passage of quavers for example, the numbers of the strings are written close together.

In the following diagram are given, on the left, a specimen of the notation used for *koto* music: on the right, an English rendering of it. It is half of the first verse of *umegae*. Each column of the Japanese is divided into four; on the left are the words of the song: then


12
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follow three kinds of circles, which serve as guides to the eye: the numbers of the strings come next, and lastly the directions for playing as to the different kinds of sharps, and other matters. The circles are placed at the full and half bar, the small circle being always used for the latter. It will be observed that 'the commencement' *kandō*, is also marked by a small circle, and that the bars at the bottom of a column run over on to the next. I have not found any satisfactory explanation of this. Quavers and shorter notes are placed close together so as to fill the space allotted to the beat.

I fancy that the fingering is indicated in the following way: for the first finger, the numbers are placed close to the circles; for the second, they are further away: the normal position in the centre being reserved for the thumb which does most of the work.*

On an instrument with so little resonance as the *koto* minims are naturally diffcult to produce: crotchets fol lowed by a rest are therefore of frequent occurrence: the 'rest' mark 打 (*uchi*, stroke) is placed close to the circles; in playing, the rest is indicated by a beat with the left hand below the bridge. The sharp marks do not need special reference.

The only other point to be noticed is the little stroke which indicates a repetition of the note it follows. A somewhat similar sign is used under the same circumstances in Western notation.

These explanations will I think explain the Japanese notation for the *koto:* I am bound to say that it is amply sufficient for its purpose: and in the translated form, as I have given it, I find everything that is needful for playing the instrument.

All other instruments have a notation: their chief characteristic being that they do not indicate the note, but the position of the hand or fingers.

* This is a suggested explanation of the arrangement of the Figures. As the notation is so little used it is exceedingly difficult to get any reliable information.

THE JAPANESE SCALE.

I approach the difficult question of the Japanese scale, or rather the expression of the basis of Japanese music in terms of the Western art, with much diffidence for two reasons. First, because it involves a very accurate definition of the terms used, and for any faults I must plead the absence of the necessary books of reference; secondly, because very positive statements have already been advanced as to the nature of the scale which I must beg leave to criticise freely though in no unfriendly spirit.

The first of these statements is to be found in Professor Chamberlain's 'Things Japanese,' and it is given too authoritatively to pass without notice. "Like the scale of Mediæval Europe it has for its chief peculiarity a semitone above the tonic" I can find no authority for this. If we apply the ordinary meaning to the terms used, it means that instead of the semitones occurring as they do in the diatonic scale of the West between the 3rd and 4th and 7th and 8th, they come between the tonic and the second and the 7th and 8th. Assuming the first and fifth strings of the *koto* to be C♯, the sixth string will be D, in the normal tuning *hirajōshi*. I suppose therefore that C♯ is intended to be the tonic, and we should get the diatonic scale of Japan composed in the following way,

C♯. D. E, F♯. G♯. A♯. B♯. C♯ : the scale of C♯ minor with a flat second. Any other note taken as the tonic gives notes which do not exist in the normal tuning of the *koto;* and even in this arrangement it would give the fourth *koto* string as A♯ instead of A. And then there are the two missing notes E and B♯ to be accounted for.

The second statement is to be found in Mr. Izawa's Report on Music, published in 1883. Probably Mr. Izawa will now be the first to admit that the statement needs

revision. "In the tuning called *hirajōshi*, the 1st and the 5th strings being in unison, are taken as the Tonic; the 2nd string is tuned as the Fifth, the 3rd as the Fourth, the 4th as the Third below the Tonic, and the 6th string is the Fourth above the tone last obtained, or minor Second from the Tonic * * *. But if we assume the 2nd string to be the Tonic, then the relations of the several tones will stand in the following order which is essentially the same as the natural minor scale." This statement involves the fundamental error of assuming that we can get two independent diatonic scales with fixed strings. To imagine a changeable tonic with one tuning is to miss the idea involved in the word 'tonic.'

Then there is the broad general statement that the Japanese scale differs from the European scale, which has practically passed into a conversational formula. Its currency has relegated Japanese music to the limbo where all is chaotic, has helped to stamp it as a concourse of weird sounds, and therefore not worth a moment's consideration.

Before examining the structure of the scale, it is necessary to determine what the expression "different scale" really means. This much I think may be taken for granted, that the fact that the same notes recur, though at a different pitch, as sound gradually rises is instinctively and universally recognized. It seems also to have been known universally and at all times, that half the length of any sound-producing body, whether string, pipe or wooden tablet, produces the same note one degree higher, the 'octave' as we call it in the West. The octave with the intervening notes is obviously therefore the basis of all scales, and the variation in scale will depend on the variation of the intervening notes. Now if the sound distance between the lower and higher notes of the octave be divided in one system of music into twelve equal parts, and in another system into thirteen, it is obvious that we have two different sets of notes, two different chromatic scales, and consequently the diatonic scales of the two

systems will differ radically. Campanology gives us examples of such different scales, and I believe the octave in the Arab scale is divided into twenty six notes, but I speak without the book. If however two systems divide the octave into the same number of notes, and if the sound divisions are equal, then the notes of the two systems are identical, and their chromatic scales are identical. The diatonic scales may however vary.

This I know is most unscientific. The chromatic scale did not precede in construction the diatonic scale but followed it. The octave in the West is not divided into twelve intervals whose ratios are identical. Dr. Veeder has gone very thoroughly into this matter in his learned paper on 'Japanese musical intervals,' read before this Society in October, 1878 (Transactions Vol. VII. p. 76.). Any one who cares to read the explanation of the Pythagorean scale will find that the ratios of two semitones ($\frac{256}{243}$) multiplied together give more than the ratio of the full tone ($\frac{9}{8}$); and conversely that the square root of the ratio of the full tone gives less than the ratio of the semitone. He will find too that in the diatonic scale there are both major tones ($\frac{9}{8}$) and minor tones ($\frac{10}{9}$), and that the semitones used between the third and fourth, and seventh and eighth ($\frac{16}{15}$), are larger than the Pythagorean semitone by a 'comma' ($\frac{81}{80}$). Yet further he will remember from the earliest years of his musical instruction that the black notes on the Piano do double duty for sharps and flats; that A♯ and B♭, for example, are both represented by the same note which scientifically is neither: mathematically, because the result of multiplying the ratio of the preceding interval by the ratio of the semitone is not identical with the result of dividing the ratio of the succeding interval by that semitone ratio.

I introduce this parenthesis to put myself right with science. The point I wish to emphasize is that for practical purposes these slight differences are disregarded; and they are disregarded too with much benefit to music, for it has resulted in giving a wider scope to its expression,

each key having peculiar and characteristic qualities, enabling the musician the more easily to pourtray pathos, vigour, tenderness, energy, and so on. One key has clear ringing tones suitable for martial music; another seems fitting only to express the muffled tones of woe. This point as to disregarding small differences is important, because the question now before us is the comparison of Japanese and Western music from a practical rather than from a scientific point of view. Seeing that the basis of European music is neither the scale of Pythagoras nor the scientific diatonic scale, but the eminently practical equal temperament scale of the Piano, the question is whether the ratios of the intervals of the Japanese scale are sufficiently near to the ratios of intervals in the diatonic scale in use in the West to enable us to disregard the differences: whether it is possible to put Japanese music on to the Western stave, and play it on that most scientifically inaccurate instrument, the Piano, without altering its character very perceptibly. Reverting to campanology for a moment to illustrate my meaning, it is common knowledge that it is often quite impossible to put the music of a peal of bells on to the Piano. Is it the same with Japanese music?

Dr. Veeder has shown us very accurately what these differences are. They are seen to be slight scientifically; and my own experience is that practically they may be disregarded.

Now I think that I may safely revert to my original heresy of the equal intervals, and to the convenient idea of treating the diatonic scale as a sequence of notes selected from the chromatic scale.

Speaking then very broadly, the Chinese scale, from which the Japanese has descended, is made by dividing the octave into twelve equal intervals, and so also is the Western scale. These intervals are called in Chinese, *ritsu*: in the West, semitones.*

* The origin of the twelve Chinese *ritsu* is given, mythologically thus "when in the year 1000 B. C. Wantai, Emperor of China, esta-

Pitch pipes are used for determing the sound of the twelve Chinese semitones, but they are scientifically obtained in the following way on the thirteen strings of the *koto;* from the three fundamental intervals of the fourth, the fifth, and the falling fourth: or using the numbers of the strings, 'the upward six,' (*junroku*) 'the upward eight' (*junpachi*) 'the downward six' (*gyakuroku*). The addition of the three semitones to *junroku* which makes *junpachi*, and the subtraction of them from *junpachi* to arrive at *gyakuroku*, is called in both cases *sanbunsonyeki*.

The 'bearings' of the scale are therefore obtained by tuning the 1st to the 6th to a fourth, the 1st to the 8th a fifth, the 8th to the 3rd a falling fourth: and then the remainder of the notes come by using the fifth and the falling fourth alternately in the following way:

1st to	6th	. fourth	—junroku.	—C	to	F.
1st ,,	8th	. fifth	—junpachi	—C	,,	G.
8th ,,	3rd	. falling fourth	—gyakuroku.	—G	,,	D.
3rd ,,	10th	. fifth	—junpachi	—D	,,	A.
10th ,,	5th	. falling fourth	—gyakuroku	—A	,,	E.
5th ,,	12th	. fifth	—junpachi	—E	,,	B.
12th ,,	7th	. falling fourth	—gyakuroku	—B	,,	F♯.
7th ,,	2nd	. falling fourth	—gyakuroku	—F♯	,,	C♯.
2nd ,,	9th	. fifth	—junpachi	—C♯	,,	G♯.
9th ,,	4th	. falling fourth	—gyakuroku	—G♯	,,	D♯.
4th ,,	11th	. fifth	—junpachi	—D♯	,,	A♯.
11th ,,	6th	. falling fourth	—gyakuroku	—A♯	,,	F.
6th ,,	13th	. fifth	—junpachi	—F	,,	C.
1st ,,	13th	. octave		—C	,,	C.

blished music, he found out the composition of sound in the following way. His servant Leyling, who was a natural musician, went one day into a deep glen and cut some bamboo into twelve lengths. He did this because the number 12 governs all human affairs: thus there are 12 months, 12 signs, and so forth. On blowing through these pieces of bamboo he found that some had strong sounds like heavenly thunder, and some were gentle and of a wavelike murmuring, and some were metallic, others wooden, and others earthy. Then he named them, *Ichiotsu*, *Dankin*, *Hyōjō*, *Shōsetu*, *Kamu*, *Sōjō*, *Fushō*, *Ōshō*, *Ranshō*, *Banshiki*, *Shinsen*, *Jōmu*."

Granted then that we may, for all practical purposes, disregard the differences in the number of their vibrations, and treat the notes of the two systems as identical, the first position at which we arrive is that the 'different scale' of Japan, if it exists, exists because different notes have been selected from those which have been selected in Europe to form its diatonic scale, or basis of its musical composition. From the same chromatic scale it is obviously possible to construct many different diatonic scales. In Western music there are three in common use; the major, the ascending minor, and the descending minor. The question is therefore considerably narrowed. There is however one more previous question to be determined: what is the meaning of the word 'scale.' It is, I think, a natural and continuous sequence of sounds. Continuity, or the absence of breaks, is essential. The chromatic scale is such a sequence. But the ear accepts the tone as a unit of natural progression just as much as the semitone; that is to say, it does not feel the omission of the intermediate note. But with a larger interval than a full tone it is at once conscious of an omission. A sequence that has any larger interval than a full tone is not natural, and does not satisfy the condition which the definition of 'scale' implies; but any sequence which is composed of tones and semitones does. It will be remembered that 'natural' is one of the names given to our scale in the West. If this were not so, not only the six notes of the *koto* should be called a scale, but also the three notes of the *samisen*, the three notes of *kokyū*, the four notes of the *biwa*, would be the scales of those instruments respectively, which is obviously a misuse of the word. These are tunings not scales.

Let us now see what the sequence of notes is on which modern Japanese music is based. Now one thing at least is certain; whatever the scale may be it must contain all the notes which are to be found in the normal tuning of the *koto*. It may contain more, but it must contain these. The curious scale of mediæval Europe alluded to

above is therefore put out of the field at once because it has A♯ in its Composition instead of the A♮ of the *koto*. The question then arises, does this normal tuning of the *koto*, to which we must confine ourselves for the present, express the full scale of Japanese music? The notes are five in number, and taking the pitch of the second string to be represented by F♯ on the Piano, these notes are C♯ F♯ G♯ A D. Now there is no reason on the face of it why the *koto* strings should not, like these of the violin, be tuned to selected convenient notes of the scale. The height of the bridges does not admit of the strings being raised by pressure more than a full tone, but the gaps are not sufficiently great to need more than this to fill them in.

But even supposing that gaps are not filled in in this way, are we to assume that because these two notes are not used therefore they do not exist in the scale, that the scale is limited to the notes of *hirajōshi*, and that it is consequently what is called a six-tone scale? I see absolutely no reason for it. We have only to turn to the *yamatogoto* to have this idea at once dispelled. Its six strings are tuned to the major triad of the tonic and the minor triad of the second of the Western diatonic scale that is to say the seventh of the scale only is omitted. Reverting however to the modern *koto*, if the gaps which exist in its tuning exist also in the scale, the music which is built on such a six-tone scale must refuse to recognize the existence of any notes to fill them in: it must refuse them, that is to say, in its science: the musician must not feel the want of them, nor be conscious of their existence: and further if they are introduced, the trained musician will feel not only that they are out of place, but that if they are used in harmonizing his national melodies their character will be gone.

Let us assume that the existence of two notes in these two gaps is probable, the question arises what are these notes? It is legimate now to refer to the diatonic scale of the West for a suggestion, but only on one hypothesis

which is important: it is that the five *koto* notes are to be found in the diatonic scale. Now the notes F,♯ G♯, A, C♯, D, will be seen to form part of the scale of A major, or of F♯ minor descending. I assume as before the pitch to be F♯ for convenience of argument: but even without definite names to the notes we get, starting from the second string, the following order of intervals:

2nd	string	to	3rd	string	full tone
3rd	,,	to	4th	,,	half tone
4th	,,	to	5th	,,	major third
5th	,,	to	6th	,,	half tone
6th	,,	to	7th	,,	major third
2nd	,,	to	7th	,,	octave

Now if we divide each major third into the two full tones of which it is composed we get the following result:

2nd	string	to	3rd	string	full tone	
3rd	,,	to	4th	,,	half tone	
4th	,,	to	5th	,,	full tone full tone	} major third
5th	,,	to	6th	,,	half tone	
6th	,,	to	7th	,,	full tone full tone	} major third
2nd	,,	to	7th	,,	octave	

This sequence of intervals is the sequence of the descending minor diatonic scale of the West.

The suggestion is inevitable that between the fourth and fifth strings of the *koto* normal tuning there is a note in the Japanese scale which is a full tone from both; and that there is a similar note between the sixth and seventh strings. Taking the pitch as before, these notes would be B and E, and if they are legitimate we get the perfect Western scale.

Now I have a certain amount of evidence to show that these two notes are legitimate, and may be conveniently though not accurately called the 'missing notes' of the modern national music. This evidence is of two kinds: the statements of an old *koto* teacher of the old school who knows nothing of any other music; and those of Mr.

Yamase Shōin a professional of the highest rank who has however come under the influence of Western music.

After many conversations with my teacher, and after seeking the information in many various and devious ways to avoid error or even doubt, she told me that she felt, and always had felt, that there was a note between the fourth and fifth strings, and one between the sixth and seventh. What these notes were she did not know, nor had she any means of finding out. It is most important to explain that a Japanese is not taught music in the broad sense of the term: she learns only the music of her special instrument.

I then took the *kokyū*, and avoiding every thing which might 'lead' to the answer I hoped to get, I played A, A♯ B, C, C♯, several times, both in and out of order. She selected B as the note which satisfied her; and in the same way she selected E to come in between D and F♯. The full scale of A major as I then played it to her satisfied her completely; more than this she picked it up rapidly, and played it with evident pleasure. Avoiding the intricacies of our minor scale, I told her to begin on F♯, and substitute A♮ for A♯ and so on; we then had the scale of F♯ major and pleasure still more evident. Finally we went to the Piano, and when I had told her about the black notes and the white notes, she proceeded to fumble out the diatonic scale for herself on any note I chose to start her on. Our lessons thenceforward invariably terminated with a little scale-playing by the old lady on the Piano.

It was possible however to go a step further. If the scale is what I assume it to be, if these are really 'missing notes,' yet another test must be satisfied. A melody must be capable of being harmonized without losing its character. With such tunes as I have harmonized I have never found the character altered in any way: and what is more to the point, the many Japanese to whom I have played them have agreed with me in this opinion. Obviously here I could appeal to a larger body of witnesses.

On account of the presence of, to us, awkward and unaccustomed intervals, I find much of the advanced music very difficult to harmonize satisfactorily. But this, as musicians will recognize, is beside the present question.

Yet another matter has to be mentioned as pointing in the same direction. My teacher has told me more than once that the second string is the 'fundamental' note, and that it is regarded as such when they tune down to it, as from the dominant, from the first string. The difficulties attending accurate interpretation, caused not only by the language but by the absence of sufficent musical knowledge in the teacher herself, made it difficult for her to explain exactly what she meant by 'fundamental,' but it was evident to my mind that she had some idea in her head as of a key-note.

The next point has I think great value. It will be observed in the second scheme of tones and semitones given above, that the scale of A major lies between the fourth and the ninth strings. But as the minor predominates in Japanese music, the relative minor, F♯, lying between the second and the seventh strings, seems to be indicated as the prevailing scale. This is confirmed in a remarkable way by the popular New Year's Song—*hitotsutoya*—which not only permits the full scale of F♯ minor to be used in harmonising it—including the use of the sharp seventh, E♯, of the ascending scale—but in its variations recognizes the essential difference between the minor and the major, which points at least to the existence of a fundamental idea of scale and key corresponding to the fundamental idea of Western music.

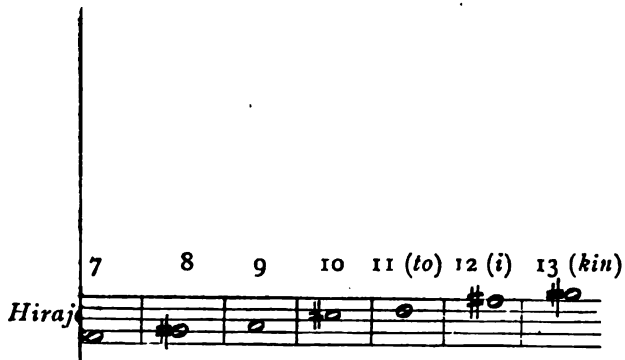
Mr. Yamase has supplemented my own observations in the following manner: my only reason for not putting them first is that I cannot quite decide whether his opinions have not been to some slight extent tinged by his studies of European music.

He says that the second string, F♯, has always been considered as the fundamental note in the tuning, not

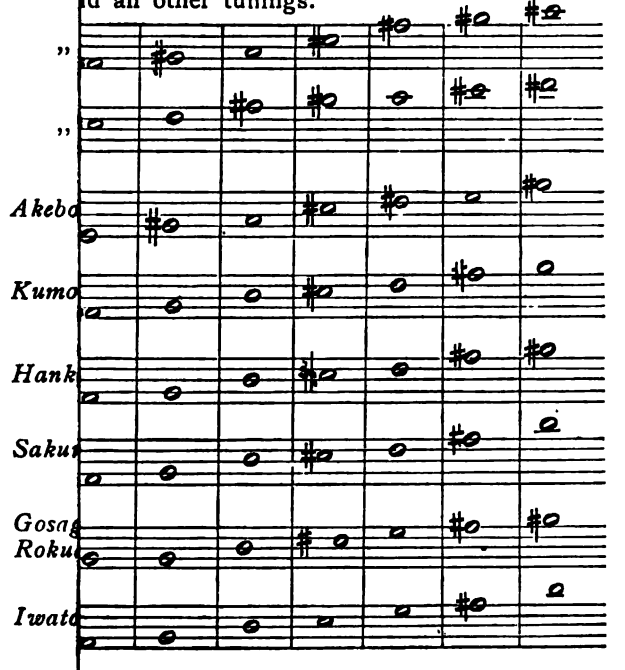
only of *hirajōshi*, but of all the others; F♯ and the C♯ of the first string being constant throughout. As to the missing notes he says that certainly the existence of some others has always been known, because the *koto* tunings were founded on the Chinese chromatic scale, and also because they could be produced on the *kokyū*. And further that B and E are distinctly pointed to as the missing notes, because in tunes written in *hirajōshi*, the 'double pressure' (*nijū oshi*) invariably occurs on the 4th string—A—giving, B, and on the 6th D giving E; and also on their octave strings respectively the 9th A and *to* D.

We now come to the other tunings of the *koto* which are set out in the accompanying diagram.

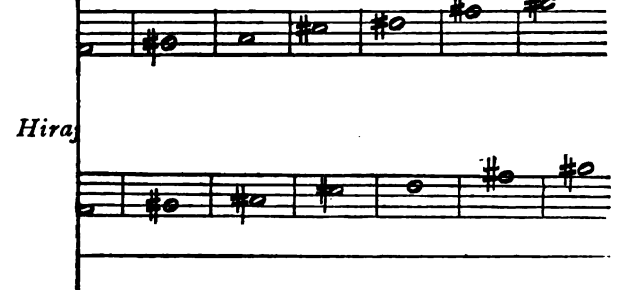
No. 1 is *hirajōshi*. No. 2 shows the first string lowered an octave as used by the professionals. No. 3 is a variation of *hirajōshi*, the last three strings being changed from D, F♯, G♯, to F♯, G♯, C♯, the 10th and *kin* strings giving an octave: hence this variation is called *kin jū*. In No. 4 we have another variation of *hirajōshi*, all the strings being raised a fifth, thus giving three additional notes above the normal *kin* string, A. C♯. D♯. It is not very clear why this upper D is sharpened. It is probably introduced either for the sake of brilliancy, or for the sake of the extra semitone, the 12th string sharpened giving D♮ when wanted. This tuning as it gives a higher range of notes enables pieces to be played an octave higher; when two *kotos* are used together one of them is usually tuned to it, the performers playing in octaves. In the upper part, which is taken by the leader, innumerable graces and complicated little variations are introduced on to the melody, much in the manner of the Treble part of duets on the Piano, which adds considerably to the charm of the performance. In No. 5, we come to the first new arrangement of the strings. It is called *akebono*, and springs directly out of *hirajōshi;* differing only in the sharpening of the 6th and 11th strings, and introducing E on the 7th and 12th, instead of F♯. If any thing were wanted to complete the proof that the



" eived the third grade diploma, the first string is lowered an
d all other tunings.



Speci 6th and 11th strings.



five notes of the *koto* do not constitute the Japanese scale, and declare it to be 'six-toned,' it is supplied by this tuning which has six notes, the missing E appearing in it.

The notes belong to the scale of E major, giving it with the omission of one note only, B, which can be produced by the double pressure on the 4th and 9th, in the same way as B is supplied in *hirajōshi*. It seems however that the tuning is not used in this way, though it has an important position in the scheme of keys. The most frequent pressed notes are simple pressures on the 4th, 7th, and 9th, giving A♯ and E♯: and in consequence the scale of F♯ major. This is in accordance with the Japanese idea which connects *akebono* with *hirajōshi*.

No. 6 is *kumoi*, the 'cloud' tuning, which next to the normal tuning is in most frequent use, being ranked by the Japanese as the second principal tuning. The third and 4th strings are G and B instead of G♯ and A; the 8th, 9th, and 13th, being tuned to the octaves respectively. These changes give a different character to the music, suggesting the introduction a fresh key; and analysis bears out this suggestion in rather a curious manner. The five notes D, F♯, G, B, C♯, form part of the Western scale of D major, or B minor descending; and applying the same process of reasoning that was adopted in the case of *hirajōshi*, the missing notes are E and A. We do in fact get a fresh key. But perhaps the most interesting feature of this new key is that, in what I may call the *koto* expression of it, the same two notes are omitted, the fourth and the seventh. This enables *koto* music to be easily transposed from *hirajōshi* to *kumoi*. The relation between the *koto* tuning and the Western scale is borne out in precisely the same manner as before; the missing notes can be supplied by double pressure on the sixth and eighth strings; and the double pressures on these and the *to* strings are in fact frequently to be found in pieces written in *kumoi*. I do not know how far the knowledge of the relation which exists between *kumoi* and *hirajōshi*

extends, probably a very little way. Even so perfect a *koto* musician as Mr. Yamase, who has always more than suspected the existence of such an intimate relation between *hirajōshi* and the Western scale as I have pointed out, had not observed that the relation between *kumoi* and that scale was precisely identical. He knew that the *hirajōshi* music could be transposed into *kumoi*, and as a matter of fact he could transpose it without the slightest difficulty. But directly we get below the highest rank of professional, the rote-teaching of the music steps in to prevent the acquisition of the knowledge because all the tunes would have to be learnt twice over. This seems almost sufficient to account for the very scanty use of the *kumoi* tuning, the ordinary capacity and energy being exhausted on the acquisition of *hirajōshi*.

I mean that a tune, *hitotsutoya* for example, is learnt by the numbers of the strings thus—9, 9, 10, 9, 10, 10, etc., and not as we should learn it, by the intervals of the scale, thus 3rd, 3rd, 5th, 3rd, 5th, 5th. Transposing on the Japanese system involves therefore the learning of a fresh sequence of strings: thus in *kumoi*—6, 6, 7, 6, 7, 7.

No. 7 is *sakura* which stands in the same relation to *kumoi* that *kin jū* does to *hirajōshi*, a much higher note being introduced on the 13th string of the variation. The tuning might be called on the same principle *kin ku*, the new note being an octave to the 9th.

We now come to a curious tuning called *hankumoi* or half-*kumoi*. It is a mixture of *hirajōshi* and *kumoi*, the first seven notes being in the normal, the next five in the 'cloud' tuning. The G♯ of the 13th string is probably to be explained in the same way as the D♯ of *hirajōshi* when raised a fifth—(No. 4).

At first sight, and indeed for some time after, this arbitrary tuning seems to upset any idea that may have been formed from what has gone before, as to the existence of a Japanese scheme of scale and key. The explanation however is perfectly simple. It is sometimes necessary to change rapidly from *kumoi* to *hirajōshi*. The first and

second being constant, from the third to the seventh strings are put into *hirajōshi*, but the *kumoi* notes are played by pressures. The 13th string has been kept to G♯, the 10th, 11th and 12th are common to both scales, so that there remain only the 8th and 9th to alter when it is necessary to go into *hirajōshi*.

No. 9, *iwato*, is the third important tuning. It springs out of *kumoi* by lowering of the fifth and raising of the sixth strings. The constant quantity of all the tunings, the C♯ and F♯ of the first and second strings, is preserved, but the first string is seldom used in *iwato* music. As the first and the fifth strings are normally in unison, the former never holds a very prominent position in *koto* compositions, being used only to reinforce the fifth or to get a slightly different intonation when the two are struck consecutively by the second finger and thumb. This tuning is constructed on precisely the same principle as *hirajōshi* and *kumoi*, the notes giving as before a major and a minor scale; G major and E minor, the 4th and 7th of the diatonic scale being omitted as before.

No. 10, *gosagari rokuagari*, the lowered fifth and raised sixth, is a mixed tuning, developed out of *iwato*, and used to facilitate rapid changes from *iwato* to *kumoi*, in the same way as *hankumoi* is used as a 'go between' for *kumoi* and *hirajōshi*. The tenth string is C♯ instead of C♮, giving the *kumoi* tenth when necessary, and facilitating the bridge-sharpening of the 5th when required: the sixth and eleventh strings then have to be changed from E to D, and the G♯ of the thirteenth to G♮.

These are all the regular tunings; in addition however there are some special tunings, which have no distinguishing names, being only used for certain tunes which require a note not in the regular tunings; they frequently revert to the regular tunings during the progress of the piece. Thus No. 11, is the tuning for the piece *Kuramajishi*, D♯ being frequently used in the early part: after a time however D♮ reappears, and at given points the bridges of the 6th and of the 11th strings are moved back to

their normal positions, and the tuning reverts to *hirajōshi*. In the same way in No. 12, the fourth and the ninth strings start sharp, and are afterwards lowered to the normal of *hirajōshi*.

And now what are the conclusions which this analysis forces upon us?

In the first place that 'scale' and 'key' were principles with which the early founders of Eastern music were familiar: they possibly did not thoroughly so understand them as to be able to reduce what they knew into transmissible thoughts: but what they knew was precisely what we know in the West—That music must be built upon a systematic sequence of notes, their instinct leading them to a sequence which is the sequence of the West, thus confirming in a remarkable manner our somewhat arrogant assumption that we alone had received nature's revelation. They knew that music acquired brilliancy when played upon a range of notes of a high pitch, and solidity and profundity when their range was lowered: so, even with 'parallel' keys alone they knew that music was able to express the simpler emotions, the power of expressing more complex emotional gradations being denied to them as it was denied to all musicians until the 'equal temperament' tuning revealed new worlds for musical souls to wander in. Above all they knew that the major and the minor modes are the national exponents of the two chief emotions of mankind, gaiety and sadness.

But their chief instrument was one of limited capacity: it was limited by its dimensions, and it was limited arbitrarily. By its dimensions, because they could not put the whole scale on to an instrument with thirteen strings only without curtailing its compass. By an arbitrary limitation, because for reasons which I think are to be understood they insisted on the first and second strings remaining constant.

First then as to the necessities imposed by the dimensions of the *koto*. Certain notes of the scale had to be selected from the 'open notes,' the others being produced

by double pressure when wanted. Why the fourth and seventh of the minor scale, or the second and fifth of the major were omitted there is no tradition to tell us: but a suggestion may be made. One of the features of the oldest music of Japan, that of the *Yamatogoto*, was a scratch of the plectrum over the six strings: this seems without doubt to have been the origin of the modern sweep with the *tsume* over all the thirteen strings. It was obviously necessary that this characteristic feature of their music should be melodious, and it is the first thing that strikes the student of Japanese music how melodious is the sequence of the strings. The open strings of *Hirajōshi* give an *arpeggio cadenza* which would have rejoiced the heart of Mendelssohn, who revelled in such æolian music. But this selection of notes led almost inevitably to the construction of melodies built on the selected notes, the open strings, alone. The composers of the severe classical school might use pressures and double pressures, and build their music on the full scale; but the songs for the children and the melodies of the lighter sort came inevitably to rest on the notes of this æolian arpeggio, and on those alone: and so as it seems to me came into being the *koto-uta* of the present day, for which I can find no name less graceful than *arpeggio-music*. In the West Scarlatti had done the same once as a *tour de force;* he had built the subject of his 'Cat's Fugue' upon the five black notes of the Piano.

Secondly, as to the necessities arbitrarily imposed by the founders of the music themselves. It needed musical capacity of the most primitive order to understand that a lower pitch could be given to *Hirajōshi* by moving all the bridges down a degree, but in the first place a greater contrast was desired, the lowering a fifth, than could be effected practically by moving the bridges; and in the second place they realized that when the pitch is altered a different set of scale intervals come under the normal position of the fingers. For example, if the right hand on the Piano is on the notes C. E. G, we are in the key

of C major; by moving the thumb a semitone lower we have the notes B. E. G. and the key of E minor: and so on. Now this points seems to be of the first importance: many fresh arrangements of the strings might have been devised, other *arpeggios* might have been invented, with a fresh series of melodies; but the Japanese musicians [I think here I may use Japanese as distinct from Eastern] deliberately set themselves to work as the Western musicians worked ages ago: the fresh arrangement of the strings was to depend on the arpeggio established by *Hirajōshi*, it was to bring a fresh series of scale intervals into position, but the relation of the first and second strings was to remain constant, and the F♯ of the second string was to lose as little as possible of its fundamental importance. Western science would have told them at once that the key of the sub-dominant would give what was wanted, making as it does the tonic of the old key the dominant of the new key. Without that knowledge they lighted upon a re-arrangement of strings giving the same arpeggio cadence in a different order and in a different key. Again they had a harmonious sequence composed of the notes of the diatonic scale with the second and fifth of the major, the fourth and seventh of the minor, omitted. The arpeggio of *Hirajōshi* is made up of the following major intervals: the 3rd, 6th, 7th (below the tonic) 1st, 3rd, 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th etc.: of *Kumoi* it is the 4th, 7th (below) 1st, 3rd, 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 10th, etc

Yet again we find the same principles applied to the evolution of a third principal tuning—*Iwato*—formed out of *Kumoi* in precisely the same way as *Kumoi* was formed out of *Hirajōshi*. Again the pitch is lowered a fifth and a fresh set of intervals brought into position, and again we find the key of the sub-dominant taken the next in the order of the scale sequence. *Iwato* gives E minor with its relative G major, the minor fourth and seventh, or major second and fifth, being omitted as before. The C♯ of the first string remains as has already explained; the F♯ of the second string has become the second of the

minor scale, its importance being correspondingly diminished. The arpeggio of *Iwato* is 7th (below) 1st, 3rd, 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th, etc.. With *Iwato* the sequence of scales ends, the key of its sub-dominant requiring F♮, which would involve an alteration in the second string.

The principle of the bridge changes in the consecutive tunings is revealed in the name of the mixed tuning—*gosagari rokuagari*—used for facilitating the transition from *Iwato* to *Kumoi*. *Iwato* is obtained from *Kumoi* by lowering the fifth string a semitone, and raising the sixth a full tone: or in terms of the diatonic scale lowering the leading note and raising the tonic. And this is precisely the way in which *Kumoi* was obtained out of *Hirajōshi*: the leading note G♯ of A major, is lowered to G♮; the tonic A is raised to B. In Japanese terms this application of the principle might be called *sansagari shiagari*.

Here then we have the practical factor by which the scale sequence was made; and if the first and second strings were not constant, it might be applied for the formation of all the other scales: thus,

For making *Kumoi* from the normal, lower the 3rd string a semitone, and raise the 4th a full tone

For making *Iwato* from *Kumoi*, lower the 5th string a semitone, and raise the 6th a full tone.

For making the next scale from *Iwato*, lower the 7th string a semitone, and raise the 8th a full tone.

and so on.

So much for the principal tunings: but the groups of scales clustered round the C♯ and F♯ of the first and second strings is not yet quite accounted for. There is the normal F♯ minor with its relative A major: secondly there is the scale of the sub-dominant B minor with its relative D major: thirdly, again the scale of the sub-dominant E minor, with its relative G major. But these three relative major keys are, as far as I have been able to trace, quite ignored. Probably owing to the important

position held by the second string, and for other reasons with which musicians are familiar, the transition from grave to gay, of the method of which the variations of *hitotsutoya* are good examples, would be better effected by using the keys of the natural majors, instead of the relative majors. Thus the major corresponding to the F♯ minor of *Hirajōshi*, would be F♯ major, and not A major. For short transitions the simple pressure on the 4th and its octave 9th would be sufficient; for longer cheerful compositions however *Akebono* was invented. This tuning, and other variations already noticed are not recognized by the Japanese as *chōshi:* they are called *te;* and it is not necessary in these subordinate tunings, invented purely for convenience, to look for diatonic scale notes. Thus in *Akebono* there is no difficulty about the A♮ of the fourth string: A♯ is producible at pleasure by pressure, but an open string A♮ is convenient for those short transitions into the minor, and *vice versa*, which are so frequent in Japanese music.

The key of B major has not been specially provided for *Kumoi* in the same way, but the possibility of making such a tuning, if it were required, seems to be admitted. Curiously enough the E major, which, as I have already pointed out, exists in *Akebono*, would serve the purpose for *Iwato*, but as the position of the notes on the trings would be different it is not so used.

We have now a perfect sequence of keys.

A major.	*Hirajōshi*	not used.
F♯ minor.	*Hirajōshi*	
F♯ major	*Hirajōshi*	by pressure on the 4th and 6th strings, and their octaves, for short transitions, or
	Hirajōshi	by bridge changes (No 12) for longer passages, or
	Akebono,	for pieces in the major key.
D major	*Kumoi*	not used.

B minor	*Kumoi*	
B major	*Kumoi*	by pressure on the 6th and 8th strings, and their octaves.
G major	*Iwato*	not used.
E minor	*Iwato*	
E major	*Iwato*	by pressure on the 8th and 10th strings, and their octaves; or
	Akebono	by transposition of strings: not used.

Transitional tuning for *Iwato* to *Kumoi*—*gosagari roku-agari.*

„ „ for *Kumoi* to *Hirajōshi*—*Hankumoi*

The sequence principle is therefore a fall of a third, alternately major and minor: or from major to major, and minor to minor, a fall of a fifth. And this is precisely the backward scale-sequence of Western music.

The principle of the Western sequence backward is, a fall of a fifth and flatten the seventh: the principle of the Japanese sequence is the '*sagari-agari*' rule already explained. The principle of the Western sequence forward is, a rise of a fifth and sharpen the fourth: the principle of the Japanese sequence the other way about, that is to say from *Iwato* to *Hirajōshi*, is obviously the reverse of the rule just given, and might be called '*agari-sagari.*'

This is not a question of theory, it is supported by facts derived from the Japanese themselves, though not in the way I have explained it. The fact that the highest professionals know something, but that something very dimly, of the relations between the tunings, does not affect the truth of the broad statement that the theory is absolutely lost and unknown. But the practical test is that, if the theory is sound, transposition on open strings should be possible on the *koto*. And the best of the musicians can invariably transpose melodies in the three principal tunings of *Hirajōshi*, *Kumoi* and *Iwato*.

I give the tune *Saitasakura* in the three tunings, side

by side in string notation, and on the Western stave in F♯ minor, B minor and E minor.

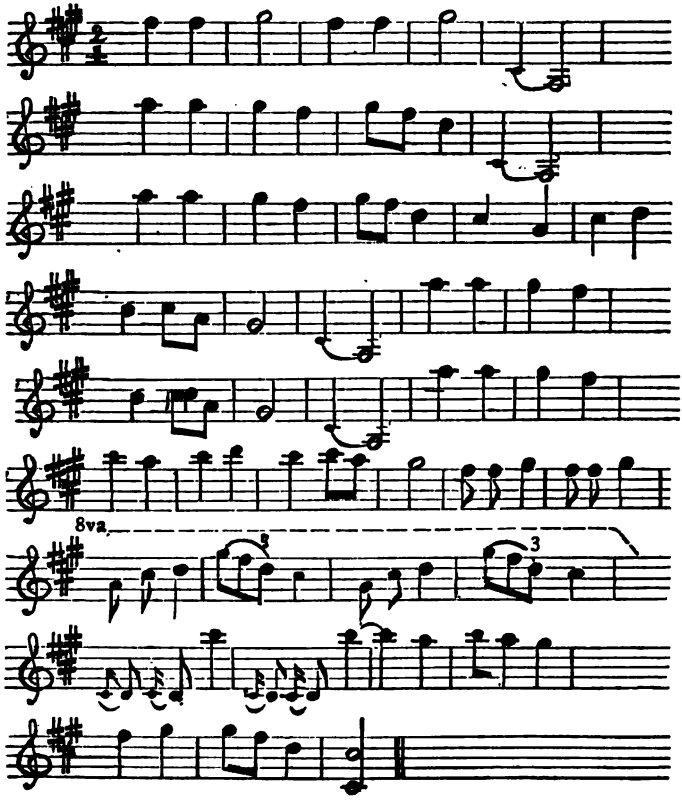
SAITASAKURA.

IV			III			II			I		
I	K	H	I	K	H	I	K	H	Iwato	Kumoi	Hira-jōshi
i	10	*kin*	9	*i*	10	4	7	5	6	9	7
to	9	*i*	8	*to*	9	3	6	4	6	9	7
10	8	*to*				4	7	5	7	10	8
9	7	10	9	*i*	10	5	8	6	6	9	7
45	23	56	10	*kin*	*to*	4	7	5	6	9	7
45	23	56	9	*i*	10						
9	*i*	10				4	7	5	7	10	8
			9	*i*	10	3	6	4			
45	23	56	8	*to*	9	2	5	3	12	12	12
45	23	56	7	10	8	12	12	12			
9	*i*	10							8	*to*	9
									8	*to*	9
8	*to*	9	6	4	7	8	*to*	9	7	10	8
			6	4	7	8	*to*	9	6	9	7
9	*i*	10	7	5	8	7	10	8			
8	*to*	9				6	9	7	7	10	8
7	10	8	6	4	7				6	9	7
			6	4	7	7	10	8	5	8	6
6	9	7	7	5	8	6	9	7			
7	10	8	8	6	9	5	8	6			
									12	12	12
7	10	8	9	7	10	12	12	12			
6	9	7	10	8	*to*				8	to	9
5	8	6				8	*to*	9	8	to	9
						8	*to*	9			
9 4	7 3	5 1	*i*	10	*kin*				7	10	8
			to	9	*i*	7	10	8	6	9	7
			10	8	*to*						
			9	7	10	6	9	7	7	10	8
						7	10	8	6	9	7
						6	9	7	5	8	6
			8	6	9	5	8	6			
			9	7	10						
			10	8	*to*						

SAITASAKURA.

In *Hirajōshi* (F♯ minor)

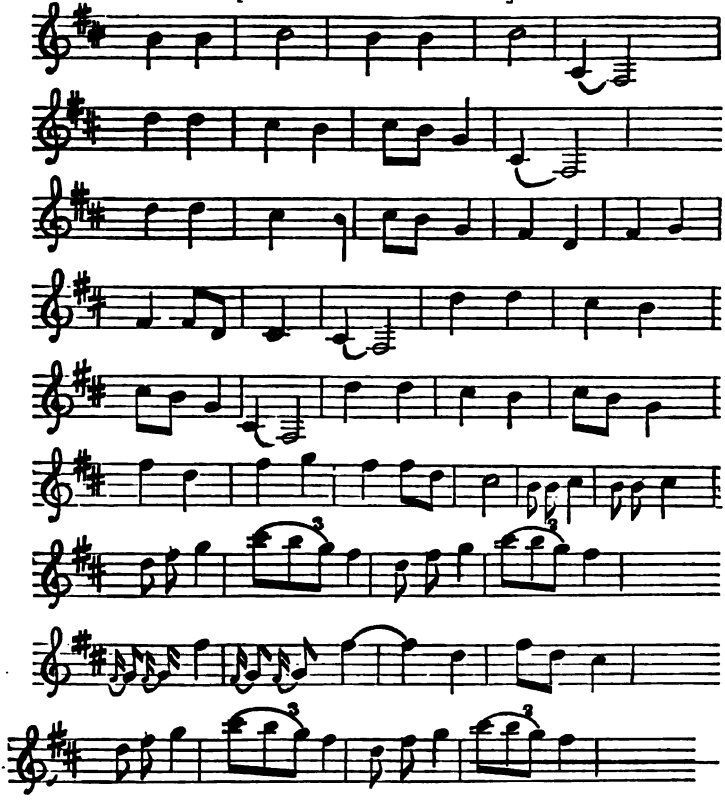
[Written an octave higher than the *koto*]



SAITASAKURA.

In *Kumoi* (B minor)

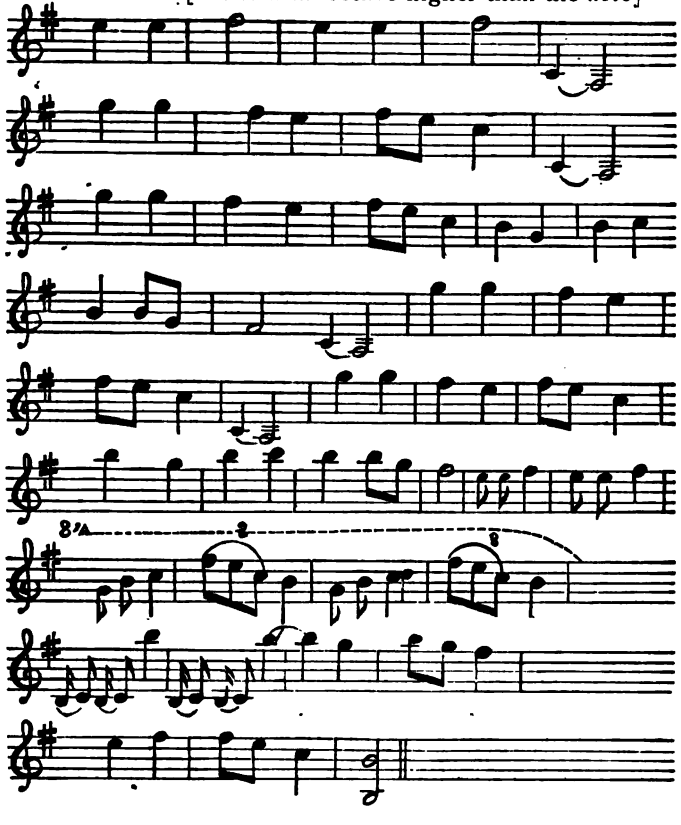
[Written to actual notes]



SAITASAKURA.

In *Iwato* (E minor)

[Written an octave higher than the *koto*]



PITCH.

The subject of pitch is one of considerable importance. The Japanese scale has been compared with the Western equal temperament scale. A skilled violinist could obviously produce the Japanese notes accurately: but for practical purposes we have nothing but the equal temperament Piano on which to render Japanese music. Now where we have only one scale, that is to say, where, whatever the pitch may be, the ratios of the scale intervals are always the same, the different keys may be accurately described by the word 'parallel.' But where we have many scales, that is to say, where the ratios of the intervals change slightly for every key, it is obviously much too broad a generalization to talk about comparing the Japanese scale with the scale of the Piano: it is necessary to determine which of the twelve scales of the Piano is sufficiently near to the scale of Japan to allow transposition of Japanese music on to the Piano. Scientifically this could be ascertained, The ear however seems to me to be a not unreliable guide. Although a pitch-pipe is sometimes used, the first string, which is tuned first as I have already said, is within limits arbitrary: for a loud singer, for example, it is tuned up, for a soft singer it is tuned down. The note approximately is C, but I have invariably taken it as C♯, because the key of F♯ minor on the Piano more nearly renders the plaintive character of the *koto* music in the normal tuning. This is not altogether a matter of opinion. I have used it invariably in transcribing on the Western stave as the other keys are to my mind too clear and open, or too heavy and lugubrious; and it is when I have played in this key that the Japanese musicians have agreed with my conclusions. It has too the practical advantage of avoiding the use of flats, which impede the clear rendering of the music on the Western stave, as the flat is not known on the *koto*, and sharp pressures would often have to be translated by naturals.

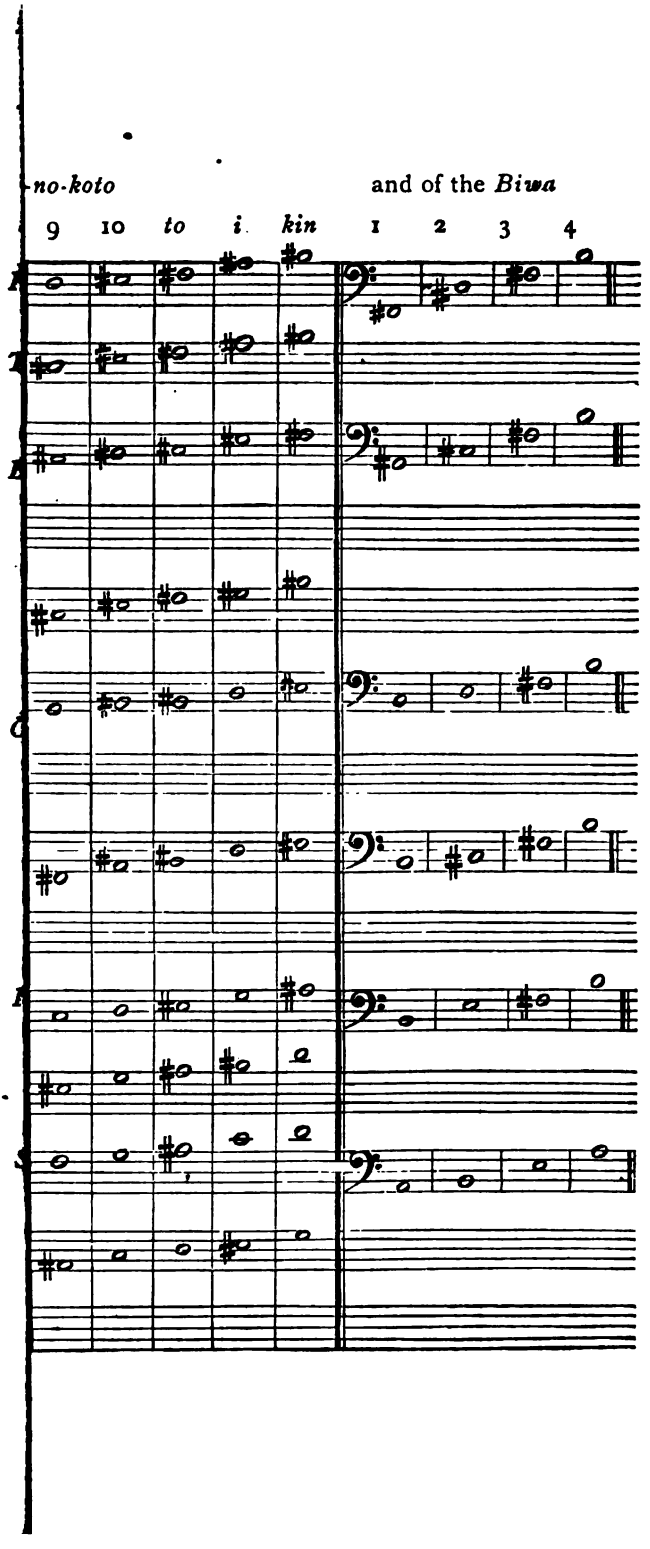
TIME.

On the question of transcription one other question remains—the time. In spite of many seeming lapses from regular and metronomical time, the beat is alternate and equal. The unequal beat of our ordinary common time seems hardly suited to Japanese music. I therefore always use $\frac{2}{4}$ time which seems accurately to convey the idea of the *hyōshi* marks in the example of *koto* notation already given. Many of the phrase difficulties are apparent only, and are caused by the presence of innumerable grace notes, and also I am bound to say by the carelessness of the musicians.

The discussion on the Japanese scale should have been preceded by an examination into the Chinese scale: but for many reasons the difficulties of getting at it, of deciphering the sounds, and of transcribing any music which could explain it, are infinitely greater even than in the case of the Japanese scale. The tunings of the *Sō-no-koto* however are of great assistance, and will enable us to determine with some degree of accuracy, what the work of Yatsuhashi really was. These tunings are set out in the accompanying table.

There are two terms which require explanation, *ritsusen* and *ryosen*. They are interpreted by Japanese musicians who are familiar with Western music as equivalent to the minor and major respectively, and I think this interpretation is sound. They indicate, as is usual with things which go in couples and are the complement of each other, the male and female elements: the major is represented by the male, *ryosen;* the minor by the female, *ritsusen;* and it will be seen that each of the tunings has the two modes. They are all composed of five notes with their octaves, and as before these five notes may be taken as indicative of the scale and key of the music based on them: though it is beyond our power to apply the tests of harmony and transposition as in the case of the Japanese tunings.

A careful examination reveals a constant difference between the notes of the *ritsusen* and *ryosen* of the different


-no-koto
and of the *Biwa*
9 10 *to i kin* 1 2 3 4

tunings; one note only is changed and that lowered a semitone from the minor to the major.

Thus in *hyōjō* the five notes of *ritsusen* F♯ G♯ B C♯ D♯ become in *ryosen* F♯ G♯ A♯ C♯ D♯, the B falling to A♯: and so in *banshiki* F♯ becomes E♯: in *ōshiki* E becomes D♯: in *ichiotsu* A becomes G♯: and in *sōjō* D becomes C♯. *Hyōjō* appears to be F♯ minor in *ritsusen*, the ascending scale with the third omitted and the seventh: in *ryosen*, F♯ major with the fourth and the seventh omitted.

If this is true it is built on the same diatonic scale as *Hirajōshi*, though with different intervals. And the word *hyōjō* has precisely the same signification as *Hirajōshi*, implying "normal tuning." In the change then from *ritsusen* to *ryosen*, the alteration of the one note a semitone gives the third of the major scale in lieu of the fourth of the minor: the minor third for *ritsusen* being probably supplied by pressure on the 3rd and 8th strings. This supplies the necessary key which explains the other tunings: the alteration is from the fourth of the minor scale to the third of the major. This gives for *banshiki* tuning the keys of C♯ minor and major: for *ōshiki* B minor and major: for *ichiotsu* E minor and major: and for *sōjō* A minor and major. With a key sequence of A, E, B. F♯, C♯; a progression of fifths.

But beyond this sequence of keys, and the fact that six notes of the diatonic eight only are taken for each tuning, there seems to be no connecting link between the Japanese and the Chinese tunings. I cannot discover in the Chinese any such symmetrical scheme of construction as the Japanese tunings revealed. In the absence of any authentic record, and in the presence of the impossibility of ascertaining anything at all reliable as to the nature of the *Tsukushigaku*, which came between the *bugaku* music and the music of Japan,—that Kyūshū music which a certain Lady Ishikawa learnt on Mount Hikosan, according to the tradition, from an unknown Chinese musician,—the only conclusions at which we can arrive must be purely hypothetical.

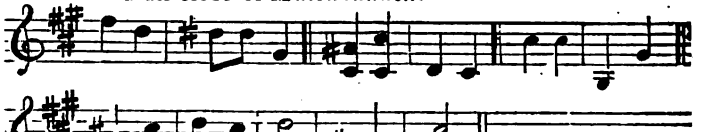
Nevertheless I think these are warranted, for they depend simply on the strength of the human brain, and refer to a time when knowledge depended on this alone, and neither came in dreams nor was revealed to lovely ladies upon mountain tops by divinities in cloud- encircled groves.

I think that a diatonic scale almost certainly existed in China which was identical in construction with the diatonic scale of the West, and which was composed of notes whose vibration do not differ from those of the equal temperament scale more than the notes of either the scientific diatonic scale, or the scale of Pythagoras, differ from the vibrations of those unscientific sounds : that something remarkably like this scale existed independently in very early times in Japan, at least if the evidence which the tuning of the *Yamato-goto* supplies is worth any thing at all : that in Japan all knowledge of the properties of scale and key was absolutely wanting, and in China was somewhat chaotic : that Yatsuhashi, learned in such knowledge as existed in both countries, unravelled, by the aid of the elements which his learning afforded him, those mysterious properties, and reduced chaos to order : that he based the modern music of Japan on what he had accomplished : yet that his accomplishment falling short, as how should it not, of complete knowledge, he left much to be supplied, and in the music, much to be desired : and that between his time and ours tradition has barred the way to progress, none of his later followers reaching the height to which his undoubted genius soared : that the cramp of tradition has tended rather to decadence, and that it remains for the Japanese musicians of to-day, for whose skill I have the most profound respect, to yield to the influence of the ebbing and flowing of the waves of Western melody and harmony which is surely coming upon them, and to build on the music which exists, for which indeed I have a great admiration, a music national as all other music is, and which being national, and being Japanese, will reflect still more the grace and charm of the people of a most favoured nation.

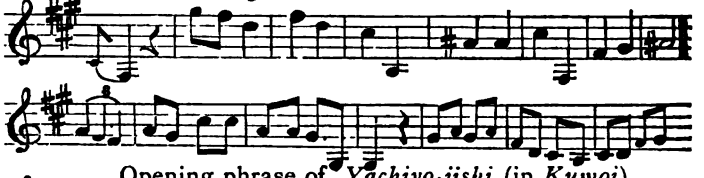
Phrases and Intervals.

A cursory analysis of the music reveals two qualities, the one good, the other bad: the first charms us, the second irritates us; and I am bound to say that in the struggle between the two the victory has remained with the latter. Apart from the question of 'form' which I shall consider separately, the good quality consists in the abundance of little graces of melody which constitute the first surprize that Japanese music has in store for us. The bad quality consists of the prevalence of awkward and ungainly intervals, and as a natural sequence a queer formlessness of many phrases. Of these points, which are of course matters of taste, the following short extracts will serve as examples. Hoping that any good impression the music may create may be permanent I put the bad first.

Full close of *Matsuzukushi*

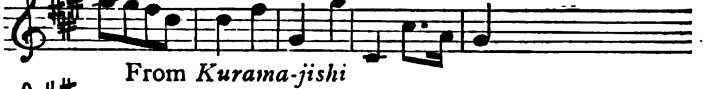


From *Umegae*

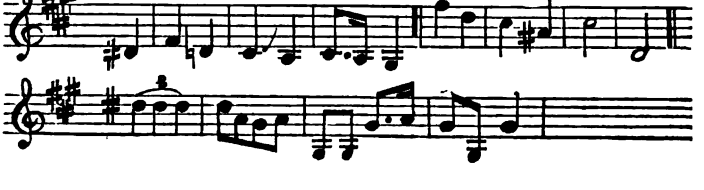


Opening phrase of *Yachiyo-jishi* (in *Kumoi*)

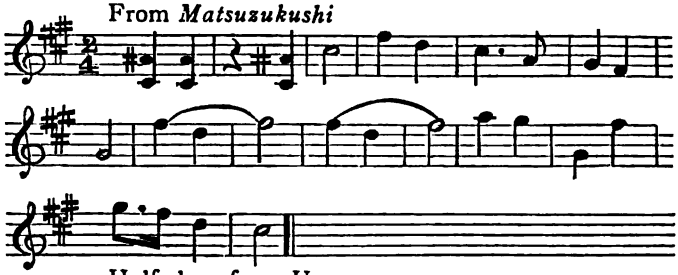
From *Rokudan*



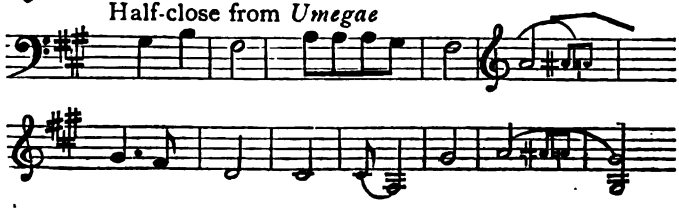
From *Kurama-jishi*



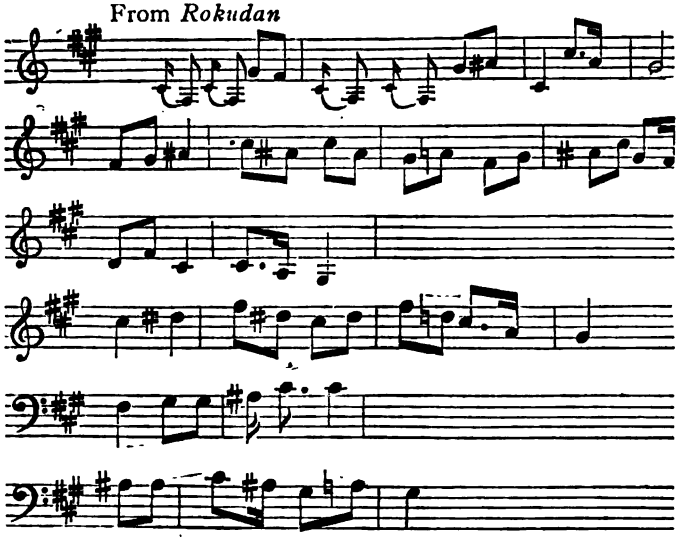
From *Matsuzukushi*



Half-close from *Umegae*



From *Rokudan*



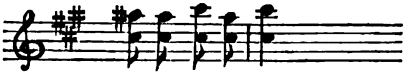
Harmony.

The statement that Japanese music is devoid of harmony is perhaps the only one among so many which at all approximates to accuracy. So far as my observation goes there is some, but very little: but again I have to remark

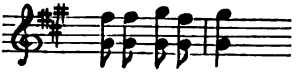
that until we can examine the higher forms of *koto* music our judgment must remain in suspense. My impression is that when an elaborate composition like *Adzumajishi* is studied we shall find a great deal more harmony than we at present imagine. I have at present however to deal with facts not impressions.

The simple fact that two notes may be played together with pleasing effect is recognized by the existence of the term *awaseru*, literally to put together: it is used as well for the reinforcing unison of the first and fifth strings, as for the octave which is frequently used in whole passages.

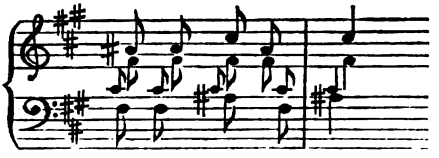
We need not look further for an example than *hitotsu-toya*, the first and one of the simplest of the *kotouta*. I confess that it is curious that three at least of the statements made with reference to Japanese music are easily refuted from this simple song. It is unmelodious. Why here is a little melody full of grace, catching to the ear, to be whistled, to be hummed, to be strummed, like any Western popular song. The difference between the major and the minor is unrecognized. And here is this tune which in its first variation goes into the major distinctly and in a manner which no tyro among musicians can fail to recognize; and much in the same way as Western composers in 'Airs with Variations,' invariably devote one or two to treating the melody in the minor mode. Lastly, there is no harmony. In the third variation occurs a harmony of the sixth which adds vigour to the melody,



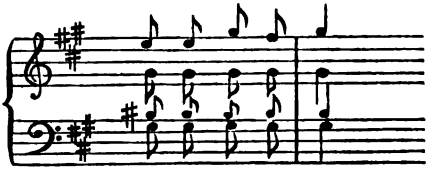
and also of the minor seventh used with great effect and emphasis,



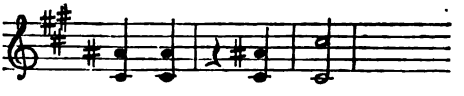
Using Western terms, the interval of the sixth is clearly part of the common chord of the tonic, the key for the two variations being F♯ major:



and the interval of the seventh, part of the chord of the minor seventh on the second.

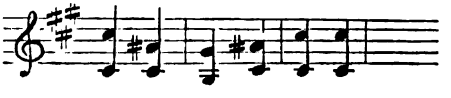


The first of these two chords, the fifth string and the sharpened ninth, I am disposed to say, as might be expected of the common chord of the tonic, is of frequent occurence. Thus the phrase which commences each fragment of *Matsuzukushi* is as follows:

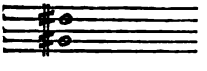


a variation of the leading phrase of *hitotsutoya* in the major.

The following is another example of its use, from *Kuramajishi*,



In *Goshoguruma* the eighth and sharpened *to* string occur in harmony:



a major fifth.

Form.

Perhaps the most interesting fact which a study of

Japanese music reveals is that it is not formless and void, and more than this that it is built on an elaborate system of construction, which if its products were filled out with harmonies and that complicated musical verbosity which is the delight of Western musicians, would entitle it to a very favourable comparison with our own music. What Japanese music shows us is, as it were, the skeleton of construction; and I find it a very interesting, well-knit, and cleverly articulated skeleton.

The rules established by Yatsuhashi dealt only with the dimensions of the composition and did not touch its interior structure: in this matter he seems to have thought example better than precept.

Koto music, apart from the short songs, is divided into two classes, *dan* and *kumi*. The *danmono* are written in parts—'steps' or 'grades'—in a severe style with connecting ideas, and without a voice part. The parts are called respectively *ichidan*, *nidan*, *sandan*, and so on, and the whole piece is often named after the number of *dan* of which it is composed: thus there are pieces called *godan*, *rokudan*, *shichidan*, *hachidan*, *kudan*. Each *dan* is composed of 52 *hyōshi* or bars. The first however may have 54, and the last 50. This is the case in *rokudan*, as will be seen from the printed version of it on the stave given at the end, and I believe also in all the other compositions of the class.

The *kumi* are somewhat lighter in style, but are, like the *danmono*, written in several parts; they are invariably accompanied by the voice. The parts correspond with the verses of the song, and are called *hitouta*, *futauta* and so on. Each verse is divided into 8 sections, and each section into 8 *hyōshi*. The 'verse' is therefore 12 bars longer than the *dan*.

As to the internal structure, or principle of composition, I have been unable to discover anything in the shape of rules or suggestions in the later books, and the *koto* musicians have very little to say on the matter. Ignorant of the Japanese idea, we can only look at it therefore

with Western eyes, and to this end I have analysed the piece *Umegae*, "the Plum Branch," one of the first of the *kumi* which is taught to beginners. It is given on the Western stave at the end. It is built entirely on *kake*, the undulations of the phrase having probably suggested the name. In No. 1., the subject is given out seven times, making seven distinct phrases, which I have numbered A, B, C, D, E, F, G. Variety, or colour, is given by starting the subject on different strings. This is in fact the common device in contrapuntal music, where the subject often reappears a third or fifth higher or lower, and so on, sometimes modulated into another key, but as often not. The peculiar feature of the repetition of the *kake* subject is, as has been pointed out in the preceeding explanation of terms, that as the relations of the strings are constant, the musical intervals composing the phrase must vary. Thus, in A (*to kake*) and B (*i kake*) the first interval is a second, in E (*jū kake*) and F (*hachi kake*) a third. Finally on its seventh appearance the subject is decapited, having three notes only instead of five: it is really *shichi kake*, an octave below the *i kake* of D.

The chief feature of the remainder of the seven phrases is the recurrence of a short phrase composed of the 10th, *i*, *to*, strings arranged in different ways: thus, *i*, *to*, 10: 10, *i*, *to*: *i*, *to*, *i*, 10: and so on. The phrase D has a second part written in a freer style with more graces and slides, which I have lettered D′. The short *rallentando* close is constant in the first five variations. The passages marked with upwards and downward pointing arrows are *hikiren* and *uraren* respectively, and read:

So much for the first or chief part: we may now follow the construction through the six parts. The phrase A begins all through with the subject in its normal form, *to kake*.

Apart from the first phrase however, each succeeding variation throws off some feature of the first part, and specially elaborates one or more of its phrases: and further each variation borrows some feature from its predecessor.

In No. 2., A is identical, and B almost, with A and B of No. 1. C introduces some slight changes.

The second part of D is omitted, but E is elaborated with a second and a third part in which entirely new subjects are given out; in E′ an interesting phrase of quavers; and in E″, an equally interesting phrase in octaves, syncopated in the Western method. F and G are discarded, E″ running on into the eighth section introducing the close by a glissade. In No. 3, at B, *i kake* becomes *jū kake;* at C, *to kake* is given out an octave lower, as *roku kake*, a charming chime-like variation of the principal subject caused by the rise to C♯ on the third note, instead of the usual fall. D this time carries the variations, which extend over three sections, D′, D″, and D‴. D′ is founded on the D′ of No. 1; D″ has some of the characteristics of the E′ of No. 2: in D‴ the octave phrases of the E″ of No. 2 appear; but descending instead of ascending. E and F are discarded, but G reappears in its decapitated form. In No. 4, the B phrase begins with *jū kake* as in No. 3. The C phrase begins with *hachi kake* instead of *to kake* as in No. 1. E is discarded, and F is elaborated with two parts on the same lines as E′ and E″ of No. 2. G remains, decapitated as in No. 3. In No. 5, B begins with *jū kake* as in Nos. 3 and 4, but this time has a second and a third part in the style of D′ of No. 3, with the phrase, 1. 1. 5, in B″ introduced from the preceding variation. C and D are omitted. E remains in a simple form, beginning with *jū kake;* and F is elaborated with a second part, new in style, in which a fresh *kaki* beat is introduced. F′ runs on into the eighth section which concludes with the close as before.

Finally in No. 6, B, C, D, and E, are discarded, a long and elaborated second part being inserted after A which occupies five sections. This is the climax of the composition, the *Namigaeshi*, most elaborate of graces, being reserved for it, and it contains suggestions of most of the subordinate ideas scattered throughout the second parts in the preceding variations.

The composition is then closed in a sedate and dignified manner with a continuous *rallentando*. The phrase F is used concisely with *hachi kake* decapitated. At G the *shichi kake*, which has hitherto been decapitated before the half close, is given in full to introduce the full close to the song.

I have gone at length into the analysis of this piece, because one such careful study at least is necessary to understand the Japanese idea of composition. I do not imagine that every composition when subjected to the same rigorous analysis would reveal so intricate a construction. But when we find it in the least advanced example of the severer music, we are certainly entitled to assume that the principles of construction are not ignored in the more elaborate compositions: a complete mastery of the science of 'form' must be in the East, as it is in the West, the corner-stone of all successful composition. It seems fully in accordance with the Western idea too that in the elementary compositions of a rigid or classical nature, the elements of the science should be easily discoverable, their clothing of phrases being only the thinnest of coverings. What then is the Japanese idea as we see it after our analysis? A composition built on a principal theme, constantly recurring but in varied forms: to the principal theme, subordinate themes added from time to time, these again recurring in varied forms: finally a gradual working up to a climax which is full of pleasant reflexion of all that has gone before, being in fact the themes and pretty phrases of the composition woven together.

Surely the Western idea does not altogether differ from this. In means for carrying it out, for inventing grander

themes, for elaborating them, for beautifying them, for involving them one with the other, for mystifying the clear vision of the brain by surrounding everything with a delightful mist of sounds, yes: the music of the East cannot compare with the music of the West: but again I say we must remember the few pitiful strings, the imperfect knowledge of the scale, the deficient knowledge of the capacity of some of their instruments, and then I think what has been done is a thing to wonder at and not to scoff at: and again I say we have no notion how far this modern Japanese music has gone, because we don't listen to it, and we wont listen to it, and as yet there is no means whereby we may study it for ourselves when the sliding doors have been drawn to, and the tea-house candles have been extinguished.

Diplomas or Licences.

A *koto* pupil usually receives her first diploma after 1 year's study, when she has learnt and can play accurately about 17 pieces: many do not go any further, but are content to become the ordinary musicians of the tea-houses. But for the first-rate professional an elaborate course of instruction lies beyond this stage, and a regular series of progressive diplomas. On receiving the first diploma—*omotenoyurushi*—'the front licence'—a present of five yen is made to the teacher, together with a dish of *sekihan*—rice mixed with red beans. The fellow pupils also receive gifts of *sekihan*. A dinner is given by richer pupils instead of the *sekihan*. The course begins with *hitotsutoya*—counting song—*Saitasakura*—the song of the blooming of the cherry-trees: it includes practically all the easy pieces which are written invariably in *Hirajōshi*; and also a certain number of complicated ones, such as *Umegae*—the song of the plum tree; it ends with *rokudan*,—the 'six grades,' or variations.

During this first course the fees paid for tuition are 3 yen

With the second course the pupil begins to learn the other tunings of the instrument. Tunes written in *Kumoi*

and *Hankumoi* alone are studied: the course begins with *Kumonouye*—the song of the clouds—whence the name of the tuning '*kumoi*,' and ends with *midare*—'Confusion.' The second diploma is then granted—*nakanoyurushi*—the intermediate licence, or *uranoyurushi*, the rear licence, the teacher receiving a fee of eight yen; the presents of rice are made as before.

In the third course pieces written in the *Iwata* tuning are learnt. It begins with *godan*—'five grades', or variations, and ends with *Hiyen-no-kyoku*—the song of the swallows The third diploma is then granted—*okuno-yurushi*—the innermost licence—the fee for which is fifteen yen, with the dinner or rice present as before.

When this diploma has been obtained the first string of the *koto* may be lowered an octave in *hirajōshi* and all other tunings, which are now open to the student.

The fourth course begins with *Ōgi-no-kyoku*—the song of the fan—and ends with *Hiyen-no-kyoku*—the song of the swallows.

When this course is finished a fee of twenty yen is paid to the teacher for a sign-board, and permission to use his name. The student thenceforward becomes a professional teacher. The distinction was marked by a ceremony, discontinued only fifteen years ago. The new professor proceeded with his friends and fellow pupils to the Island of *Enoshima*, where in the stillness of caves he solemnly performed a piece of music named *Enoshima* after the island. The use of the teacher's name corresponds to the grant of 'one character' among artists.

Diplomas were formerly only granted by teachers who had received one of the three degrees—*Kōtō*, *Kengyō*, or *Sōroku*—but latterly any of the male teachers have been allowed to grant them. A female teacher however can only obtain diplomas for her pupils through her former master who attends the school on special occasions to hear the performances of the pupils.

The three degrees just mentioned were formerly conferred on blind musicians (and also on 'blind pin-prickers');

the right to confer them being vested in the house of Yoshida of the Imperial Household. The claim for a degree was supported by a recommendation from others in the same profession. The fees were 100 *yen* 200 *yen*, and 1000 *yen* respectively: the money for them and for the necessary pilgrimage to Kyōto was found in great part and often entirely by the pupils of the candidate. About ten years elapsed between each degree.

Special forms of Jōruri, chiefly called after the name of the inventors.

Gidayū-bushi, music for the marionette stage: invented by Takemoto Chikugo, pupil of Inouye Harima, a learned man and fertile composer, who was a pupil of Toraya Genjitsu of Yedo, who was a pupil of Satsuma Jōun of Izumi, the inventor of the 'new music' of the Kanyei and Shōhō eras.

The words for *Gidayū-bushi* were written by Chikamatsu Monzayemon, called by many the 'Shakspeare of Japan.'

Itchū-bushi, softer songs than the *Gidayū-bushi*, composed by Miyako Itchū. These are said to have degenerated into indecency and were suppressed by the Government.

Bungo-bushi, songs invented by Miyakoji Bungo, which were afterwards suppressed by the Government as indecent. They were afterwards started afresh in Yedo by Miyako Bunyemon. They were however too soft for the popular taste, he therefore invented *Tokiwazu*.

Tomimoto-bushi, songs invented by Tomimoto Buzen, a performer of *Tokiwazu*.

Kiyomoto-bushi, songs invented by Kiyomoto Enjusai in the Kansei era.

Kadayū-bushi, songs invented by Uji Kadayū of Kyōto.

Fujimatsu-bushi, songs invented by Fujimatsu, a descendent of Miyakoji. His pupil Tsuruga invented *Shinnai*, a low class music of an indecent character, described as "very sweet and birdlike."

Classes of hauta and kouta.

Nage-bushi, small poems invented in Kyōto in the Genroku era: 'up and down' songs.

Tsugi-bushi.

Dote-bushi, the embankment song.

Komuro-bushi, Yoshiwara songs.

Magaki-bushi.

Kaga-bushi, invented in the Manji era—1658.

Shibagaki-bushi, invented in the Meireki era—1656.

Ryūtatsu-bushi, at first sung without accompaniment: afterwards sung with *samisen* and *shakuhachi.*

Ōsaka-kouta, accompanied by *samisen* and *koto.*

Rosei-bushi.

Hauta, proverbs or comic songs.

Ōuta, more set pieces.

Nagauta, short songs for children, with 31 characters.

Kouta, shorter songs, with 26 characters mostly.

Different varieties of small songs.

Daijinmai, the wealthy man's song and dance.

Torioiuta, minstrel's song.

Bon-odoriuta, moonlight dance of peasants on the sea-shore in July.

Yotsudakeuta, a song accompanied by the *Yotsudake*, or 'four-bamboos.'

Chatsumiuta, tea-picking song.

Mariuta, girl's ball song.

Sumiyoshiodoriuta, the priest's chant when he is accompanied by his stick and umbrella bearers.

Tauyeuta, rice-planting song.

Usuhikiuta, pestle and mortar song, sung by two girls pounding tea or rice.

Iseondouta, the Ise song: the guests are seated in the room, the dancers and the orchestra, *koto*, *samisen*, and *kokyū*, being on gallery running round the room, which is gradually elevated.

Kiyari, the name given to the workmen's shouting at the

circumstances of the case, let his mouth and heart work together and guide his hand.

gradually elevated.

Kiyari, the name given to the workmen's shouting at the

matsuri, and at the feast held when the foundations of a new building have been laid.

The form of the song is supposed to have originated 400 years ago: the old bell of the Kenjūji Temple at Kyōto had fallen into the river and the coolies when they were dragging it out were told each to scream his own name in chorus.

Nobunaga the Shōgun ordered the coolies who were dragging the stones for the foundations of his castle to scream together, but any thing they liked.

Instructions for samisen players when performing Jōruri.

(from the work on music by Miyakoji Bungo—the inventor of the *Bungo-bushi*).

The performer should sit with his knees apart and in a straight line, the bookstand in front of him, and his head just level with the *kendai*, the book stand, and neither bent down nor with his chin too much in the air. When seated he should take his fan out of his *obi*, and place it horizontally across the book, moving it as he turns the paper one after the other. He must avoid any thing ugly, and therefore he should avoid too much motion; he should not force his voice in singing, and should refrain from making grotesque grimaces. Thus only will he be able to sing smoothly and sweetly. This is called *zashikisadame*, or the method for determing the position of the body.

Next comes *chōshisadame*, or the determination of the tone of the voice, which must vary in loudness or softness according to the size of the room. Therefore when the musician enters the room he should at once take a mental measurement of it, and determine on this matter immediately.

Next comes *hyōshiuchi*, the rule of emphasis. The singer should mark the time with his fan (*hyōshiōgi*). He should avoid too much emphasis, but, thinking only of the circumstances of the case, let his mouth and heart work together and guide his hand.

Next comes *ishokusashi*, the consideration of the rank. The singer should accomodate his voice to the character of the person about whom he sings, whether it be a hero, for example, or a woman. Thus if he sings of a priest he should be priestlike; or if of a woodcutter he should simulate his voice, and so forth.

Next comes *chōshiomoi*, the consideration of the tuning. Now although our *samisen* has only three strings, yet all the twelve sounds are there and to be played upon them. So the player ought to take deep consideration of all these twelve sounds.*

Next comes *onseitashimi*, the preparation of the voice in the chest, by opening the lungs. Now every phrase may be sung in two breaths; yet the singer must not avail himself of this rule and sing coarsely. He ought to try and produce as sweet a sound as possible, which can only be done by keeping the body in its proper position. So while singing he must not bow too much, but let the voice come from the chest. No human voice has a sound higher than *fushō*. Therefore straining to produce higher sounds such as *ōshō* must be avoided. This is called *uragoe*, the production of bad sounds.

Next comes *Kwaigo-no-ben*, the consideration of opening and closing the mouth, so as to avoid a slovenly pronunciation of the words.

Opening the mouth is the male principle; it is equivalent to spring and summer: it is *ryo*. Shutting the mouth is the female principle; it is equivalent to autumn and winter: it is *ritsu*.

Finally comes *sekijō*, the consideration of the audience.

* The twelve sounds are the twelve Chinese *ritsu* or semitones. This direction puzzles me somewhat: it may refer to one of two things, either to the pitch, as to which there is no special direction if this does not refer to it: or to the tuning of the instrument, whether *honchōshi*, *niagari*, or *sansagari*. It is quite possible however that it refers to both: that the singer is to be careful to select the right tuning for the music, lest it should miss any of its due effect by not getting the proper open notes, and he must be careful too to pitch it so as not to strain his voice.

If in the songs which are to be sung any fact is mentioned which would be unpleasant for any of the audience to hear, it should be omitted or altered; and if any name is referred to which corresponds with the name of any person present, it should be changed, so that anything that might appear to be a personal reference may be avoided.

Finally a singer should be temperate, drinking little, and of quiet sober conduct in his every day life, for bad conduct spoils both the character and the voice.

A table for the production of sounds—kwaigo-no-ben—.

The Chinese characters used for musical sounds were five in number.

kyū. shō. kaku. chi or *cho. u.*

but they are not simple sounds and are more like syllables. Therefore the simpler *kana* sounds are used

a. i. u. e. o.

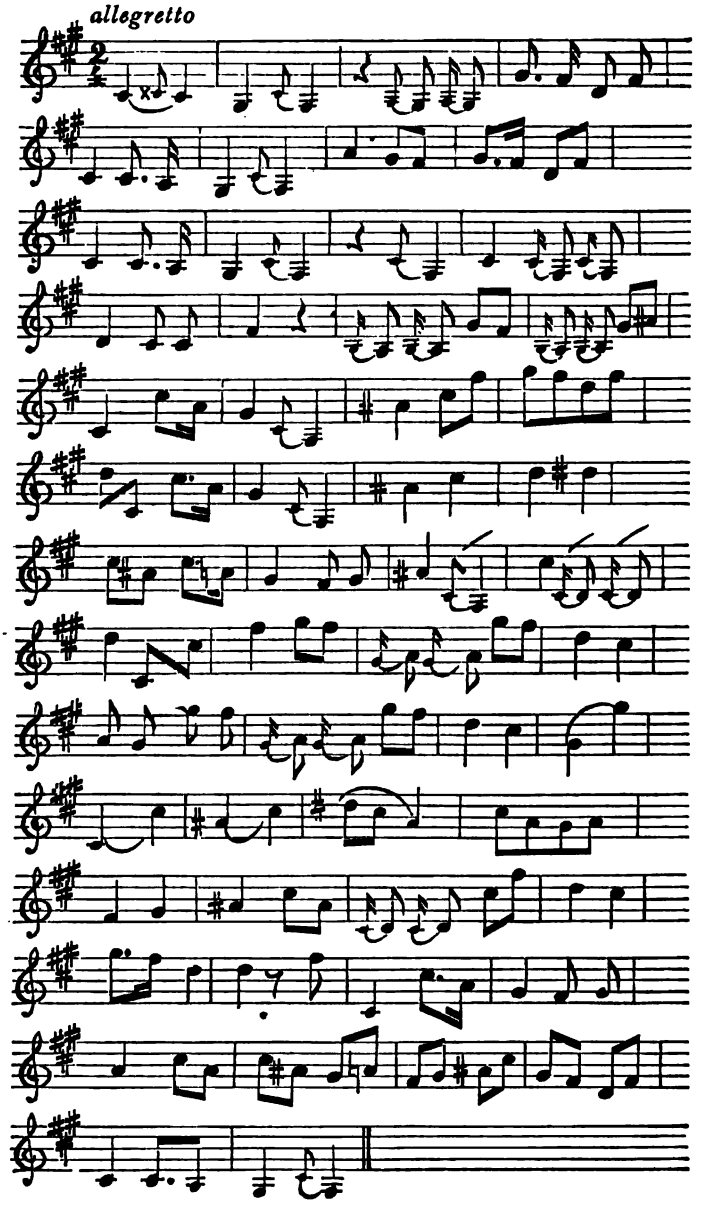
and these with different consonants prefixed are used for the formation of the voice according to the following table.

a	*ka*	*sa*	*ta*	*na*	*ha*	*ma*	*ya*	*ra*	*wa*	open mouth
i	*ki*	*shi*	*chi*	*ni*	*hi*	*mi*	*i*	*ri*	*i*	closed ,,
u	*ku*	*su*	*tsu*	*nu*	*fu*	*mu*	*yu*	*ru*	*u*	,, ,,
e	*ke*	*se*	*te*	*ne*	*he*	*me*	*ye*	*re*	*e*	open ,,
o	*ko*	*so*	*to*	*no*	*ho*	*mo*	*yo*	*ro*	*o*	closed ,,
resonance in throat	in back teeth	in the teeth	on the tongue	on the tongue	on the lips	on the lips	in the throat	on the tongue	in the throat	

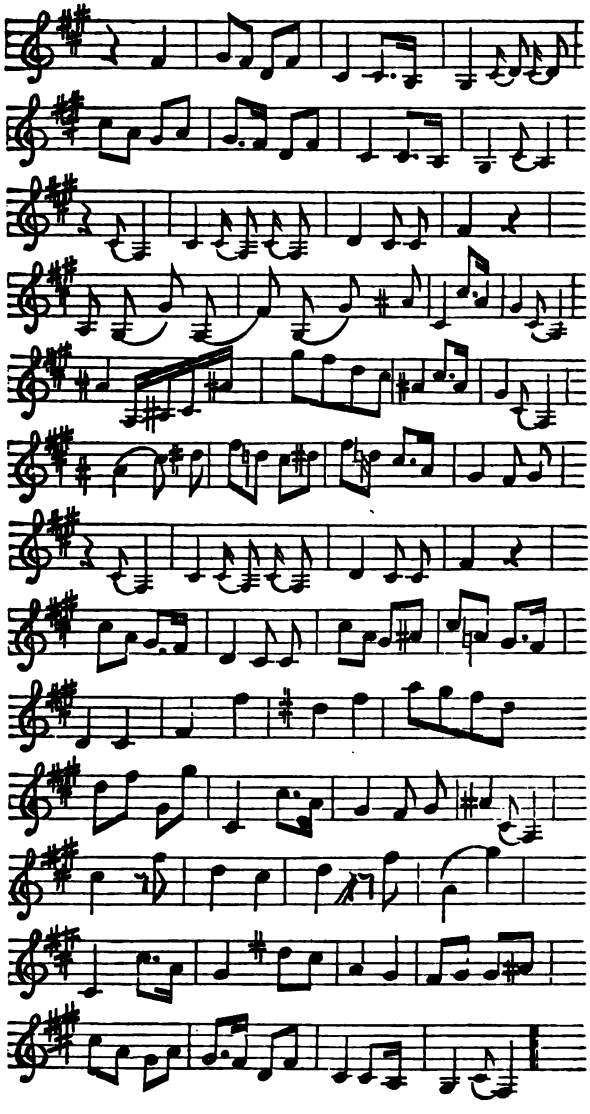
in addition to these there are the *gosei* or *goin*—the 'five voices'—

ga	*za*	*da*	*ba*	and also the *jiseiin*,	*pa*
gi	*ji*	*ji*	*bi*		*pi*
gu	*zu*	*dzu*	*bu*		*pu*
ge	*ze*	*de*	*be*		*pe*
go	*zo*	*do*	*bo*		*po*

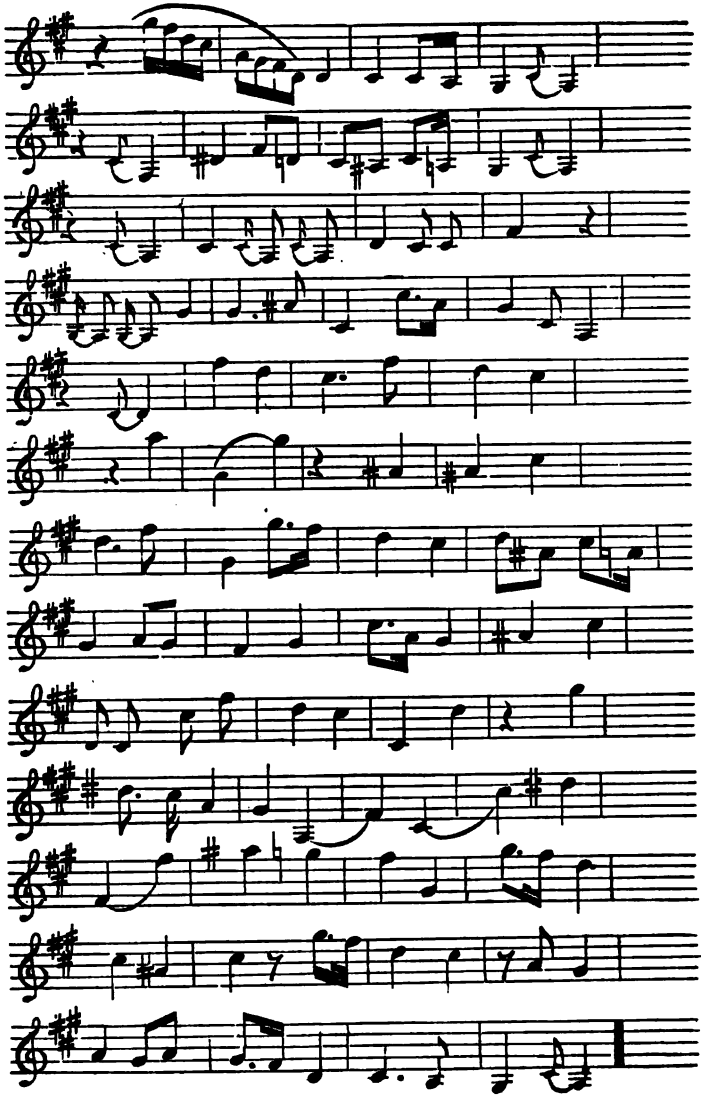
ROKUDAN (ichi-dan)



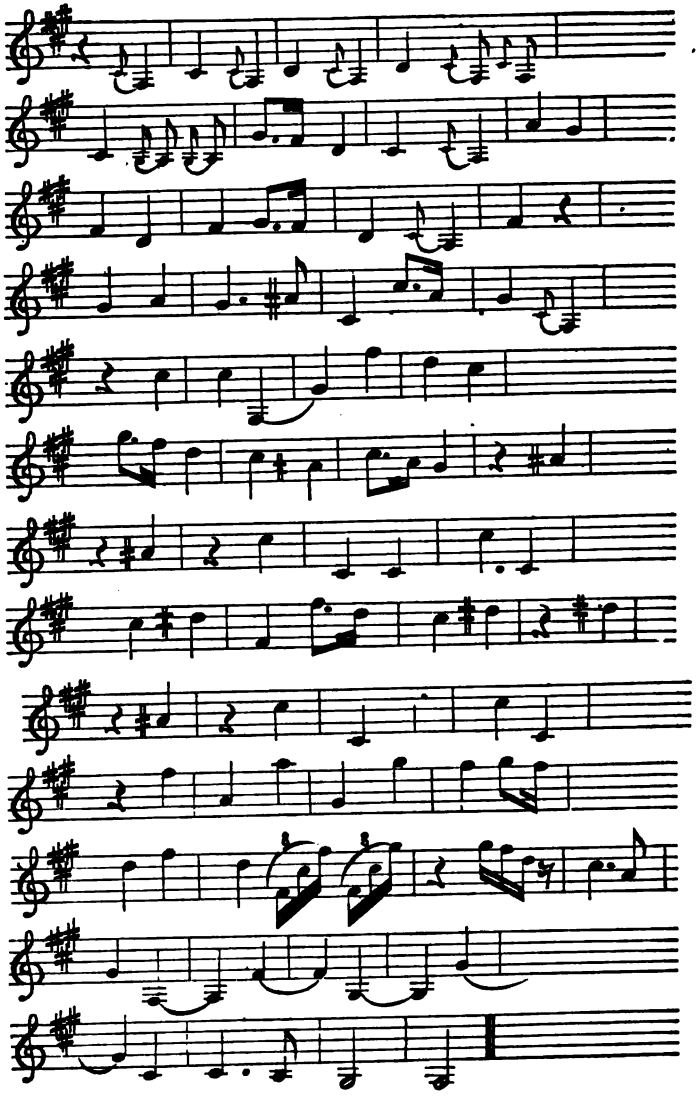
ROKUDAN (ni-dan)



ROKUDAN (san-dan)



ROKUDAN (yo-dan)



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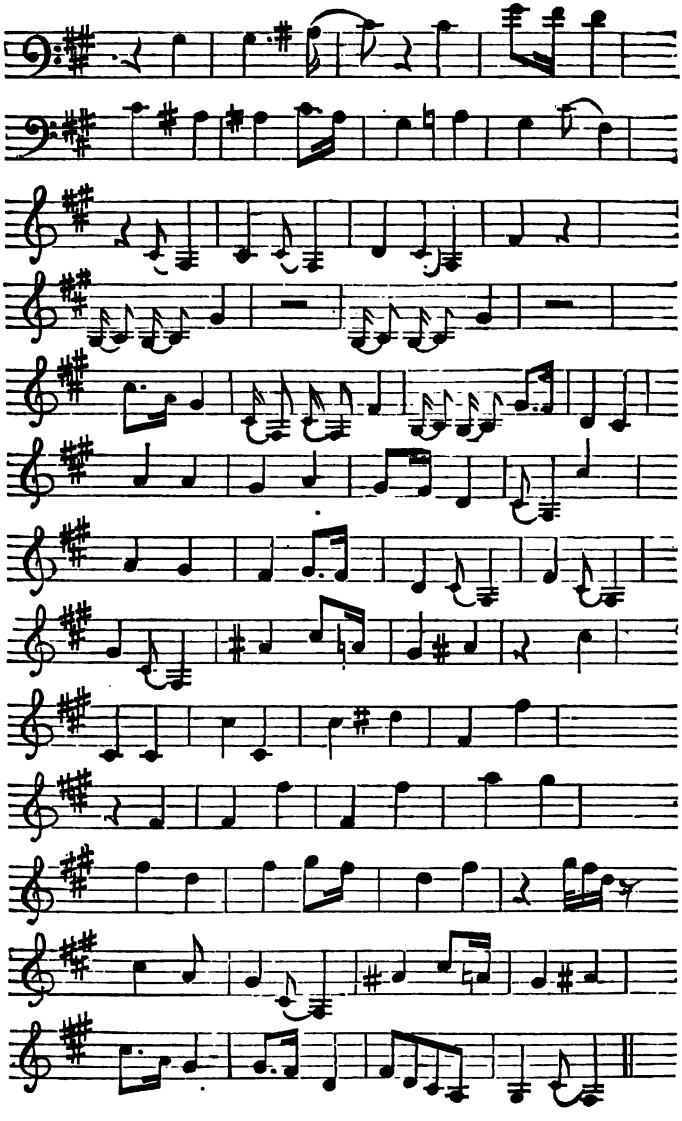
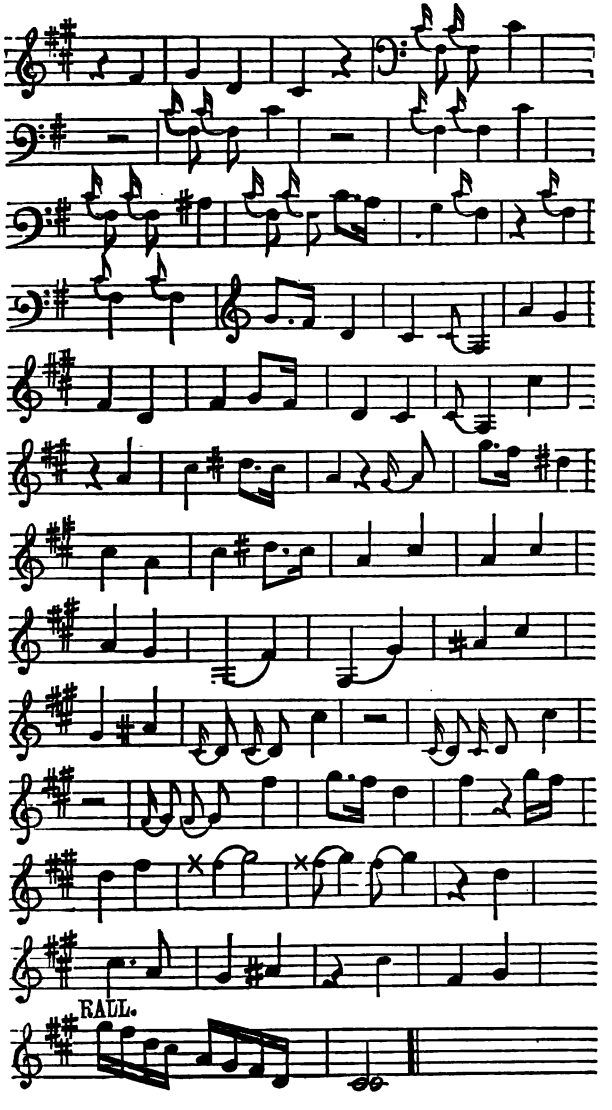
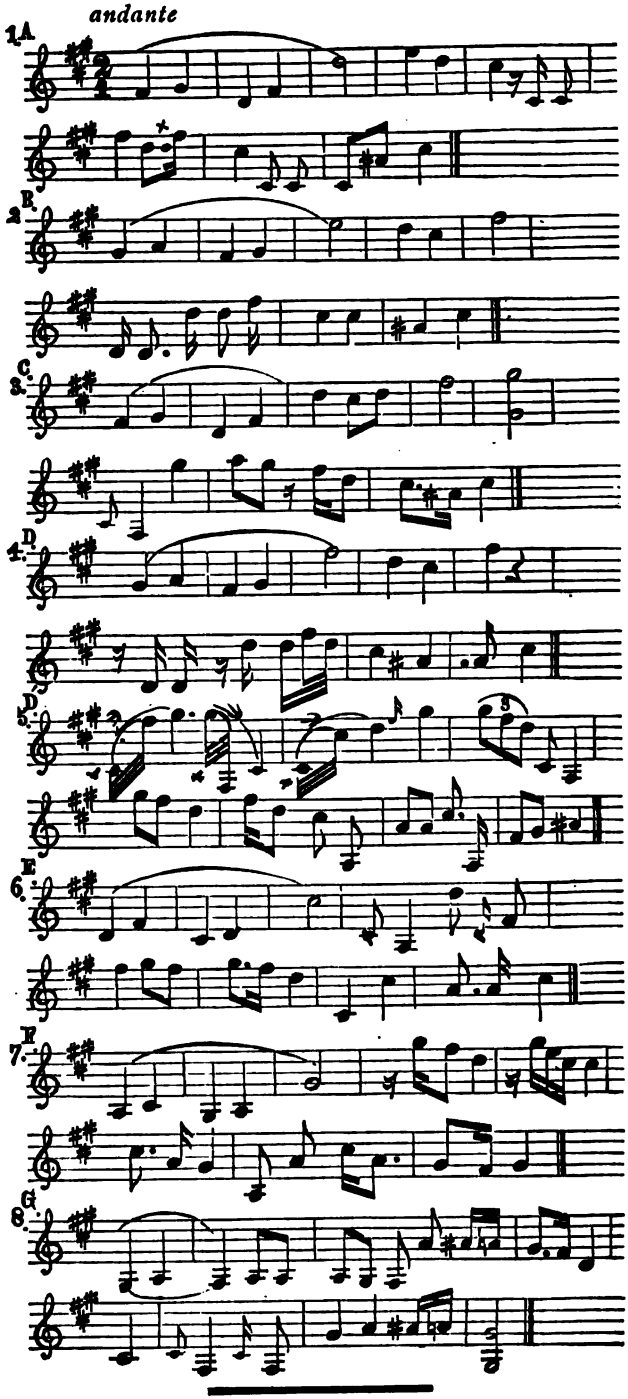
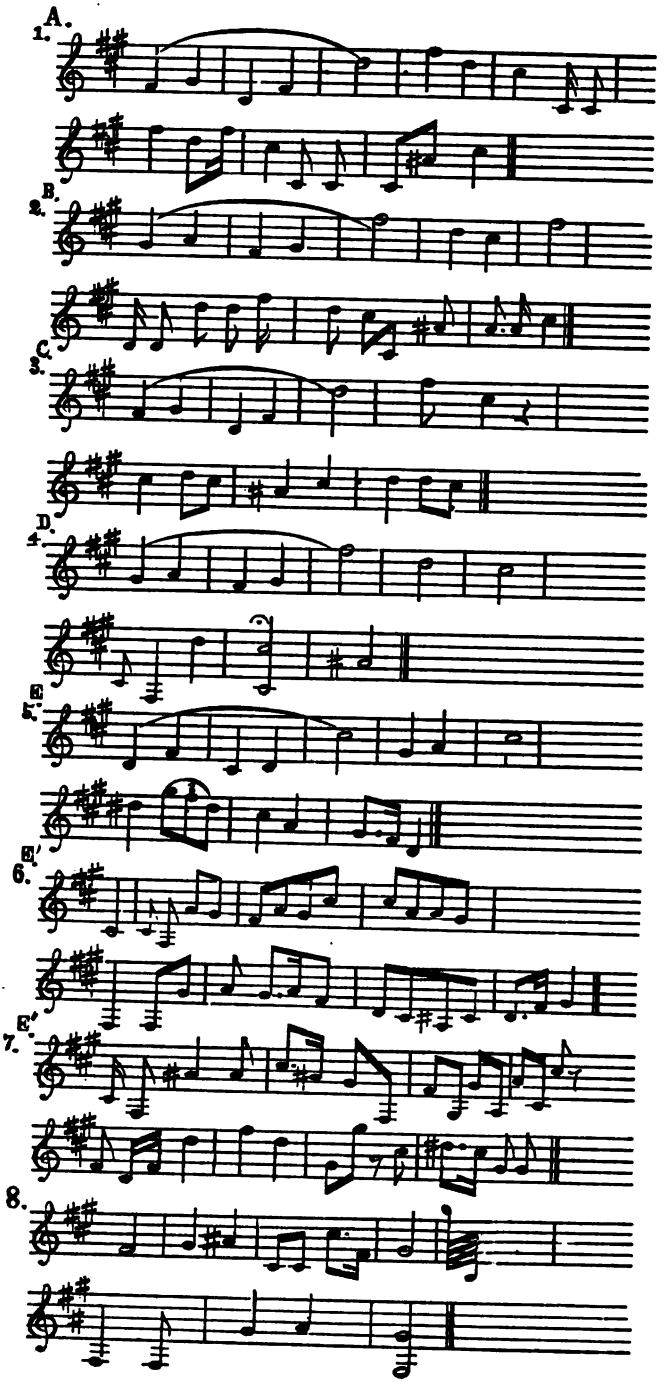


ROKUDAN (roku-dan)

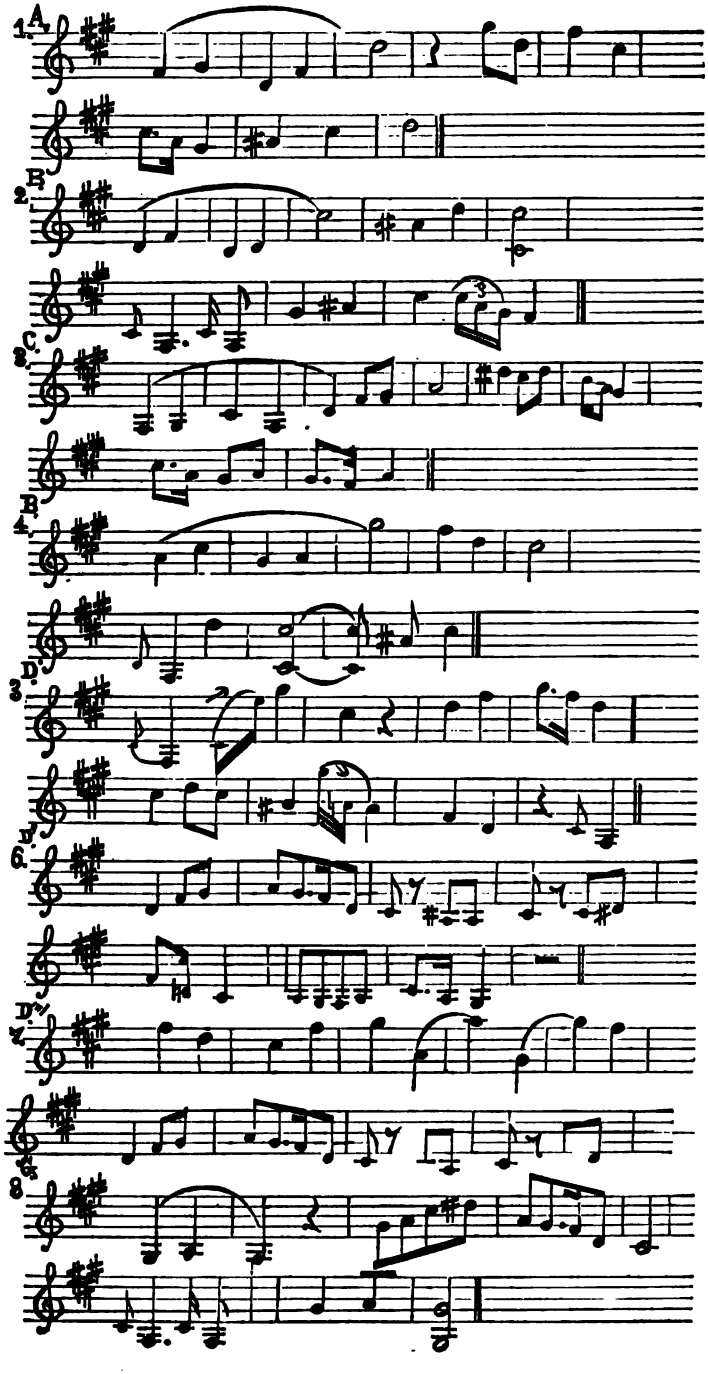



andante
1.A
2.B
3.C
4.D
5.D
6.E
7.F
8.G

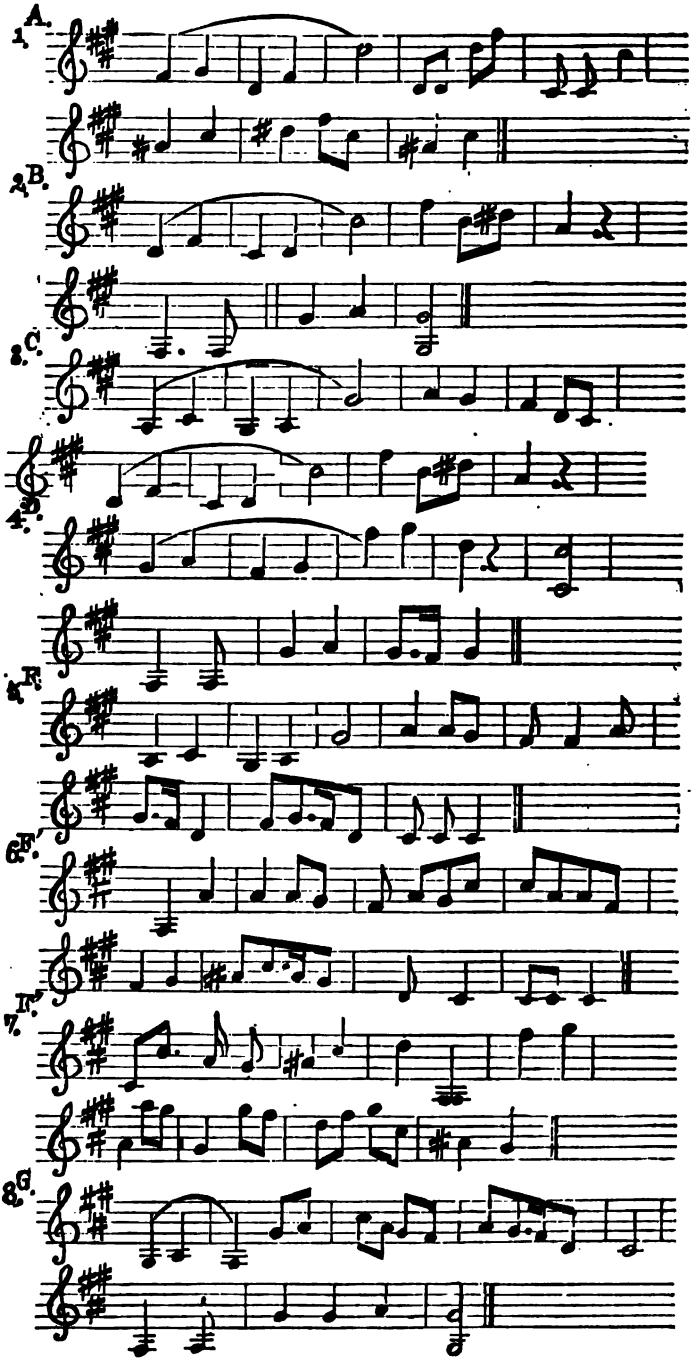
Umegae—No. II.

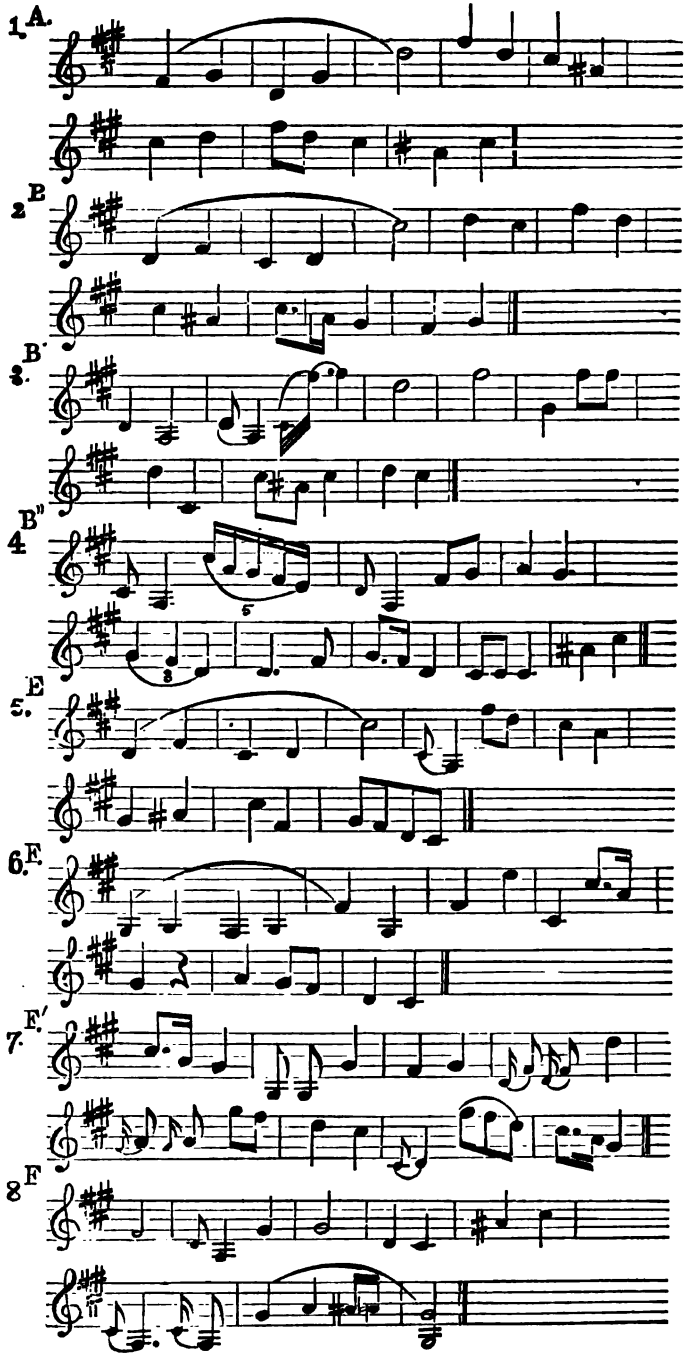


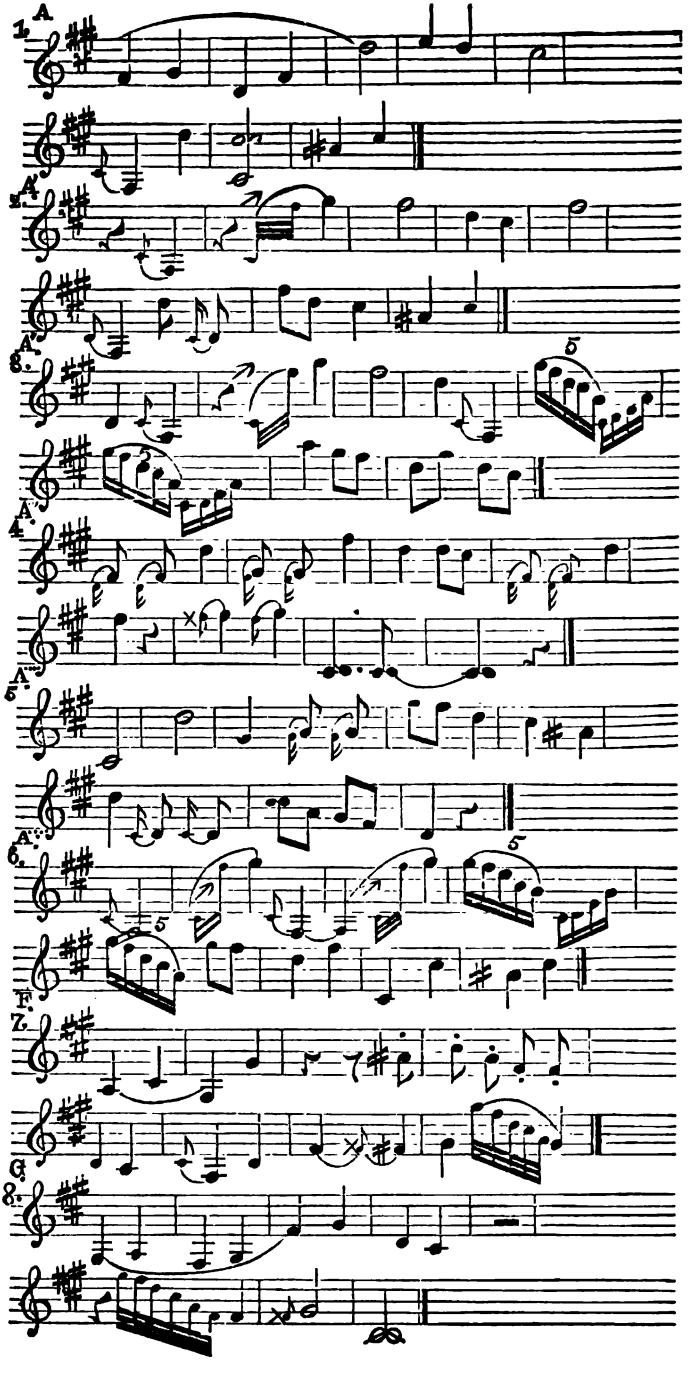
Umegae—No. III.

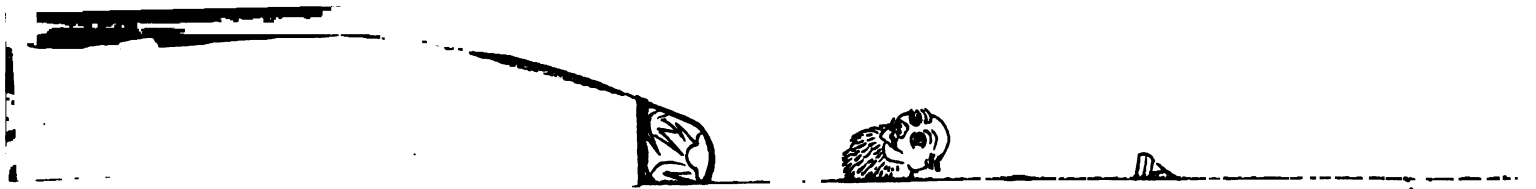


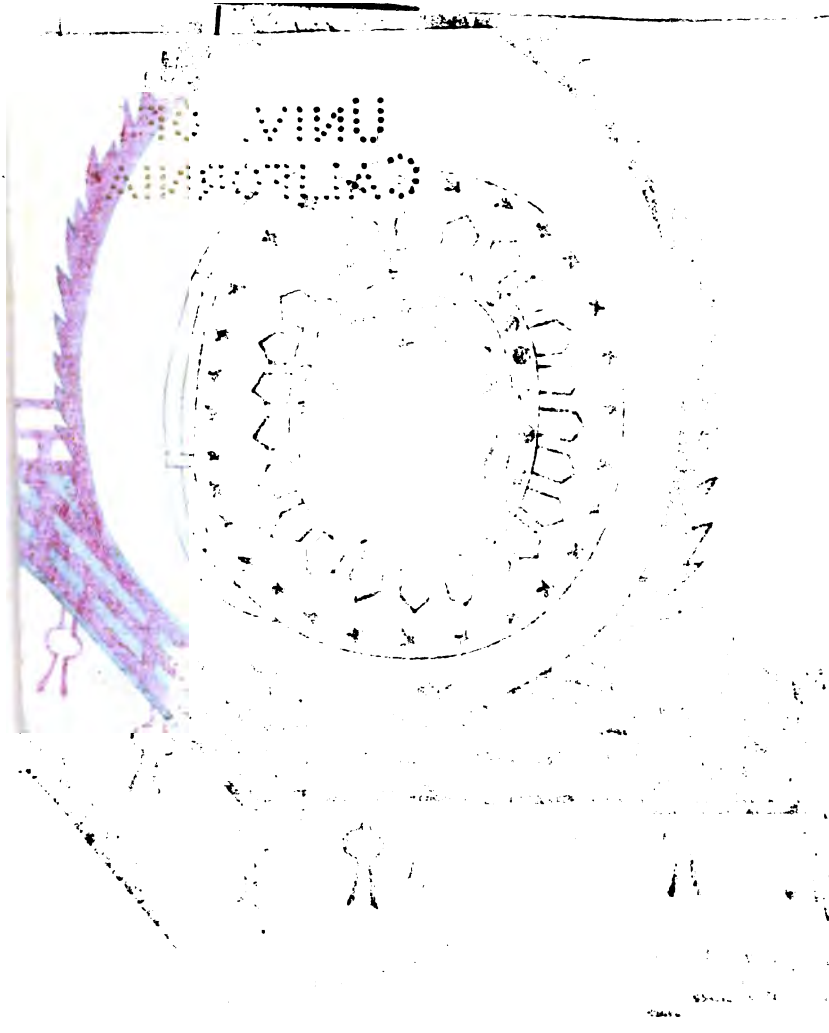
Umegae—No. IV.




1. A.
2. E
3. B'
4. B"
5. E
6. E
7. F'
8 F


1. A
2. A
3. A
4. A
5. A
6. A
7. F
8. G





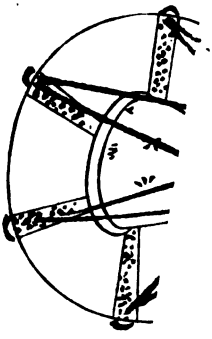
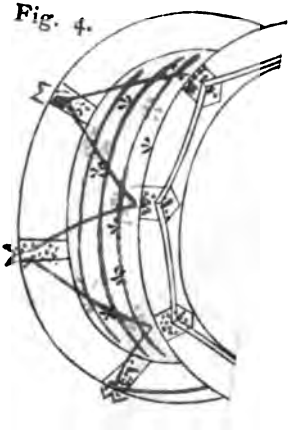


Fig. 4.



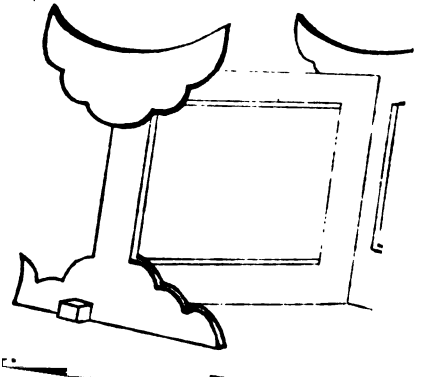
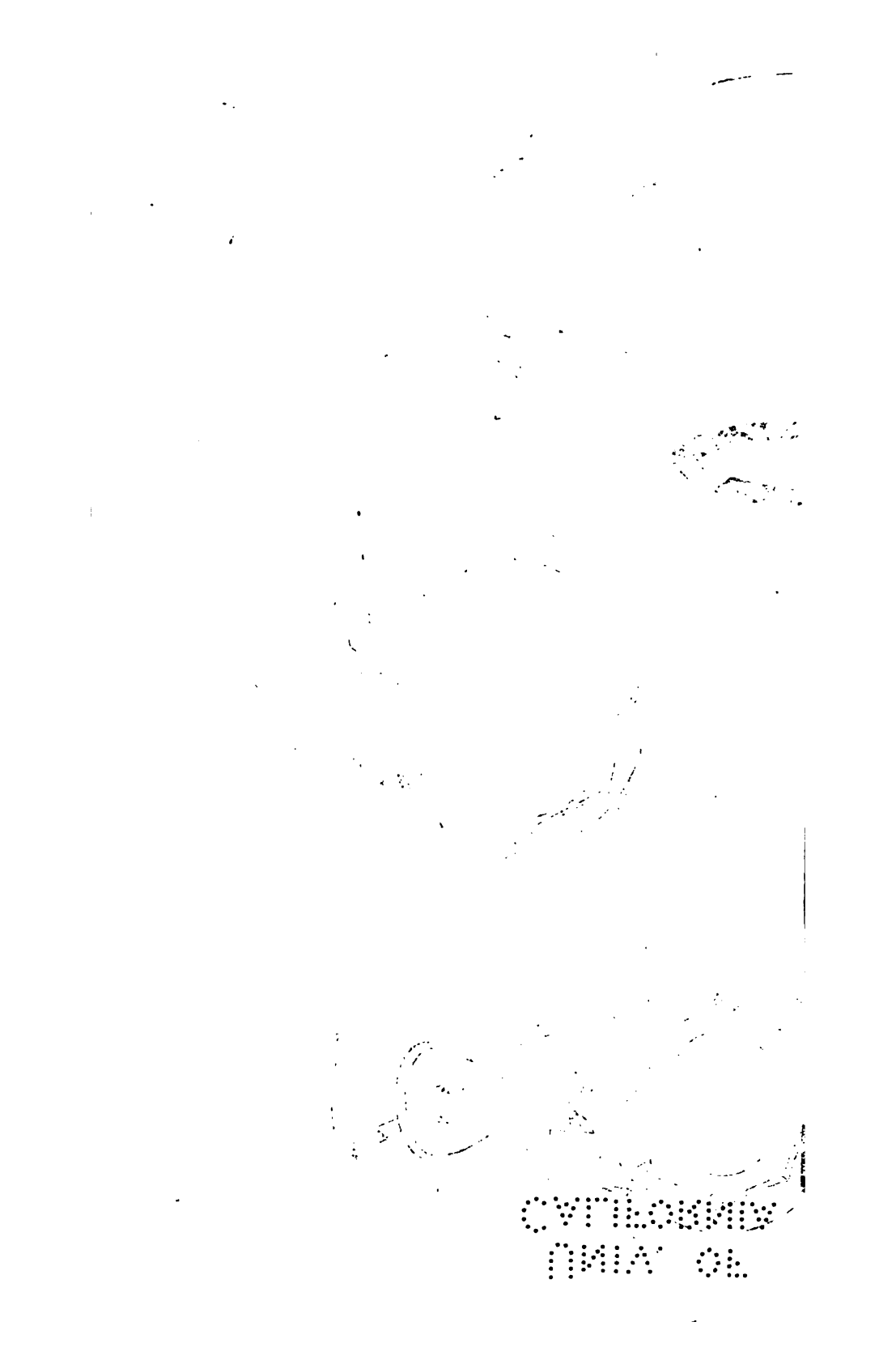


Fig. 1.



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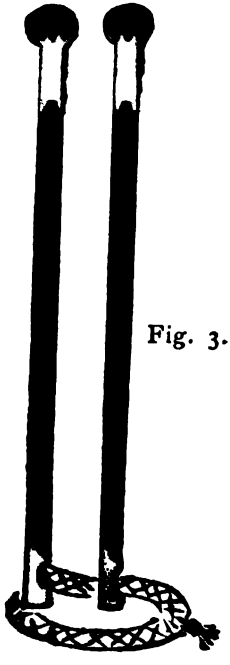
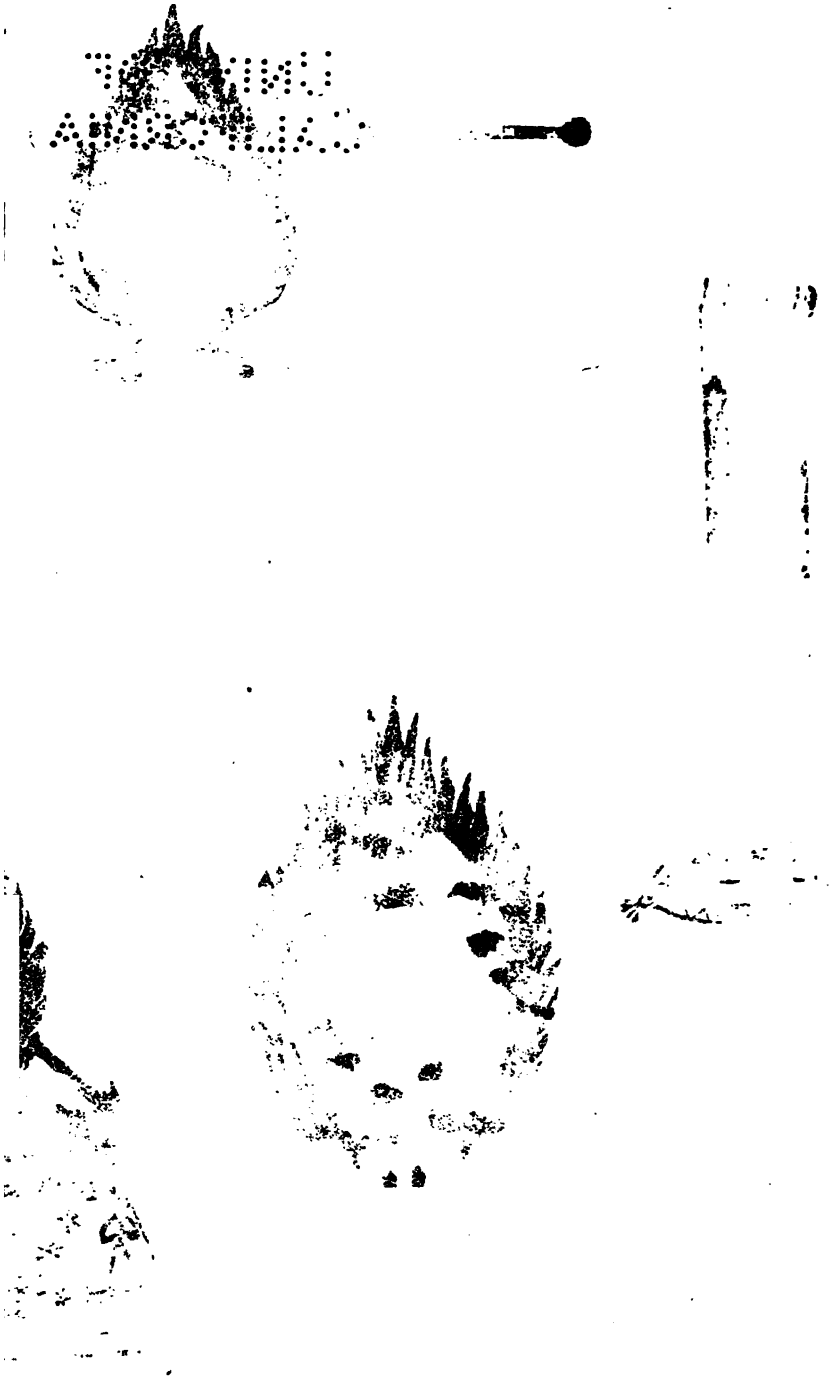


Fig. 3.



THE GEKKIN MUSICAL SCALE.

BY

F. Du Bois, M.D.

(Read 8th April, 1891.)

The *gekkin* is a Chinese instrument of music much used in Japan. It consists of a circular, double, flat, imperforate sounding board about fourteen inches in diameter and an inch and a half in thickness. Inside the sounding board a piece of metal is loosely attached which jingles when the instrument is played upon. The handle is about ten inches long. In the head of it are inserted four winding pegs which serves to tighten two double strings in mandoline style; only the strings are not made of wire but of hemp. The handle and part of the face of the sounding board are divided off into spaces by frets of bamboo bone or ivory (such as we find on the handle of the mandoline or the guitar) to show where the pressure is to be applied in forming the notes. These frets limit the number of sounds and render these invariable in each tuning. Now Japanese tunes and Chinese tunes are produced upon the *gekkin*. We have therefore in the *gekkin* an instrument which should enable us to arrive at some positive notions about Japanese music.

There are eight intervals between the frets which with the two open strings give exactly the eighteen notes this instrument is capable of producing; but several of these eighteen notes are duplicates and others are an octave higher than is commonly used. The range of notes is an octave and a quarter though the tune is generally run within the limits of an octave.

Two tunings are made use of in playing upon the *gekkin*. One is called *honchōshi* and the other *niagari*:

In *honchōshi* the lower open string corresponds to *Do* and the upper open string to *Sol*.

In *niagari* the lower open string corresponds to *Re* and the upper open string to *Sol*. Chinese tunes are all played in *honchōshi* while Japanese tunes are many of them played in *niagari* and others in *honchōshi*.

The Japanese scale is composed of seven notes which correspond very nearly to our own but they have no sharps or flats. They can therefore have but one scale. Their *Mi* and their *Si* are both flatter, than ours the other notes correspond almost absolutely.

The scale which corresponds most to the Japanese is in 6 flats or G flat. I have transposed *honchōshi* tunes however into the natural scale of C and those of *niagari* into the scale of G major. This however is a mere question of personal convenience.

Niagari tunes can be played upon the five black notes.

There is written music in Japan but the characters used do not perform exactly the same function as with us. They were originally Chinese and have been adopted by the Japanese. These musical characters represent frets rather than notes, for they always indicate the same place on the string to be pressed whatever the tuning may be. Thus 上 represents the lower open string and corresponds to *Do* in *honchōshi* and to *Re* in *niagari*, and the character 尺 corresponds to *Re* in *honchōshi* and to *Mi* in *niagari* while *Sol* and *La* are represented by the same signs in both tunings.

It becomes therefore rather important on seeing a piece of written Japanese music to know whither it is to be played in *honchōshi* or in *niagari* There is a very simple way of telling. If the character 工 appear it must be in *honchōshi*, if not it is in *niagari*, for tunes in *niagari* are played on five notes—*Re*, *Mi*, *Sol*, *La*, *Do*, and although 工 represents *Mi* in *honchōshi* it represents *Fa* in *niagari* and is not used in melodies in this tuning. The musical

characters are nine in number corresponding to the seven notes of our musical scale, two of the notes having duplicate signs. They are:

Do	Re	Mi	Fa	Sol	La	Si	Do	Re	Mi	
上 jan	尺 che	工 kon	凡 han	六,合 riu,ho	四,五 sui, u	レ i	仕 takai jan	伏 takai che	仁 takai kon	Honchōshi
	上 jan	尺 che	×	,,	,,	×	,,	,,	,,	Niagari

Notes above the octave are indicated by placing the sign 亻 before the corresponding lower sign.

In the examples of transposition given below it will be seen that all the notes of our scale come into use in Chinese tunes; that two of our notes *Fa* and *Si* do not appear in Japanese tunes written in *niagari*; but that in Japanese tuneswritten in *honchōshi* all the notes appear except *Si*, and for aught I know there may be tunes in which that notes appears.

In playing our tunes on the *gekkin* they are satisfactory up to a certain point. The evident flattening of *Mi* and *Si* however do not produce the most pleasing expression. They must all be transposed into *honchōshi* and it must be remembered that no accidentals can find expression on the *gekkin* or in their musical characters.

Any player on the *gekkin* should be able to write out any Japanese air in their Japanese musical characters. The object of this paper is to enable any one to transpose such written music into our scale and adapt it to the piano.

	Honchōshi		Niagari
Do	上	—	—
Re	尺	—	上
Mi	工	—	尺
Fa	凡	—	㊀
Sol	六合	—	六合凡
La	四五	—	四五伶
Si	レ	—	㊁
Do	仕	—	仕
Re	伏	—	伏
Mi	仁	—	仁

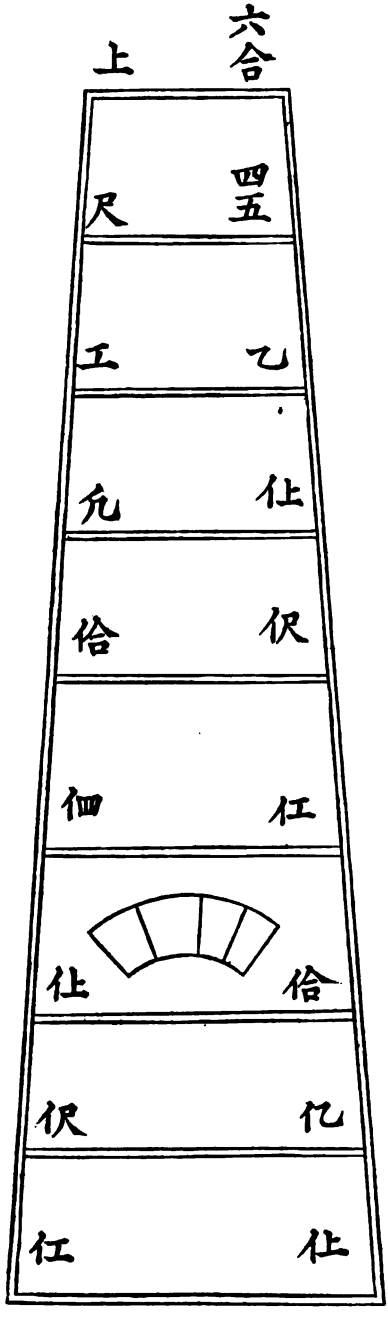
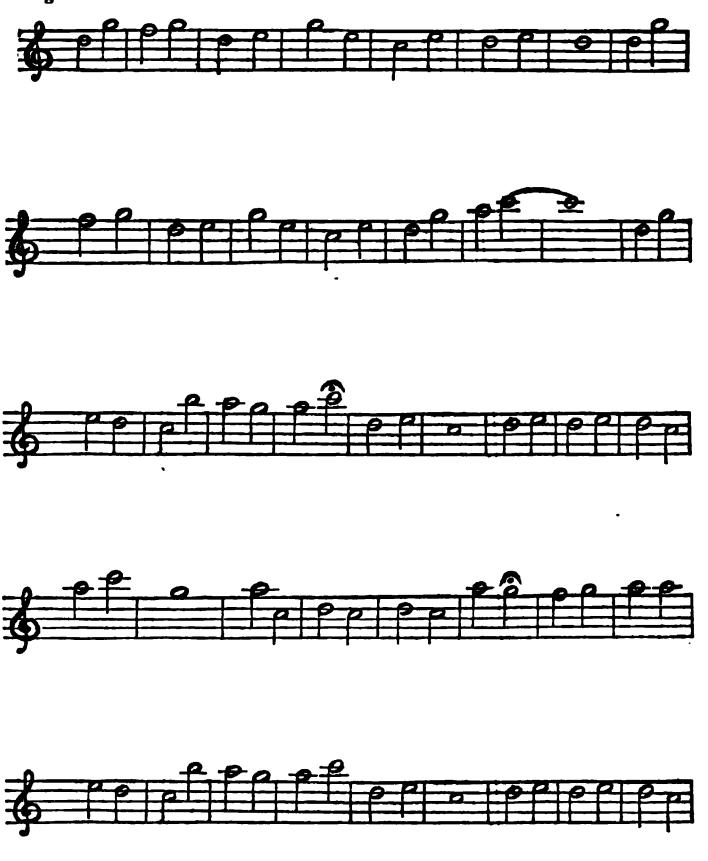


Diagram showing the positions and symbols of the Frets on the *Gekkin*.

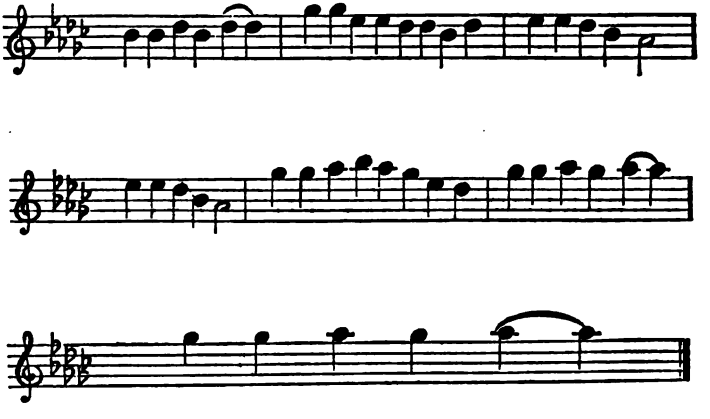
SPECIMENS OF POPULAR MELODIES PERFORMED ON THE *GEKKIN*.

(1.) A Chinese Tune in *Honchōshi*;
with seven notes to the scale.

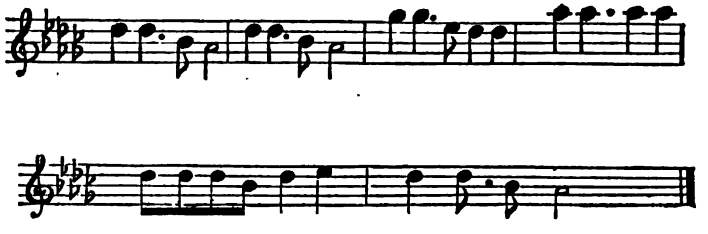
Legato



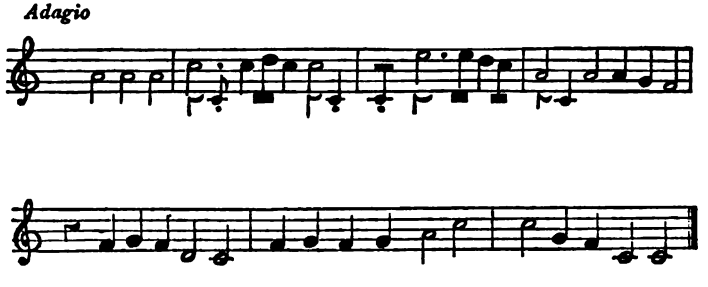
(2.) *Hitotsutose;*
a tune in *Niagari*—very common in Japan.



(3.) *O Take San;* a tune in *Niagari.*



(4.) *Inshu Inaba;* A tune in *Honchōshi.*



REMARKS ON JAPANESE MUSICAL SCALES.

BY

C. G. Knott, D. Sc., F. R. S. E.

(Read 8th April, 1891.)

Mr. Piggott has communicated to the Society a very interesting paper on the music of the Japanese. In its treatment of the *koto* tunings and analysis of *koto* music the paper is of especial value. The tendency of the paper as a whole is to emphasise the resemblances and minimise the differences between Japanese and Western music. Scales and Tunings are represented on our stave and by our symbols. Such representation is, we are told, practically accurate; and the test of this appears to be made to depend on the performing of Japanese airs on the piano. But I am disposed to think that this method is not by any means so satisfactory as its converse, in which, instead of playing a Japanese air on the piano, we play one of our airs on a Japanese instrument. Even on a piano in bad tune we readily recognise a familiar air, but ascribe the false intervals to the bad tuning. Now when we hear an unfamiliar air on a Japanese instrument, the intervals seem a little out; but we unconsciously put them right in our mind and when we play the semblance of the air on the piano we think we have got it straight. Suppose, however, that we play or get played a well known Western melody on a Japanese instrument in Japanese style. Then evidently we are in a position at once to draw conclusions having some claim to accuracy. I am not aware that this method has been adopted by any investigator; but it certainly commends itself as likely to lead to good results.

In this way I have studied the notes of the *gekkin* and the *shō*, since these are instruments which offer little difficulty in experimenting with.

Before discussing them I shall make a few remarks of a general character, chiefly by way of criticism of Mr. Piggott's main position. He refers every thing to the piano scale, that is, the so-called scale of equal temperament. For many purposes this is legitimate enough; but not for all purposes.

The arbitrary division of an octave into 12 semi-tones is not an essential part of our music. For fixed tone instruments like the piano and organ, the equal temperament system provides endless facilities for modulating into different keys. That is its sole merit. Its demerits are numerous. It has destroyed perfect consonances, and made the musician's ear tolerate dissonant chords which ought to have been intolerable. It has done away with those delicate feelings of tonality which natural scales alone can give; and it exaggerates the importance of harmony in giving character to a melody.

This last of course was inevitable when all intervals were smoothed off into so many multiples of a semi-tone. As a matter of historic development it was harmony that determined the tonic. In days when the principles of harmony were taking form there was no true tonic. Melodies, as we say now, ended on almost any note; and the character of these melodies depended wholly upon the manner in which the intervals followed each other. As harmonic music developed the grand major triad became the nucleus of all that was lasting in music. The major third came into greater and greater prominence. Out of what we should now regard as chaotic sequences of chords arose by a process of natural selection the fundamental principles of progression in harmony. Closing phrases more and more demanded a particular treatment in which the chord of the dominant, less frequently the chord of the subdominant, had to precede the final chord of the tonic in order to give what the modern ear calls a natural close.

This determined the particular arrangements of harmonically related notes which we call the diatonic scales. Our diatonic scale, in its major and minor forms, is the strong harmonic survival of sequences of tones which for lack of a better name we call scales. We are too much inclined, however, to give to these ancient Greek or mediæval ecclesiastical "scales" many of the characteristics which never really belonged to them. As a question of pure melody, there is no reason why the last note of an air should be, in the vast majority of cases, reached by a falling major second or a rising minor second. This is generally the case with our modern music, so that the tonic becomes the final note. Occasionally we end on the dominant or the third, which are the only other notes that occur in the fundamental chord of the tonic. Hence has sprung the widely prevalent idea that a melody most naturally ends on the tonic, or at any rate on some note belonging to its chord. The consequence is that certain most exquisite cadences are practically relegated to oblivion. Some of the most beautiful of Scottish airs are rarely heard now, because they do not end on a note which belongs to the chord of what *seems to be* the tonic. The truth is these airs do not possess a tonic in the harmonic significance of the term. They are difficult to harmonise, exactly as, according to Mr. Piggott, Japanese airs are difficult to harmonise. In fact they will not harmonise along the lines of modern harmony.

As examples, take "The Broom o' the Cowdenknowes," "Lassie wi' the Lint White Locks," and the Psalm tunes, "Bangor" and "Martyrs." In diatonic phraseology all these end on the second, or in tonic sol-fa language on *ray*; and they are commonly said to be in the Dorian mode. The scale of notes beginning with *ray* might be described and no doubt has been described as a minor scale with a sharpened sixth and a flattened seventh. A melody in this mode may be played on the piano or organ; but its delicate tonality is lost completely. In the truest musical sense an air like "The Broom o' the Cowden-

knowes" or a tune like "Martyrs" cannot be reproduced on an instrument of fixed tones tuned on the equal temperament system. It is usually possible, however, to find on any piano a key in which the peculiar wild flavour of these melodies is approximately given. This is the same as saying that no piano is really accurately tuned to equal temperament. As an old tuner said to De Morgan when the latter was lamenting his inability to tune two sets of strings independently to the same equal temperament, "equal temperament is equal nonsense." No tuner in fact ever *gains* equal temperament.

Certain of Mr. Piggott's remarks go to establish the same conclusion; and all pianists know that a distinctly different colouring is sometimes given to a piece when it is transposed into a key a semitone higher or lower. No doubt the difference of touch in playing the black and white notes with their slightly different leverages has some influence. But this cannot exist on the organ; and in strumming out a Japanese air on the piano the refinement of touch can hardly be regarded. Hence when Mr. Piggott says that Japanese tunes go best on F♯ minor, that proves (1) that his piano is not accurately tuned to the equal temperament system and (2) that the tonality of the Japanese scale differs appreciably from the tonality of the equal tempered scale. For it is incontestable that on a piano *accurately* tuned to equal temperament the tonal relationship between a given succession of tones and semitones would be the same in all keys.

In the evolution of our modern scale of equal temperament as it is intended to exist on pianos and organs we may recognise three stages. First, there is the development of harmony leading to the recognition of the "tonic" and the fixing of the diatonic scales. Second, there is a loss of the feeling of tonality as exhibited in the delicate shades of expression producible by melody alone, harmony supplying a far more powerful and varied mode of uttering musical expression. Third, with the demand for facile transition from key to key so as to increase the resources

for harmonic expression, there has been a complete disregard for scale tonality, and the scale has been smoothed away into the comparatively expressionless scale of equal temperament.

Now to use the term "tonic" in relation to a style of music which is in the lowest stages of harmonic development is essentially an anachronism. Mr. Piggott criticises Mr. Isawa for imagining "a changeable tonic with one tuning" thereby missing "the idea involved in the word tonic." But have we any right to use the term tonic at all in relation to Japanese music? Or if we do use it, should it not be in the somewhat vague sense in which it is employed by Mr. Isawa? Where no true harmony exists we must be guided to the choice of a "principal note"—I shun the term key-note as connoting too much—by melody only. For example in *Rokudan* as transcribed by Mr. Piggott the piece begins on C♯ and ends on C♯. The characteristic phrase of the piece is, in the same notation, F♯ D C♯ or its echo C♯ A G♯, which the tonic sol-faist would probably sing *lah-fa-me*, *me-doh-te*. These notes belong to F♯ minor, no doubt; but they belong as truly to A major while by far the most important note in the melody is certainly the one corresponding to C♯.

It must be admitted of course that if Japanese music is to be transcribed into the Western stave, the method adopted by Mr. Piggott and by others before him is quite reasonable. Only the limitations under which the transcription is made should be kept in mind, and the Western terms used ought not to be taken in their full significance. It is legitimate enough from a melodic point of view to regard the note corresponding to the first and fifth strings of the *koto* as the important note although it does lead to what seems to us an unnatural scale. But, outside the conditions imposed by harmony, a descending semitone or ascending full tone is no more unnatural than a descending full tone or an ascending semitone. In the Scottish air "John Anderson my Jo" the penultimate note ought to be a full tone below the final note, although

in most modern arrangements for the piano this second last note is sharpened into a leading note. This mangling of an exquisite cadence is done to satisfy the laws of harmony—the more's the pity!

One of Mr. Piggott's arguments seems to me to refute his whole position in regard to the tonic. Having assumed F♯ minor as the true tonic of *Hirajōshi*, he proceeds to point out that the second string, which corresponds to this note, has something of a fundamental character in the eyes of the Japanese musicians. It is the fundamental note of the tuning. But the "tuning" is not to be confounded with the "tune." That Mr. Yamase does not so confound them is evident from Mr. Piggott's own statement (see p. 339); for there it appears that the second string is the fundamental note "not only of *Hirajōshi* but of all the others, F♯ and the C♯ of the first string being constant throughout." But Mr. Piggott puts *Kumoi* into B minor, and *Iwato* into E minor, and expressly makes the 4th and 6th strings respectively the tonics. In Japanese eyes the second string remains fundamental in *all* the tunings, so that if "fundamental" is to be taken as in any way comparable to our "tonic" Mr. Piggott's elaborate discussion of the key relations of the different tunings comes to nought. It is this very discussion, however, which shows Mr. Piggott at his best; and so long as we bear in mind that there is no evidence of the existence of a true tonic in Japanese music there can be no difficulty in accepting many of his conclusions.

It is a fact of some interest that the Japanese tend to tune by fourths rather than by fifths. For example in tuning the *koto* in *Hirajōshi*, the musician first tunes the 1st and 2nd strings a fifth apart. The 3rd is then tuned by chord a fourth below the 1st. The 4th is tuned by ear a semitone above the 3rd. The 5th is tuned in unison with the 1st; and the correctness of the preceding semitone tuning is tested by the arpeggio succession given by the 5th, 4th, and 3rd strings. The 6th string is then tuned a fourth above the 4th; and the 7th

a fourth above the 5th. Thereafter the tuning is by octaves.

Within the compass of an octave there is therefore a tendency to arrange tonal cycles whose period corresponds to the musical fourth. This is exactly the characteristic of the Greek Tetrachord. Now we know that this tetrachord varied greatly in the manner in which the four notes succeeded each other. Sometimes the succession approximated to our *d r m f*—I use the tonic sol-fa notes only as indicating intervals—sometimes to *r m f s* (or *l t d r*), sometimes to *m f s l* (or *t d r m*); but at other times the succession was of notes not occurring in our harmonically fixed diatonic scales of to-day. Very much the same fluidity, as it might be called, seems to exist in the tonal succession that makes up the Japanese cycle of the fourth. This consideration suggests why the Japanese in taking the thirteen stringed *koto* from the Chinese, flattened down certain strings until the semitone interval was obtained. If we look at the tunings of the Chinese *koto* we see that the strings are tuned to the well known scale

d r m s l d' r' m' etc.

Here the succession *s l d'* is an echo of the succession *r m s*, and by pressure on the string beyond the bridge a fourth note can be interpolated between the last two so as to make up the tetrachord. And this probably the Chinese do. The Japanese, however, wish a greater fluidity or flexibility, besides an easy method of getting what seems to be very characteristic in their music, namely, a semitone cadence. This is at once effected by flattening what we should call the third and sixth, so that the succession of notes becomes in approximate sol-fa notation

l t d m f l t d m f l etc.

The tetrachord from *d* to *f* or from *m* to *l* can then be filled in in a variety of ways by properly applied pressures. Practically however it appears to be impossible to get

beyond the double pressure, so that, for example, the 9th string in *Hirajōshi* (*doh*) cannot be sharpened to a semitone below the 10th string (*me*). By careful listening to Mr. Yamase's playing of *Rokudan* I have convinced myself that the double pressure raises the pitch by a flat major second; and this opinion is supported by a comparison of Mr. Piggott's transcription of *Rokudan* with one transcribed under the supervision of Mr. Yamase and published by Mr. Isawa in his Report of 1883. Where Mr. Piggott writes A♯, Mr. Yamase would write B or A double sharp; and where Mr. Piggott writes D♯, Mr. Yamase would write E. My own belief is that the *koto* player by means of his double pressure brings in a note that is neither the one nor the other but lies between them, nearer however to the higher note.

The necessity for different *koto* tunings arose from the desire to have certain melodic successions at different pitches, combined with the practical impossibility of playing true with too many double pressures.* The tetrachord skeletons, so to speak, which build up the succession of *koto* notes consist only of three notes, which I have symbolised already in descending order as *m d t* or *l f m*. I shall now speak of it as the *koto* trichord; and then following the customary terminology we may call the sequence *l f m m d t* conjunct trichords and the sequence *m d t l f m* disjunct trichords. Clearly it is the latter which gives a succession of notes that end with the octave below the beginning note. In the conjunct trichords one note belongs to two trichords, so that there are only five strings involved. If we symbolise the ascending trichord by the letter T, we may represent the conjunct trichords

* Mr. Yamase demonstrated this to me in a very practical way by playing at my request "Auld Lang Syne" a tune now very familiar to Japanese. Taking the 7th string as the key note, he played it perfectly by using single pressures on the 9th and 11th strings. He then pointed out how it was practically impossible to get it *true* in any other way, although theoretically it should be playable by means of double pressures if we make the 9th string the key note.

by TT, and the disjunct by T+T. The various tunings of the *koto* may then be represented as follows, those strings which do not make parts of complete trichords being indicated by their number. Thus in *Hirajōshi* the trichord does not begin till the 3rd string, and the last trichord ends on the 12th string. The 2nd and 13th strings are terminal notes of what would be new trichords.

SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION OF *KOTO* TUNINGS IN TERMS OF TRICHORDS.

	Tuning	Chief note
Hirajōshi	1, 2, TT+TT, 13	5th string
Akebono	1, 2, T+TT+T	3rd ,,
Hankumoi	1, 2, TTT+T, 13	
Kumoi	1, T+TT+T, 13	2nd ,,
Iwato	1, TT+TT, 12, 13	4th ,,

In this scheme the disjunct trichords T+T make an octave; and we may regard the first note of this succession as the key note or let us say the chief note, to avoid any confusion; the corresponding string is given in the second column.

The 1st string is always a fifth above or a fourth below the second string and both are invariable throughout. The 12th string is two octaves above the second except in *Akebono*. The 13th string is two octaves above the 3rd except in *Iwato* when it is two octaves above the 4th string, a fact which gives additional strength to the view that it is this note which should be taken as the chief note or tonic. This view has already been expressed by others; and it is because Mr. Piggott has criticised it adversely that I have discussed the question here so fully. I believe the treatment I have given in terms of the component trichords to be the only scientific treatment possible. The scheme shows at a glance what key transitions the successive tunings may be said to correspond to. We simply follow the change in position of the octave symbol T+T.

In the normal tunings, the conjunct and disjunct come alternately, as they must do because of the octave sequences. In the transition from *Hirajōshi* to *Kumoi*, the disjunct trichords are moved up one whole stage or trichord; and the 2nd string becomes the first note of the lowest disjunct pair. This corresponds to a transition into the key of the subdominant.

From *Kumoi* to *Iwato*, exactly the same transition is made, the disjunct trichord being lifted another stage.

The permanency in pitch of the 1st and 2nd strings gives to these transitions relations which are identical with our transitions into the subdominant. So far we are in agreement with Mr. Piggott.

In *Akebono*, however, our analysis leads to the conclusion that it is derived from *Hirajōshi* by moving the disjunct trichord down a stage; and then the 13th string becomes at once the last note of the second disjunct trichord. Now this corresponds to the fall of a fourth or the rise of a fifth—in other words to a modulation into the key of the dominant. Mr. Piggott makes *Akebono* correspond to F♯ major. Working along his lines I should be inclined to consider it as corresponding to E Major or C♯ minor. Either of these keys will be found to include *every* string, whereas Mr. Piggott is compelled to make some apology for the presence of A instead of A♯ (see page 346).

Hankumoi, or half *Kumoi*, is evidently as its name indicates. Here the alternation of disjunct and conjunct trichords is not kept up. It is not regarded as a normal tuning.

Sakura differs from *Kumoi* only in the 13th string, and has therefore the same synthesis of trichords.

The three other tunings given by Mr. Piggott can be treated in exactly the same fashion; in these however the two trichords are not echoes of each other.

From the trichord analysis just given we see that under the prescribed conditions of *koto* tuning, namely the invariableness of the 1st and 2nd strings, it is impossible to obtain other distinct tunings than those described.

It may be mentioned that the Chinese *koto* tunings may be discussed in exactly the same way, although it is probably preferable to consider the succession of five notes *d r m s l* as a unit in itself. The transitions of key are easily followed, *ryosen* being in all cases a modulation from the corresponding *ritsusen* into the key of the subdominant. A close study would possibly reveal other points of contact between the Chinese and Japanese methods.

My belief is that Japanese *koto* music is as little suited for modern harmonic treatment as is much of the old Scottish music. It has cadences which will not harmonise satisfactorily along Western lines, which simply means it has modes and scales that have no true equivalent in modern European music. Played on an equal tempered instrument of fixed tones like the piano, a Japanese tune is robbed of its peculiar flavour which depends on melodic and not harmonic tonality.

There is one peculiarity in Japanese *koto* music, which cannot even approximately be reproduced on the piano, namely, the effect of the pressures on the parts of the strings beyond the bridge. These are classified into single and double pressures, and are said to correspond to the rise of a semitone and tone respectively. Only thus no doubt can the effect be expressed in pianoforte vocabulary. But the melodic effect of a pressure upon a *koto* string is very often something for which we have no name. It might be called a "pitch-swell" or a "pitch-crescendo" or a "pitch-diminuendo." It is in fact a rising or a falling instead of a mere rise or fall. A somewhat similar effect is produced in violin playing; but to approximate to it at all on a piano would require the use of quarter tones. On the flute, *shakuhachi*, and *hichiriki*, the same slurring, as we should call it, is produced though in a much less agreeable manner. Mr. Piggott (page 299) speaks of them as "superfluous quarter-tones;" but they are no more superfluous in Japanese music than the swell on our organ or the trill or portamento of operatic singers.

Of all instruments, however, the *Satsuma-biwa* is the

most expressive in the matter of these intervals in continuous motion. The wild and yet pathetic music of it depends not so much upon the fact that 'as many as five semitones can be produced by a finger in one position' but that between desired limits of pitch a continuous gradation can be secured. This peculiarity depends upon the high frets, which are fully described by Mr. Piggott (pages 288-9). A similar effect can be produced on the *gekkin*, whose frets are considerably higher than they are in our guitar. It does not appear, however, that the Japanese play the *gekkin* in this way. The frets are sufficiently numerous to give a complete scale of a kind; and so far as I have been able to learn the present day performers are content with the slightest pressure that can bring a given fret into play.

Dr. Du Bois, in his note, has very materially supplemented and corrected Mr. Piggott description of the *gekkin*. My attention being drawn to the subject, I proceeded to examine its scale with some care. Some of the results of the investigation are extremely curious and seem to throw a fresh light upon the comparative musical feelings of the Chinese and Japanese.

There are in Japan two distinct schools of *gekkin* players; and their instruments differ appreciably. Mr. Nagahara, a brilliant performer on the Chinese violin, is president of an orchestra known as the Nagahara Society, in whose concerts the *gekkin* is an important instrument. Two of the *gekkin* used by this orchestra I obtained permission to inspect and measure. The other school, which is more modern, was established by Nippon Keian, a celebrated player of forty years ago. I had the good fortune to obtain temporary possession of a *gekkin* made by Keian himself. Then besides these two schools of high class *gekkin* players, there are innumerable lower class orders of players, whose instruments cannot of course be expected to be so good. In the eyes of the Japanese, Chinese made instruments are regarded as being much superior to the home-made article.

The instrument which Dr. Du Bois possesses is one of the imported *gekkin*. I have compared it with other instruments in daily private use, and have found very slight differences in the arrangements of the frets. We shall take Dr. Du Bois' instrument as a type of the popular class; and shall compare it with the Nagahara and Keian *gekkin* already mentioned.

Since the *gekkin* notes are produced by a light pressure, we should be able to get the numerical relations subsisting between the different notes by measuring the lengths of strings brought into play by use of the corresponding frets. The same frets are used for both pairs of strings so that each string-pair will give the same succession of intervals. Confining our attention meanwhile to one string, and assuming that the vibration numbers are inversely as the lengths of the strings, we get the following numerical expressions for the notes corresponding to the successive frets. For convenience the open string note is taken as 300, a sufficiently approximate representation of the number of vibrations per second corresponding to it. The first column gives the frets in order; the second the relative pitches of the corresponding notes in Dr. Du Bois' *gekkin* (Chinese); the third the same for the Nagahara *gekkin;* the fourth the same for the Keian *gekkin;* and the fifth the successive notes of the major diatonic scale built upon the note 300.

Fret.	Chinese.	Nagahara.	Keian.	Major Scale.
0	300	300	300	300 *(doh)*
1	335	337	333	337·5 *(ray)*
2	365	368	371	375 *(me)*
3	400	398	397	400 *(fah)*
4	443	446	447	450 *(soh)*
5	505	500	497	500 *(la)*
6	598	598	595	600 *(doh)*
7	681	671	667	675 *(ray)*
8	815	797	800	800 *(fah)*

Leaving out of consideration for the meanwhile the 2nd

fret, we see that there is fair correspondence between the various notes up to the 6th fret inclusive. The 6th, 7th, and 8th frets are meant to be the octaves of the open string, and the 1st and 3rd frets respectively; and they are so very accurately except in the case of the Chinese instrument. The deviation must be ascribed to carelessness on the part of the maker. In all cases the succession of tones given, when the second fret is omitted, is the well known Chinese scale of five notes which form also the tuning of the Chinese *koto*.

I have compared these to the major scale beginning with *doh*. But the succession of notes could be represented as well by the tonic sol-fa series

r m s l t or *s l d r m*

In the Chinese and Keïan's *gekkins* the first fret is a minor tone ($\frac{10}{9}$) rather than a major tone ($\frac{9}{8}$) above the open string. To any one whose ear for tonal relations has not been destroyed by constant practice with the piano, the Dorian character of many Japanese cadences is very evident. In one of the *gekkin* pieces transcribed by Dr. Du Bois the phrase *l l s m r* is most characteristic; and this is exactly the phrase that would be given on either of the *gekkins* mentioned if it is tuned in *niagari*. The first two notes are then given with the 1st fret of the higher string; the third note with the open higher string; the fourth note with the 1st fret of the lower string; and the last note with the open lower string.

Still omitting consideration of the 2nd fret, we see that a single string gives three similar trichords of the form *s l d*. The first and second are disjunct, the second and third are conjunct. Thus the scale of the single string, *minus* the 2nd fret, may be represented symbolically as

T+TT

where T is the Chinese trichord made up of a note, its second, and its fourth.

If now the higher string is brought into play, the higher frets on the lower string become of little importance, and the scale produced will depend upon the tuning. In

honchōshi, which seems to correspond to the Chinese mode of tuning, the higher string is tuned a fifth above the lower. The scale obtained consists now of four trichords arranged this

T+T+TT

the first only being given by the lower string. In *niagari* on the other hand the strings are tuned a fourth apart and the scale becomes

TT+TT

It is the higher string then which seems to correspond to the principal note in *niagari* tuning. And this view is quite borne out by the name; for *niagari* means raising the *second* string a tone. By the *second* string on the *gekkin* must be meant the lower string; and it is this string which corresponds to the real second string on the *samisen*.

If we regard the open lower string as the principal note then in *niagari* tuning we cannot get a scale corresponding to a Western scale at all. We get in fact a scale with a minor seventh, which at once suggests a modulation into a minor key. Hence the general feeling that Japanese music is all in a minor key.

So far there is no difficulty in understanding the tonal relationships of the *gekkin* notes. But when we bring in the 2nd fret, we meet with something quite foreign to our conceptions of musical progressions. A friend, who knows nothing of the theory of music, said when, in playing the scale, he came to the second fret, "Why, that's no note at all." On the Chinese *gekkin*, on the Japanese copies of the same, on the instruments used by the Nagahara School, the 2nd fret gives relatively to the open string neither a major third nor a minor third, but a nondescript interval lying somewhere between the two. One is tempted to regard the existence of this fret as an attempt to break a somewhat large interval into halves—a true minor third being divided into two three-quarter tones. Its position shows that the Chinese had no true conception of a major third, a remarkable illustration of the historic fact

that the major third as a recognised melodic interval is an evolution of harmony.

It might be objected that the Chinese have a major third —the interval for example given by the 3rd and 5th frets on the *gekkin*. This interval is, however, probably purely adventitions. The cadences and phrases peculiar to both Chinese and Japanese music are constructed on the fifth, fourth, second, and perhaps minor third (itself the difference of the fourth and second). Major thirds, or rather notes having approximately this relation, come in simply by the way.

It is really very remarkable that this 2nd fret should *not* give a note nearly identical with our third, in accordance with the scheme of rising fifths and falling fourths given by Mr. Piggott on page 332. Such a succession by *true* (not tempered) fifths and fourths would give the following numbers for the first, second, fourth, and fifth frets.

Beginning with	300	for open string
we add a half and get	450	,, 4th fret
subtract a quarter ,, ,,	337·5	,, 1st ,,
add a half ,, ,,	506.3	,, 5th ,,
subtract a quarter ,, ,,	379·7	,, 2nd ,,

We arrive, of course, at a sharp so-called Pythagorean third—an intolerable interval in harmony but melodically much nearer the tempered or even the true harmonic third than the interval as given on the Chinese *gekkin*.

Now the Chinese are supposed to have been acquainted with this method of progressively determining a sequence of notes in the octave. Mr. Piggott lays great stress on the 12 *ritsu* as being equivalent to our 12 semitones. But I think the *gekkin* frets prove what authorities of Chinese music have all along said, namely, that the 12 *ritsu* were purely theoretical and had no practical effect on the Chinese musical scale. Indeed not till after the days of European intercourse with China have we any evidence that the theoretical, paper, or mythological musician had conceived the *ritsu* as being equal. The twelve pitch pipes measured by Dr. Veeder give most irregular intervals, and cannot be

regarded even for practical purposes as building up a scale of successive equal semitones.

The tunelessness of the note given by this second fret is very apparent if we try to play a familiar melody such as "Home Sweet Home" on the *gekkin*. We may, however, by properly choosing our key note play a "five-note" melody like "Auld Lang Syne" with fairly accurate intonation on this instrument. The one condition is that the 2nd fret must not come in. With this second fret, however, the Chinese scale as given on the *gekkin* cannot be brought into line with our scales at all. And since the Japanese are satisfied with it the conclusion is inevitable that they, too, use intervals and scales that have no equivalents in Western music.

So far we have purposely omitted mention of Keian's *gekkin*. Now it will be seen from the table of vibration numbers that Keian has raised the pitch of the second fret note; and his *gekkin* gives, indeed, in *honchōshi* tuning quite a good major scale. His aim seems to have been to make the *gekkin* more serviceable for purely Japanese music. It was absolutely necessary then that in some way the falling semitone should be obtained; and this is ingeniously effected by shifting the 2nd fret nearer to the 3rd. A little consideration will show that this attains the end in the simplest possible way and yet leaves the *gekkin* available for Chinese derived music. In Keian's instrument we have a scale built up of two tetrachords, disjunct or conjunct according as the tuning is *honchōshi* or *niagari*. This tetrachord is a melodic succession nearly identical with the first four notes of one scale. Even in this instrument, however, there is suggestion of falseness in the note of the second fret; and the tonality of our phrases is not quite reproduced on it.

Keian's attempt to modify the *gekkin* and make it suitable for Japanese musical phrasing seems to have had little effect upon the popular taste. The Chinese *gekkin* is still the favourite one, and is much cultivated by the lower orders. Having fixed frets it is more easily played than the

samisen, the manipulation of which is practically confined to the professional musicians. In fact the *gekkin* is an instrument of fixed intervals like the guitar and banjo.

I believe a great deal is to be said in favour of the idea that the Japanese scale is built up of Tetrachords, just as the old Greek scales were. We know that, although our harmonic diatonic major scale is not really composed in this way, its direct preharmonic ancestors were, as is also its make-believe the modern equal temperament scale. With the *koto* of thirteen strings, only trichords are used in the tuning, but there is an easy method of completing the tetrachord by interpolation of pressure notes. If these thirteen strings had been tuned in tetrachords, the range of the notes would have been diminished, and the power of the instrument seriously curtailed. Now in the *shō* we have the same method of tuning beautifully exemplified. If we look at the succession of notes given by Mr. Piggott on page 304, the first feeling is one of confusion. The scale—if scale it may be called—proceeds quite naturally until the 7th note is reached, when a short chromatic succession is introduced. An echo of this follows on, a fourth higher; and then the last three notes give a sequence of two full tones.

This apparent confusion resolves itself very prettily under touch of the principle of the Tetrachord. In fact two tunings, so to speak, are superposed. If we take the first four notes ABC♯D as the Tetrachord and call it T, we have for the one tuning

T+TT+T

and for the other

TTT+T

The last tetrachord is incomplete in both cases. In these two tunings many same notes occur. There are indeed only two notes in the second tuning which do not occur in the first; and three in the first which do not occur in the second. In our technical musical language we should call the first tuning the scale of A major; and the notes left out of it occur in the scale of G major which is very nearly as

complete as the scale of A major. No other imaginable scale contains a complete octave of successive notes.

To try the tonality of the intervals I played some simple tunes in the two keys of G and A; and the result showed appreciable difference in tonality. Whether this is to be set down to defective tuning or to the essential character of the instrument it is impossible to say. My own feeling is that many of the thirds were too sharp, partaking of the character of the Pythagorean rather than of the equal temperament interval. Sounded as chords most of these thirds were very harsh, though occasionally a tolerable consonance was obtained. It was abundantly evident in fact that the scales of the *shō* have not been evolved along harmonic lines. It is possible that had the Japanese been left to develope their own music uninfluenced by Western ideas, they might have worked out an harmonic music essentially identical with ours. We can only speculate on what European music would have been without the fostering care of the Church in the early and middle ages. But we should probably not be far wrong if we were to refer the thinness of Japanese music to the lack of the devotional element, and the consequent non-development of singing in chorus.

THE MITO CIVIL WAR.

BY

ERNEST W. CLEMENT.*

(Read 11th February, 1891.)

To the true historian a mere list of names and dates, however necessary for establishing facts, is insufficient. Inasmuch as he sees in history "one increasing purpose," he desires to trace the progress of mankind, and to indicate as clearly as possible the causes and the effects. Herein he at once encounters a difficulty, and soon ascertains, that he must distinguish carefully between what are only occasions, and what are real causes. For instance, if we are studying the American Revolution, we can not apply the word "cause," either to the Lexington and Concord affair, or to the Boston Massacre, or to the Tea Party, or even to the Stamp Act. Those were merely occasions which made manifest the real cause, and helped to bring on a conflict which was inevitable, as long as the American colonies felt the injustice of "taxation without representation."

Likewise, if we study the Japanese Revolution, we are confronted with the same distinction. For instance, it can not properly be claimed, that either the opening of Japan to foreign intercourse; or the civil strifes, which, beginning at Mito, spread to other principalities; or personal jealousies within the *bakufu* ranks, were causes of the Revolution of 1868. They were only occasions which manifested the real feeling, and helped to bring on a conflict which was inevitable, as long as there was a strong sentiment of hostility to the usurping Shōgunate, and of loyalty to the

* See Note A.

Emperor. I do not claim, as some have claimed, that the Mito Civil War was one of the causes of the Japanese Revolution: but I deem its history interesting and important as the record of one of the links in the chain of occasions which finally brought on that Revolution. The flame which had been secretly smouldering was fanned into sight by the internal strife of the Mito clan; and, then spreading into other parts of the land, after the opening of the country burst forth eventually into the conflagration of the Revolution. Or, to apply the figure, the feeling of loyalty to the Emperor had been for a time almost smothered, and only kept alive in secret; but in the Mito Civil War it was first publicly manifested, and gradually gained such power as finally to restore Imperialism to its legal position.

In like manner, when I seek the cause of the Mito Civil War, I must draw the same distinction as previously. One person says, that the war arose from the rivalry between two schools situated in the city of Mito; while another says, that its cause lay far back in the teachings of Mitsukuni (1628-1700), whose profound sentiments of loyalty to the Emperor were handed down from generation to generation, and developed toward the Shōgunate a feeling of hostility, which in turn reacted and produced in the Mito *han* two parties. It is probably true, that the quarrel between the two schools was the first outbreak of factional spirit, which, gradually increasing in vehemence, finally culminated in the Civil War. But it is also very evident, that this quarrel would have been confined to the Mito *han*, and, perhaps, would not have developed into actual warfare, if it had not become mixed with the intrigues of national politics. In other words, the quarrel between the schools would have been a comparatively insignificant affair, if it had not afforded a rallying-point for the pro-*bakufu* and anti-*bakufu* parties. In the Japan of that day, it was not possible to draw a distinct line of demarkation between local politics and national politics; the mutual relations, social and political, of the *daimyōs*,

precluded local isolation; and the intricate system of espionage, so skilfully managed by the Shōgunate, gave an opportunity for frequent interference in the internal affairs of the clans. It seems likely, therefore, that the prime cause of the Mito Civil War, as of the Revolution, is to be found in the intensely Imperialistic sentiments which had been instilled by the teachings of Mitsukuni.

Perhaps, therefore, I may be pardoned, if I go back a little to ascertain how the Tokugawa Princes of Mito came into hostility to the Shōgunate of their own family. I can easily imagine, that at first jealousy may have played some part in stirring up the family strife; for it would have been only natural for Mito, relegated to the lowest position among the "three honorable houses," and deprived, whether justly or unjustly, of the privilege of furnishing an heir to the Shōgunate, in case the direct line failed, should have felt somewhat aggrieved, and should have more or less lost interest in the maintenance of the Shōgunate. But this motive was probably lacking in the case of Mitsukuni, the second prince, who, being a man of letters and of peace, gave himself up to literary pursuits. The study of Japanese history and literature was revived; the *Dainihonshi** was written, which indirectly pointed out the fact that the Shōgun was a usurper, while the Emperor was the descendant "in an unbroken succession" from the gods. Thus from time to time strongly Imperialistic feelings were instilled into the minds of the Mito clansmen, so that most of them gradually became ardent haters of the Shōgunate. I am inclined to think, then, that jealousy may have produced an indifference towards the maintenance of the Shōgunate; and that this feeling of indifference was gradually developed into a feeling of hostility, by the literary and historical pursuits of the Mito house. But these generalizations concerning the abstract causes will become clearer as we follow the concrete events of history; therefore, let us plunge "*in medias res*" of the Mito clan.

* "Great Japanese History."

At the beginning of this century, there was in Mito a learned Chinese scholar, named Tachihara Jingorō, who occupied the honorable position of head librarian of the Shōkō-kwan. Among his pupils was one Fujita Jirozaemon, the son of an old-clothes merchant. This person from youth showed great ability in understanding Chinese; so that, casting aside the humble profession of his father, he diligently studied under Tachihara. In time he obtained the honor of becoming a teacher, was subsequently promoted to be a *Samurai*, and thus gained for himself a number of students. Fujita next formed the purpose of writing *shi* (history of industry, arts, etc.), as an appendix to the *Dainihonshi;* while Tachihara insisted on not attempting at all to write minutely on those topics, and wished merely to discuss them very briefly here and there in appropriate places in the main part of the work. Moreover, Fujita thought, that, as *Dainihonshi* had been given only as a private title, it should not be publicly used without obtaining the Emperor's sanction; but Tachihara thought such a course unnecessary.

At about the same time Fujita built a school and named it "*Seiransha*," which means "bluer than original blue." This phrase gave an opportunity to some scholars, envious of their old school-mate, who had risen, like Cicero, "with no favor of ancestry," to slander Fujita to Tachihara on the ground that the former was too proud and too ambitious in openly hinting, that he was wiser than his teacher. This slander greatly irritated Tachihara, who was already on unpleasant terms with Fujita, and who, though the latter is said to have apologized several times, went so far as to erase Fujita's name from his list of pupils. The trouble between the teachers infected their pupils, who began to take part in the dispute, which continued to create ill-feeling within the clan.

In 1829 Prince Narinaga, posthumously known as Aikō, died without an heir: but there was a brother, named Nariaki, who was a very bold and active man. Some of the Mito vassals, fearing his sagacity, attempted to have

a son of the Shōgun made heir of the principality, but failed; and thus Nariaki became the next prince. When he came to the power, he reformed many abuses, and improved the condition of all parts of the administration of affairs. He was wise enough to perceive the disunion of his subjects arising from the rivalry of the two schools; and he tried to effect a reconciliation by employing both parties. From the Fujita party he selected Fujita Toranoshin (son of the teacher), Toda Ginjirō and Kawase Shichiroemon; from the Tachihara party he chose Tachihara Jintarō (son of the teacher), Komiyayama Jiroemon and Tanobe Shōsuke. His efforts were not in vain, so that for a while things went on very smoothly and peacefully.

Ten years later (1839) the prince was expected back in Mito after the expiration of his legal residence in Yedo. A great agitation then arose in Mito. It seems that previously, on account of the famine which swept the Empire in 1836, the allowance of *samurai* had been diminished half, and that many were suffering not a little in consequence of the scanty income. They realized, that, if the prince returned to Mito, he would be sure to review their military drill. "Spear and sword were red with rust; the lacquer of the sword-sheath had been scratched off; the armor was too old to wear on such a public occasion; the horses were lame and exhausted; and there was no money for putting these things into a proper condition." Consequently many of the vassals formed a league, into which some higher officers also entered, and petitioned the prince not to return to Mito, unless he restored the allowance of the *samurai* to the former amount. The prince was very much enraged, and deprived two councillors of their offices.

The next year (1840) Nariaki returned to this province, and removing from the chief offices the old and incapable men, appointed in their places young and active persons. Udono Heishichi and Toda Ginjirō became first councillors; Takeda Hikokurō and Yūki Torajū, second councillors; and Fujita Toranoshin, the privy councillor. Later

Yūki was promoted to be first councillor, and was greatly trusted by his master. In 1841 Nariaki opened the famous school, called Kōdō-kwan, and prepared to lay out the Kairaku-yen, which is now the Tokiwa Park of Mito.

In 1842 the *bakufu*, in fear of foreign incursions, especially on the part of Russia, ordered all princes, whose dominions bordered on the sea-shore, to make strong fortifications along the coast. Nariaki, accordingly, fortified the coast of Hitachi; and also, seizing the old bronze bells of Buddhist temples, he had them cast into moulds, and manufactured into cannon; "so that throughout the province there were no deep knells to disturb the sweet dreams of midnight, and the noisy booming of guns was heard all the day long." He had frequent drills and reviews of the troops, and trained even his waiters in riding and hunting. It is said, that, while he was overseeing the work at the Kairaku-yen, he compelled young boys, both of high and of low rank, to carry stones where he ordered. He also issued an ordinance to give the public funds to the lessees upon the condition, that they provide good armor and weapons, and serve as soldiers whenever they might be needed. With this he gave out another ordinance, that the private lending should be *gradually* drawn in, so that the needy borrowers should not suffer by being too hard pressed. The lenders were greatly troubled by this enactment; and some of them were obliged to give away the whole amount of their loans.

There is but little doubt, that the policy of Nariaki was right; but it is equally true, that it was radical. His subjects had been living in idleness and laziness, and had become quite weak. They needed to be stirred up, but probably more gradually, to a sense of the necessity for vigorous action. But against the prince's radical measures, there soon arose murmurs and complaints among his vassals. Ōmine Daihachi, a lender, who, in consequence of the above enactment, had lost considerable money, was the leader of the discontented party.

He persuaded Fujita Shusho, who had formerly been deprived of an office, and who must not be confounded with the more famous man of the same name, to enter the league. All persons who were displeased with the prince's radical reforms;—in the lower classes, the sextons whose business it had been to ring the bells destroyed by the prince; in the upper classes, those who had lost their offices,—joined the league. Inasmuch as Fujita Shusho was originally a pupil of Tachihara, many of his old school-mates, through their envy of the other Fujita, became allied to the league. But, strange to say, Tachihara himself served faithfully under Nariaki, and won the latter's favor. Fujita Shusho, however, gained the ear of Yūki, a first councillor, who finally became the central figure of the league.

Thus far the dispute had been confined to the Mito clan; but now it becomes mixed with national politics, and is much more difficult to trace through all the mazes of those confused times. Now the disaffected *samurai* through the councillors of the Shōgun, and the Buddhist priests through the abbots of Uyeno and Shiba, accused Nariaki of plotting a formidable intrigue against the Shōgun. Their efforts proved so successful, that in 1844* Nariaki was compelled to abdicate in favor of his son, Yoshiatsu. At the same time Udono and two other councillors received an official reprimand; and Toda and Fujita and some subordinates were deprived of their offices, and imprisoned. Yūki, Okitsu, Yatabe and others now obtained the control of affairs, and "screamed with gratification." Takeda Hikokurō, a second councillor and a person of integrity and loyalty, grieving at what he deemed "the totally unprovable accusations against his master," secretly concerted with a *Kōri-bugyō*,† went up to Yedo, and complained of the state of affairs in a letter to the first councillor, Mizuno, who it is said, was somewhat able to recognize the situation. But the *bakufu* sent

* Not 1848, as stated in "The Tokugawa Princes of Mito."

† The head-man of a *Kōri*, or *Gun* (County).

them back to Mito, where they became prisoners. The next year two sons of these loyalists went to Yedo for the same purpose, and met the same fate; and from this time many others went up to the metropolis on a similar errand. The Yūki party used all its power to prevent this; so that there was a great disturbance in this city, and the Mito vassals became divided into three parties. One party, called *Yūki-tō* from the name of its leader, is better known as the *Kan-tō* (Wicked Party); while the opposing faction, consisting of Fujita, Toda and their friends, then went by the name of *Tengu-tō* (Hob-goblin Party), but is commonly known as the *Sei-tō* (Righteous Party); and a "third party," called *Yanagi-tō* (Willow Party), comprised "those who, having no principles, vacillated between the other two parties, helping whichever one was favorable to them." Inasmuch, however, as the good titles were self-applied, and the bad titles were bestowed by rivals, we can not judge the parties from their appellations. The so-called "Wicked Party" consisted of those who were friendly to the policy of the Shōgun; the so-called "Righteous Party" comprised the enthusiastic royalists, and supported the policy of Nariaki; while the so-called "Willow Party" undoubtedly included some true independents, who, not from fickleness, but from principle, refused to become implicated in the strife. In the following pages we shall employ the terms "*Sei-tō*" and "*Kan-tō*," as they seem to have been most commonly used by native writers.

"In July of the 6th year of Kayei [1853] the American fleet stole into the quiet waters of Yedo Bay, which had never before been ploughed by a western vessel, and, amid the roaring of cannon, loudly knocked at the door of Uraga to awaken us from our long sleep." Thereupon, as the *bakufu*, now too late, recognized Nariaki's foresight, the latter was summoned to come out once more into public life; and Fujita, Toda and others were replaced in their former position. Nariaki, in answer to the inquiry in regard to the foreigners, insisted upon declaring war: but his true aim seems to have been to rouse up,

by the cry of fighting, the relaxed spirits of the people, and to maintain the dignity of the Empire.

In Mito now the Yūki party, having been detected in its schemes, began to melt away "like the dew in the sunlight." The leader was to have been put to death, and escaped meeting that fate only by the kind intervention of his rival, Fujita; but he was imprisoned in the mansion of a great vassal. All the patriots of the Empire now looked toward Mito: but, unfortunately, in the great earthquake of 1855 Toda and Fujita fell victims. (Fujita is said to have lost his life in saving that of his mother). The death of these two able men was much lamented by all persons, except their enemy, Yūki, who, when he heard of it, had his son entreat the Prince of Takamatsu, a branch of the Mito family, to obtain pardon for him. But all his secret plans were discovered; and he and many of his followers were condemned to death in 1856.

From this time the internal affairs of Mito might have proceeded quietly, if the matters of the Empire had not began to enter into greater confusion. As the policy of the *bakufu* in regard to foreigners was only to obtain a temporary peace, many patriots went up from their provinces to Yedo or Kyōto, and, severely condemning the mismanagement of the *bakufu*, loudly cried out for fighting to "expel the barbarians." The policy of Kyōto was in direct opposition to that of Yedo, so that there were constant clashings between the two authorities. In 1858 the *bakufu* sent Hotta Masaatsu to Kyōto to explain the unavoidable necessity of opening the country, and to receive the sanction of the Emperor in the matter: but, as the Kyōto officials were too strong for Hotta, he failed.

About the same time the Shōgun, Iyesada, became very sick. Most persons, as the impending difficulties could be solved only by a prince wise and experienced, began to look toward Keiki, the seventh son of Nariaki, as the next Shōgun. After a short time, when Hotta returned from his fruitless mission to Kyōto, his influence began to decline, and Ii Naosuke, Prince of Hikone, became

the Prime Minister (*Tairō*) of the Shōgun. Ii, rejecting the advice of Owari, Echizen and other powerful princes, raised to the Shōgunate a young prince of the family of Kii; and, as the American ambassador urged the promised answer, finally made the treaty without the Imperial sanction. Viewed only by its effects upon the Shōgunate, this bold move may properly be called a "mistake," as it undoubtedly exhibited so clearly the usurping power of the Shōgunate as to make its speedy downfall certain. But viewed from the ultimate influences upon the development of civilization in Japan, it must be denominated a shrewd stroke to cut the Gordian knot of internal complications. I believe that even the enemies of Ii admit, that he was a very sagacious statesman, whom it was difficult to over-reach.

The Emperor, hearing of the haughty conduct of Ii and of his insulting move in the matter of foreign treaties, was very much provoked. By the advice of some officers who were in intimate relations with many patriotic *samurai* (who were all revolutionists, desiring to sever the connection between Kyōto and Yedo), the Emperor, through Ukai Kichizaemon, the Mito agent in Kyōto, sent a letter to the Mito prince. This letter, quoted in Griffis's "Mikado's Empire" from Satow's translation of "*Kinsei Shiryaku*," contained the following instructions:—"The *bakufu* has shown great disregard of public opinion in concluding treaties without waiting for the opinion of the court, and in disgracing princes so closely allied by blood to the Shōgun. The Mikado's rest is disturbed by the spectacle of such misgovernment, when the fierce barbarian is at our very door. Do you, therefore, assist the *bakufu* with your advice; expel the barbarians, content the mind of the people; and restore tranquillity to his majesty's bosom." It is true, that among the *samurai* who had planned this move were some Mito men: but the ex-prince, Nariaki, having been ignorant of the affair, was much troubled how to dispose of the letter. It is said, moreover, that after Perry's arrival Nariaki's "anti-foreign"

views, if he honestly held such views, began to change to opinions more favorable to foreign intercourse.

The bold *Tairō* (Ii) now sent Manabe Shimōsa no Kami up to Kyōto to apologize for his mistake, as he put it; but it was only a pretext. Manabe, a remorseless fellow, during his stay in the capital, arrested many reformers, among whom were Ukai and his son, and carried them to Yedo. He also compelled some Imperial officers, who were very anxious to restore the declining dignity of the legal government, to resign. Ii, through the influence of Prince Kujō,* with whom he was in close relations, in 1859 condemned Ukai and others to death, and sentenced Nariaki, on the ground that "his heart was not good," to be imprisoned for life in Mito.

About the same time the *bakufu* demanded that Prince Yoshiatsu should return the Imperial letter. At this the Mito vassals were much stirred up; and such men as Takahashi Taiichirō (the leader of the radical party) tried to compel the officer not to obey the unlawful command. Nariaki and his son, the prince, wished to obey the command; and, therefore, the former issued instructions to that effect to his subjects. But, none the less, one *samurai*, in order to warn the officer who was to carry the letter to Yedo, committed suicide. The messenger, named Ōba, was so much moved by this event, that he declined to start immediately, on the pretext that his body was too much stained by blood to carry the holy document. One month later (in March, 1860) seventeen Mito and one Satsuma *samurai* at the Sakurada gate assassinated Ii Kamon no Kami.† In September of the same year that his great rival was thus put out of the way, Nariaki died, as some say, poisoned by the *bakufu* party. His death took place, according to the native calendar, on the fifteenth day of the eighth month, when by immemorial custom the Japanese people in the evening flock to the

* Prime Minister of the Emperor.

† His head was not brought to Mito, and publicly exposed, as is stated in "Mito Yashiki." See Note B.

parks and other public places or to special localities to view the bright and silvery autumn moon. But the faithful vassals of Nariaki, even to this day, shutting themselves up in their houses, refuse to desecrate the memory of their master by indulging in the merry pastime of *tsukimi* (moon-view). Nariaki received the posthumous name of *Rekkō* (Orderly Prince), by which, as well as by his *nom-de-plume*, *Keizan*, and by his official rank, *Chūnagon*, he is well known to the public.

A thorough analysis of the character of this remarkable man is well-nigh impossible. All portrayals of his character, whether by friend or by foe, are probably more or less colored by prejudice; so that I hardly feel competent to form a satisfactory judgment. In the main, however, I see no reason to modify the opinions expressed in a paper which I had the honor of reading before this society in 1889 upon "The Tokugawa Princes of Mito."* Nariaki was undoubtedly a very intelligent, able and ambitious man. Unlike most of the *daimyōs*, who were content to leave the trying matters of government to favorites, and to live in drunkenness and debauchery, this Mito prince undertook personally, and performed diligently, the government of his clan. In this management of affairs, he did not in the least encourage the lazy habits and easy life into which the people had fallen through continuous decades of peace; but, possibly, by too sudden and too strict reforms, he attempted in his own clan to rouse up again the old martial spirit of Japan. Though he was, probably, kind-hearted, he was also irascible, and could not brook opposition: but I doubt whether he was as boorish as he is represented on some pages of "Mito Yashiki." That novel, however, presents to us an exceedingly vivid and accurate picture of Nariaki and his times.

In regard to Nariaki's policy in national and international affairs, the perplexity is the greatest: but I am still inclined to adhere essentially to the views previously

* Vide Vol. XVIII, Part I, of the "Transactions" of this society.

expressed before this society.* The present members of the Mito family resent a little my suggestion, that "jealousy, or ambition, may have been the motive" which prompted him in his opposition to the Shōgunate. They say that he never disobeyed the Shōgun; and that he was not opposed to the institution of a Shōgunate, but to the usurping power of the Shōgunate; in other words that he wished not so much to overthrow, or abolish entirely, the Shōgunate, as to degrade it to its proper position, subordinate to the Emperor. Perhaps I expressed it a little too strongly by using the definite article, and ought to have said, "jealousy may have been *a* motive." I am sure that it would have been only human nature for a man of Nariaki's active and ambitious character to become jealous of the power of Ii, Prince of Hikone, who was only a *fudai*, and of the ascendency of Kii in the Shōgunate. This impression is strengthened by the circumstance, that Owari, which, like Mito, though one of the "three honorable houses," was entirely slighted in the various successions to the Shōgunate, likewise became disaffected and intensely Imperial. But, while I still think, that jealousy may have been one of the motives impelling Nariaki to his attitude of opposition to the Shōgunate, or to the *bakufu*, I do not wish to place undue preponderance upon that, or to slight the Imperialistic sentiments, which, instilled into the minds of Mito lords and vassals by the teachings of Gikō (Mitsukuni), must have become by the beginning of the present century a strong inherited idea. I am willing, therefore, to modify my original statement, and to say, that jealousy was, perhaps, a minor motive, and loyalty to the Emperor was the major motive.

Taking up now international affairs, I wish to reiterate my previously expressed opinion,† that Nariaki, though the leader of the *Jōi*, or anti-foreign party, may not have been at heart so much opposed to foreign intercourse.

* Vide Vol, XVIII, Part I, of the "Transactions" of this society.

† Vide Vol, XVIII, Part I, pp. 14 and 15, of the "Transactions."

He was a student of geography, and himself constructed some wooden globes, one of which he presented to the Emperor, and two or three of which may now be seen in one of the buildings of the Shōkō-kwan, in Mito. He was also a student of western science, history, and, perhaps, even of the despised "foreign sect," Christianity. He may, possibly, have been led into anti-foreign opinions through the influence of his privy councillor, Fujita, who has been well described as follows:— "A stern *samurai* of the old type, highly educated and loyal to the traditions of his time, he set himself stoutly to oppose foreign intercourse, and doubtless used his influence in that direction with the well-known *Chūnagon*, the Prince of Mito, whose confidential adviser he was."* But I am rather inclined to think, that to a great extent the complications of national politics affected his opinions on international affairs. Even a superficial student of Japanese history knows, that among the Revolutionists of 1868 were many patriots, who had been opposed to the foreign treaties; because the *bakufu* was in favor of them; who, though not personally inimical to foreign intercourse, had used the "*Jōi* battle-cry" as a pretext for arousing the nation against the alarmingly increasing usurpations of the Shōgunate; and who, having once succeeded in restoring the Emperor to his ancestral power and dignity, proceeded further, by opening intercourse with the nations of Asia, America and Europe, to develop a "New Japan." I have an idea, that this Prince of Mito was of the same type as the Princes of Satsuma and of Chōshū, who were also "*Jōi*" partisans; and that, had he lived till the Revolution, he would have had a prominent share, not only in its destructive phase, but also in the constructive phase which followed.

After the death of Ii, the policy of the *bakufu* naturally underwent some change; and the order to Mito to return the Emperor's letter of instructions was recalled. But Andō Tsushima no Kami, who succeeded Ii, "was too

* JAPAN WEEKLY MAIL for February 15, 1889.

obstinate and ignorant to learn anything from his predecessor," and pursued an unwise course. In February of 1862 seven conspirators, of whom six (not "three," as I stated before)* belonged to Mito, attacked and wounded him near the Sakashita gate. A few months later, the Emperor sent Ōhara Saemon no Kami to Yedo, with Shimazu Hisamitsu and 600 soldiers to guard him. As a consequence of this Imperial ambassador's visit, the son of Ii was stripped of 100,000 *koku* of his dominion; Manabe, Andō and others either received the official censure, or were divested of more or less property; Ukai and other reformers were pardoned; and posthumous honors were bestowed upon Nariaki.

In 1863 the Emperor called the Shōgun, Iyemochi, and many of the chief princes (including Mito), to meet at Kyōto, to consult about the foreign policy: but nothing definite was determined. Soon there were risings of reformers, led by Imperial officers, and comprising in their ranks some Mito men, and having in the Mito *han* many sympathizers; but they failed to accomplish anything. However, a young man, named Fujita Koshirō, son of Nariaki's privy councillor, in disgust at the weakness of the *bakufu*, held secret consultations with many who were of a similar opinion; and finally, in the early part of 1864, he "hoisted a reformation banner in the cold wind of Mount Tsukuba, which soon became the vortex of a hurricane which swept over the neighboring provinces." Recognizing himself to be too young (only about 25) to conduct the mob-like army, he made Tamaru Inanoemon, an old and popular soldier, general of the forces. The army was collected, not only from Hitachi, but also from Shimōsa, Shimotsuke, Utsunomiya and Shinano. Removing from Mount Tsukuba, they intended to fortify themselves at Nikkō; but, failing in that purpose, they took possession of Ōhira-yama, near Tochigi, in Shimotsuke, and remained there for a time. From that place they sent forth their declaration of "*Sonnō Jōi*" ("Honor.

* Vide Vol. XVIII, Part I, p. 16, of the "Transactions."

the Emperor and drive out the barbarians"). Prince Yoshiatsu, hearing of the movement, sent two persons (Yamakuni and Tachihara) to dissolve it. These men persuaded Fujita and his band to go back to Mount Tsukuba, and lie quiet there, where no princes of the neighborhood dared attack them.

Meanwhile the policy of Kyōto, for some reason or other, began to change, and to coincide with that of Yedo. Then the remnants of the *Kan-tō* party, which had been for a long time lying dormant, lost no time in attempting to regain their former position. The leaders, such as Ichikawa Sanzaemon, Satō Zusho, Asaina Yatarō and others, collected the pupils of the Kōdō-kwan, and persuaded them, that, if the "robbers" in the province were not annihilated, the future of the Mito family would be uncertain. They went up to Yedo with about 700 young men, advised the "fickle prince" to try to put down the "rebellion," and accused Takeda Hikokurō, a councillor, and others. Consequently Takeda and Sugiura were expelled from their positions, and Ichikawa and friends became councillors. Ichikawa tried to have Takeda put to death: but the old patriot, being rescued from that fate, was imprisoned in Mito.

In July of that year (1864) the *bakufu* sent out an army against Tsukuba; and Ichikawa joined it with 300 pupils: but about a month later they were severely defeated at Shimozuma, their head-quarters. Those *samurai* who were in Mito were not a little enraged at the condition of affairs, and, compelling Takeda, though he was under imprisonment in his own house, to join the expedition, went up to Yedo. A number of merchants and farmers united with them, so that "a great current flowed day and night toward Yedo." But the *bakufu* prohibited the Mito vassals from passing the barricade at Matsudo, in Shimōsa; and permitted only a few persons to enter Yedo. Those who succeeded in passing through saw Yoshiatsu, and used all their powers to prevail upon him to displace the Ichikawa party. Finally they succeeded; Ichikawa

and others were deprived of their offices, and were ordered to be imprisoned.

At that time, of the *Kan-tō* leaders, Satō only was in Yedo; and he unlawfully went down with several hundred men to Mito. On their way, he met Ichikawa, who, after the defeat at Shimozuma, was hastily returning to Yedo. The latter, however, changed his route, and, together with Satō's party, entered Mito by the road from Kasama, in order to avoid the rival party, who were crowding along on the main road to Yedo. Miura Tadafusa, the guardian of the Mito castle, refused to permit the *Kan-tō* men to enter the castle; but, being unable to prevent them from forcing an entrance, committed suicide. The *Kan-tō* leaders, then, in spite of the protests of the wise widow of Nariaki, imprisoned some of the councillors, the wives and children of Takeda and others; arrested about 70 "*Jōi*" partisans, some of whom were secretly killed in prison; destroyed the houses of some merchants who went up to Yedo with the *Sei-tō samurai*; and put to death even some women and children.

The Tsukuba army, which had a little before removed its head-quarters to Ogawa, in East Ibaraki County, hearing of the successful entrance of the rival party into Mito, invaded this city with only 300 men, but were repulsed. In August the *bakufu* sent out a second army against the *Sei-tō*. Tanuma Gemba no Kami was the leader; and the soldiers were numerous (13,000) and well-disciplined. Only a few days later, Prince Yoshiatsu, who wished to quell the disturbance peacefully, despatched Matsudaira Ōi no Kami, of Shishido, as his agent, to undertake the difficult task of pacification. Sakakibara, Torii, Ōkubo, Tani and other eminent Mito vassals accompanied him, and the party of Takeda followed; so that the whole company numbered about 3,000. On the way, they met slight opposition; and, when they reached this city, they were unexpectedly welcomed with bullets by Ichikawa's men. The latter proved so strong, that Matsudaira found it impossible to enter at once, and

retired first to Isohama and Iwaimachi, and afterwards to Minato. Here he was soon joined by Fujita, who, declining the aid of the mercenary and turbulent rabble from all parts, kept only his picked and brave Mito men.

In September Tanuma arrived at the town of Yūki, whither Ichikawa went, and, persuading him to assist against the Minato army, thus gained a large re-inforcement. Matsudaira then tried to enter Mito, but was repulsed with great loss, and retired again to Minato, where he was besieged by Ichikawa's and Tanuma's united forces. This large army slowly but steadily encompassed Minato; so the circle of the besieged grew narrower day by day. "The fields and groves of the neighboring villages were filled with the cold and silvery light of bright armor and polished weapons. In the night the torch-lights of the sentinels changed the eastern sky into red." The army in Minato, especially the old Tsukuba band, fought bravely in many battles; but in vain.

In the *bakufu* army was a young officer, who sympathized with the misfortune of Matsudaira, and purposed to arrange good terms of peace for him. One day in November, in the midst of a battle, he came, unarmed and waving a fan, into Minato, and called for Matsudaira. He then recommended Matsudaira to go to Toda Kōzuke, who had just come down from Yedo, as the commander of the besieging force. Matsudaira, although many of his vassals objected to such a rash course, a few days later, with only twenty of his vassals, proceeded to Toda's camp. Just before his departure he acknowledged to Takeda, that his attempt was rash and dangerous; but added, that if his death could prove their true purposes, he would die willingly; and then he separated in tears from his companions. The next day it was reported in Minato through a letter from one of his vassals, that Matsudaira had gone with Toda to Yedo: but this was only a scheme on the part of Ichikawa to deceive the Minato army. In truth Matsudaira, having fallen into the hands of a relentless enemy, because he had, by

opposing an official army of the *bakufu*, technically committed treason, was deprived of his offices, and compelled to commit suicide by *hara-kiri*. The vassals who were with him suffered the same fate.

Several days after Ichikawa tried to divide the Minato forces by persuading Sakakibara, Tani, and others, who were already regretting that they "had entered the whirlwind," to surrender. A large number surrendered their swords to Ichikawa, and about 100 were put to death. But the Tsukuba contingent, having stood to the last, determined to push their way to Kyōto.* Only 800 veterans, guided by the old and heroic Takeda, began to take the unsafe journey; but they were afterwards joined by 200 more. "Their tired feet had to climb many steep passes, and creep down countless dangerous precipices. Their weary arms must break various strong barricades, and kill thousands of opponents. In the interval of 150 *ri* there lay endless hardships and calamities." They pushed through Shimotsuke (where they defeated the army of the Kurobane *han*), Kōzuke (where they defeated the army of the Takasaki *han*), Shinano (where they defeated the armies of the Takashima *han* and the Matsumoto *han*), and in the middle of January, 1865, arrived in Mino. There hearing that a large army filled the usual road into Ōmi, they changed their course, and, entering Echizen, reached the village, Niho, near Imashō. "The keen north-west blast froze the fingers of the warriors; the snow was knee-deep; their clothes were thin; food was scanty; and a large army stood before them." Filled with disappointment, Takeda sent the Prince of Kaga a letter, begging him to pity the sufferings which they had incurred on account of their patriotism. Finally they surrendered, and were at first treated with generous hospitality. [See Note C.]

That Takeda, Fujita and their band were on their way to Kyōto, was known to Keiki, who was then in the capital, and who was appointed commander-in-chief of

* To see Keiki, Nariaki's seventh son.

the army despatched against them. He went, however, with the main body of the army only as far as Kaizu, in Ōmi; while the van pressed on, and finally intercepted the fugitives. The commander of the Kaga army was one Nagahara Jinshichirō, who was very loyal and kind, and knew the true reason, why Takeda and the others had taken up arms. He went to the head quarters at Kaizu, and apologized for them to Keiki; but could not obtain pardon. Keiki, in his heart, wished to save them: but he feared, that, if he was too kind to his own subjects who had risen against the *bakufu*, he might be accused of complicity with them. At that time in the *bakufu* army was a cruel officer, named Yūi Zusho, who wished to show them no pity; and notwithstanding that many princes (Kaga, Inaba, Bizen, Hamada, Shimabara and Kitsuregawa) and officers entreated for pardon, insisted on putting them to death. The prisoners, in the meantime, had been removed to Tsuruga, and imprisoned in three temples, where they were treated, like common criminals, with great cruelty. (Among the number was an old woman of 56, who was the mother of one of Takeda's soldiers, and preferred to be killed with her son than to die in Mito). Finally about the middle of March, 136 were condemned to banishment; Takeda (aged 62), Yamakuni (aged 72), Fujita and about 350 others were put to death: but, by some good fortune, Takeda's grandson, aged 18, escaped. In May the wives, children and grand-children of Takeda, Yamakuni and others were put to death in Mito; and the heads of Takeda's wife, 8 year old son, and 12 year old grandson, were exposed to the public. [See Note D.]

Thus the *Kan-tō* gained a complete victory, which was enhanced by the fact, that the allowances of their partisans were increased. But the effects of this short, but terrible and bloody, strife could be plainly seen. "The appearance of the city was that of a ruined place: houses were deserted, and gardens were desolated; only cherry flowers were white, and pine-trees were green, as in to held

days." The slaughter of this internecine strife had been so dreadful, that the vitality of the Mito clan was completely drained; and Mito, therefore, had no important part in the actual hostilities of the Revolution, in which she ought to have been found as a leader, side by side with Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa, etc. In fact, Mito has not yet fully recovered from the desolating effects of that civil war; and has now but slight influence in official circles.

The Revolution of 1868, of course, changed entirely the state of affairs in Mito. The *Kan-tō* who favored the Shōgun, at first intended to stay in the castle; but learning, that many of their followers were on the point of deserting, they fled to Aizu. The remnants of the *Sei-tō*, improving the opportunity, sent an army against them. Finally the strong castle of Aizu, though garrisoned by brave soldiers, sunk to the ground. Ichikawa, Asaina and others then turned back, and again entering Mito, where there was only a small number of old *samurai*, almost succeeded in getting possession of the castle. But re-inforcements of *Sei-tō* men soon appeared, and, after bloody fighting, defeated the *Kan-tō* forces. The latter fled into Shimōsa; but, being quickly pursued, were completely destroyed. Some who failed to make their escape from Mito were put to death by the *Sei-tō*. Asaina and his son were killed; Satō died in Echigo; Ichikawa escaped, but the next year (1869) was arrested, brought to Mito, and publicly crucified head downward in broad daylight.

When peace was finally established, the bodies of some who had been killed, or had died, in other provinces, were allowed to be buried in Mito. The family of Matsudaira Ōi no Kami was re-established. In 1875, at Matsubara, in Tsuruga, where the bodies of Takeda, Fujita and others repose, a temple was dedicated to those brave warriors. In 1878, when the Emperor visited the Hokuriku-dō he stopped at Tsuruga, and contributed 500 *yen* to that temple. In 1880 a large monument was built, for which the Governor of Shiga *Ken* wrote the inscription. In 1889, at the time of the promulgation of the con-

stitution, the elder Fujita was promoted in rank; and about the same time the younger Fujita, Takeda and others were enshrined among the heroes to be worshipped at the Shōkonsha, in Tōkyō; while Ichikawa and others of the *Kan-tō* received pardon. In Mito now the old hatred between the factions has disappeared, and peace reigns; and one of the *Kan-tō samurai* is watchman of the cemetery at Zuiryū, where lie the mortal remains of some, whom in their life he bitterly fought, but in their death he zealously protects.

In conclusion, permit me to say, that I am aware, that there are indefinite and unintelligible matters in this paper. The materials at hand were very confusing and often contradictory; so that sometimes it was impossible to ascertain with certainty the truth. I am also aware, that, strictly speaking, the Mito Civil War was of short duration, and occupies an exceedingly small portion of this paper. But it was not possible to limit this topic to its literal interpretation; for the war would be completely unintelligible without a consideration of the causes and occasions which led to the bloody battles. And, although actual hostilities did not break out till in the '60's, the spirit of jealousy and strife was stirring up the Mito *han* from at least as far back as the beginning of the present century. I understand, that the Mito family are supervising the preparation of a history of the Civil War, and purpose to treat the subject impartially. I trust, that that work will throw light on the indistinct phases of that strife, and will enable students of Japanese history, local and national, to form an accurate and unprejudiced judgment of the Mito Civil War, which undoubtedly had no small share in precipitating the Revolution of 1868.

[NOTE A.]

I wish to acknowledge my special indebtedness, in the preparation of this paper, to a colleague, Professor C. Tani, who, by consulting various native works, and furnishing me with translations, has rendered most valuable assistance.

[NOTE B.]

THE SAKURADA ASSAILANTS.

The number of assailants in this affair has been variously stated at "sixteen," "seventeen" and "eighteen." The discrepancy may have resulted from the fact, that one person gives the number only of Mito *samurai;* while another includes the one Satsuma *samurai* who was connected with the affair. I am able now to correct all former mistakes, including my own,* and to verify the number "eighteen," given in Chapter XXIX of "Mito Yashiki." The names of the *samurai* are as follows;—

Sano Takenosuke.	Ōzeki Washichirō.
Arimura Jiroemon.	Koibuchi Kaname.
Hasuda Ichigorō.	Ōkubo Sanjūrō.
Kurosawa Chūzaburō.	Mori Gorokurō.
Saitō Kemmotsu.	Sugiyama Yaichirō.
Inada Jūzō.	Moriyama Hannosuke.
Hirooka Yojirō.	Yamaguchi Tatsunosuke.
Masuko Kimpachirō.	Hiroki Matsunosuke.
Kaigo Saganosuke.	Seki Tetsunosuke.

Of these Arimura, the Satsuma man, being severely wounded, committed suicide on the spot; Kaigo and Seki ran away, and escaped punishment; the remaining fifteen, having confessed to the authorities, were in due time put to death. Sano was the leader.

* Vide Vol. XVIII, Part 1, p. 16, of the "Transactions."

[NOTE C.]

ANECDOTES OF TAKEDA AND FUJITA.

The following incidents of that remarkable retreat are taken from Nos. 79 and 80 of the *Kokumin no Tomo*, which gave an interesting sketch of "Takeda Kōunsai," otherwise known as Takeda Hikokurō, or Takeda Iga no Kami:—

On Nov. 14 (o.c.) they arrived at Shimmachi, which was defended by the large army of the Takasaki *han;* so that they had to change their road, and encamped that night at a village which belonged to a small prince, who offered no resistance. The next day they reached a village, called Nanuka-machi, which was a military post of the Maeda family. When they were about to enter the barricades, they found only one *samurai*, who, dressed in ceremonial robes, sat genteelly by the side of the gate. The aide-de-camp of the army waved his fan, and the army stopped at once. Then dismountng, the aide-de-camp inquired of the solitary *samurai*, whether he were a vassal or not of Maeda, and if so, whether he could permit them to pass through. The *samurai* answered: "It is unlawful, of course, for you to walk through in arms: but, though my province is too small and too weak to resist you, yet, if I allow you to pass through without shooting an arrow, there will be no excuse for me to plead to the *bakufu*. Be kind enough, therefore, to pass along another road; but if that is impossible, cut off my head. As long as I live, I should not permit you to pass the town." The young men of the army, hearing this, excitedly cried out: "Down with him! Down with him." But Takeda stopped them, and changed his route. This solitary *samurai*, it is said, was a great drunkard, who frequently indulged in abusive language to the disgust of others, and who voluntarily ventured to ward off the calamity which was hanging over that place!

At another village (Shimonida) the inhabitants sent a messenger to implore the army not to spend the night there; because, if the pursuing army should come up with them, the battle must take place within that village. Takeda refused to change the orders already given to the army to stop there; but promised, if his pursuers caught up with him, to leave the village. And it so happened that near day-break the Takasaki army reached that village, and Takeda, agreeable to his promise, withdrew his army out of the village, and gained a victory.

That same nigh Fujita stopped at the house of a man, named

Sugihara. When the alarm was given of the arrival of the enemy, he was still in bed. Hearing the sound of the guns and the noise of the cannon, he rose calmly and washed his face. When a messenger of the army came from head-quarters to urge him to make haste, he, as if not hearing the message, deliberately finished his breakfast, and then went out. Very soon he came back, and saying that he was cold, asked for a cup of *sake*. When his host gave it to him, he said: "This is too little; please give me another larger cupfull." The host, having intended to ask Fujita to write a poem on a fan, took this opportunity to proffer his request, which Fujita granted. The host then requested one more poem, which Fujita agreed to write, if he could have one more cup of *sake*. Then, having received his drink, and having written another poem, he went out to the battle-field. This is rather a striking illustration of the stoical calmness of the ancient *samurai* even under trying circumstances, and is the more interesting, because Fujita was only twenty-five years of age.

[NOTE D.]
FAREWELL POEMS.

The following poems, of the *morituri salutamus* order, were written just before the death of the composers, and are supposed to represent the feelings of each, in view of the appproaching fate. They are characteristically Japanese in many respects.

I. Written by Takeda, on a screen in a hotel in Imashō, Echizen; and supposed to represent his anxiety concerning the future of his country.

"Fuku tabi ni
Hana ya ikani to
Tachitsu itsu
Kokoro-zukushi no
Haru no yama-mori."—

"At every blast of the wind, the mountain-watchman in the spring is exceedingly anxious [lit. "standing, sitting"] how the flowers [will fare].

II. Written by Mrs. Takeda to express her sorrow at dying an infamous death.

"Kanete mi wa
Nashi to omoedo
Yamabuki no
Hana ni niowade
Chiru zo kanashiki."—

"Though I always thought I have no life, it is pitiful to wither away without becoming the fragrant blossom of the yellow rose." (There is in this ode a punning allusion to the fact that the yellow rose, though an exceedingly beautiful flower, has no seed (*mi*); while she herself has no life (*mi*), and perishes in a sad and untimely death).

III. Written by Yamakuni, who, being perhaps the oldest (72) of the band, might have been expected to entertain some solemn ideas, but who indulges in what may be called, both literally and metaphorically, "dare-devil" sentiments!

"Iza saraba
Meido no oni to
Hito ikusa."—

"Now, farewell! one [more] fight, with the devils of hell!"

IV. Written by Fujita to illustrate his hope, that his prime purpose, to uplift the dignity of the Emperor, though it seemed to have failed, would eventually be achieved. Only three years later the fruition of his hope came in the Revolution.

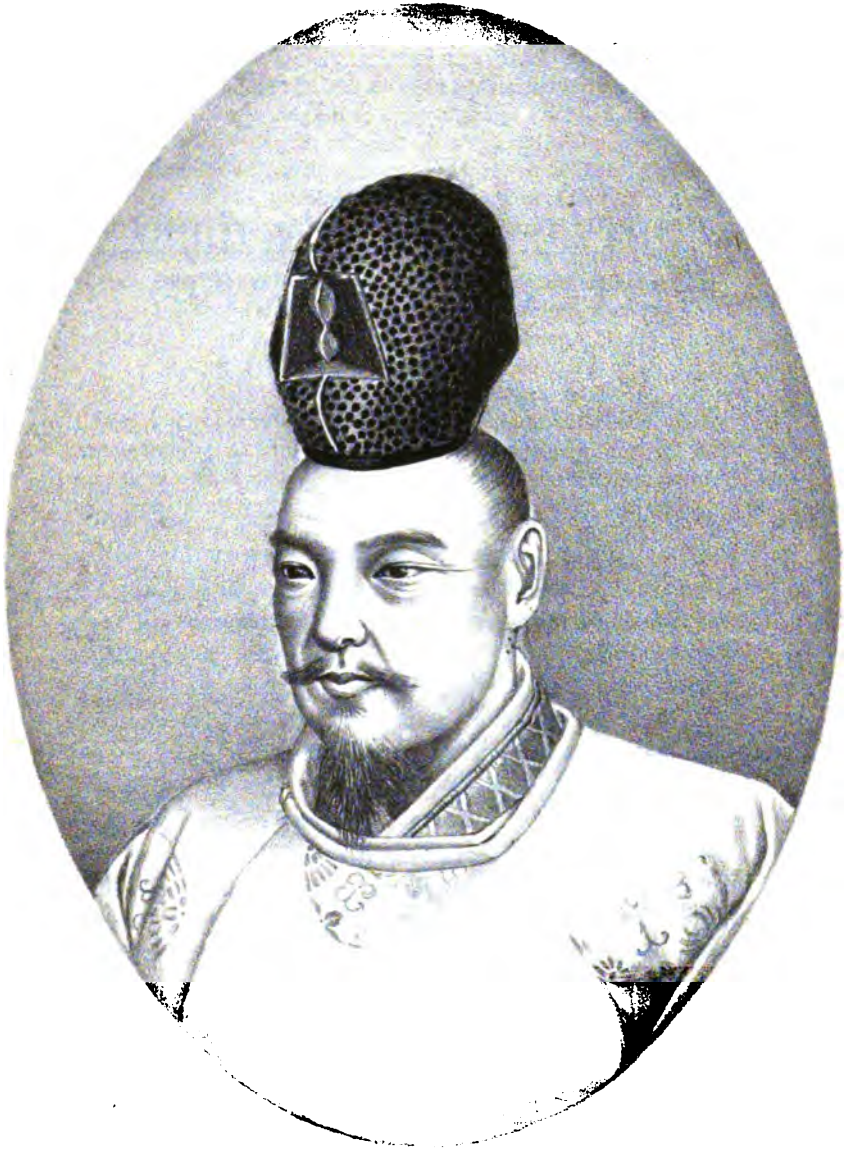
"Mono-nofu no
Omoi-kometaru
Azusa yumi
Hiki-tsumete koso
Nani tayumu beki."—

"The warrior's zealous *azusa** bow which has been bent (stretched), how can it be unbent?"
(can never be loosened).

[NOTE E.]

The accompanying portrait was drawn by Prof. Tatebe, of the Ibaraki Jinjō Chū Gakkō; and was taken from a portrait drawn when the prince was about 35 years old. It is said to be a very good likeness.

* A kind of wood much used for bows.



Nariaki (Rekkō) Prince of Mito.

ABRIDGED HISTORY OF THE COPPER COINS OF JAPAN.

BY

LÉON VAN DE POLDER.

(Read 17th March, 1891.)

For several years past I have occupied myself in collecting old coins. At first, of course, having only a few specimens, my interest in the subject was not so great as, I presume, would be the case with any one collecting not only coins but any other objects. By degrees, however, as the number of my coins grew larger, my interest and attention also increased, until at last, I have come to think that there are few things more interesting to collect than old coins. It is in leisure time, not only an agreeable but even a deeply interesting pursuit. Many historical passages of high interest are to be found in, or are connected with these small pieces of metal coin. The main difficulty connected with it lies in procuring the necessary information respecting them. But few works, if any, have been published upon this subject, therefore many persons desirous of ascertaining the dates when the coins were struck, and other particulars relating to them, find themselves quite unable to carry out their purpose on account of their not knowing the language. I hope, therefore, in the present little work to make things somewhat easier and more satisfactory for future collectors.

It is only by the arduous study of a number of ancient Japanese books that I have been able to gather together the present particulars; particulars which, on account

of the numerous historical passages connected with the numismatical records which I give, will, I trust, make this little work interesting.

In classifying the coins according to their antiquity, I have found great assistance in the newly published book in two volumes entitled *Meiji-shinsen-sempu* 明治新撰泉譜 by the late Mr. Narushima, who in the Tokugawa time was first tutor at the court of the Shōgun and afterwards *Hohei-Bugyō* or commander-in-chief of artillery under the same government.

Although this may, in general, be relied upon for its accuracy, yet I cannot quite agree with what is said in the Preface—that the old books published in Japan upon numismatics cannot be relied upon on account of the meagre knowledge and instruction of the authors of former years, inasmuch as the old books in my possession give, as a general rule, the same years and periods as Mr. Narushima, and in many cases they have afforded me more details and particulars which are often rather lacking in the *Meiji-shinsen-sempu*, which is only more systematically drawn up than its ancient predecessors upon which, after all, it is entirely based.

The old books consulted by me, and belonging to my collection are:

1. *Bampō-zensho* 万寶全書, volume No. 9. This book is in thirteen volumes, and is a kind of encyclopedia of which volume 9 is entirely devoted to coins. It dates from the seventh year of Genroku 元祿 (A.D. 1694.)

2. *Kishō-hyakuyen*, 奇鈔百圓 by one Mura-Useki of Ōsaka, is in one volume and dates from the 1st year of Kwansei 寬政 (A.D. 1789), and treats only of coins.

3. *Kōsei-kosenkagami-daisei* 校正古錢鑑大成 in one volume, dates from the 7th year Kwansei 寬政 (A.D.-1795). This also treats only of coins.

4. *Meiji-shinsen-sempu* 明治新撰泉譜 in two voumes by Narushima Ryūhoku, published in the 15th year and 18th year of Meiji 明治 (A.D. 1882-1885) and treating only of coins.

5. *Kosen-chinkwafu* 古錢珍貨譜 by Ozawa Tatsumoto, in one volume dating from the 15th year of Temmei 天明 (A.D. 1815).

6. *Shinkōsei-kōhō-zukan* 新校正孔方圖鑑 by Kariya Kwaishi, dated from the 12th year of Bunkwa 文化 (A.D. 1815) in one volume.

7. *Wakan-sen-i* 和漢錢彙 by Yoshikawa Naoyuki. The coins of China and Japan, in one volume, dated the 1st year of Temmei 天明 (A.D. 1781).

I have further been able, thanks to the kindness of my friend Mon'sr. D. Chiossone of the Imperial Printing Bureau or *Insatsukyoku*, who lent it to me to consult, the work entitled;

8. *Dainihon-kwaheishi* 大日本貨幣史 or History of the Coins of Japan, published in the 9th and 10th years of Meiji 明治 (A.D. 1876-1877) by the *Ōkurashō* or Finance Department, in the time of Count Ōkuma's administration.

I am glad to be able to say that after great difficulty, I have been able to find a copy of this work which I have now added to my collection of books bearing upon the present subject and consisting of 46 volumes.

From the above mentioned works I shall now make the following extracts, which I think will be found interesting.

The Era of Jingō Kōgō 神功皇后. This Empress, the consort of Chūai Tennō 仲哀天皇 who died in the 9th year of his reign (201 A.D.), became Regnant and reigned for 69 years, until her death in the year 269 A.D.

In the year 201 A.D. she crossed over to Shinra 新羅 a part of Corea, embarking at a place called Wakitsu 和珥津.

The King of Shinra without taking up arms or showing any opposition whatever, submitted, and gave himself up to her, and Her Majesty returned to Japan with 80 vessels laden with gold, silver, and other precious things. The two kings of Kōrai 高麗 and Hyakusai 百濟, two other parts of Corea, also submitted to her. These particulars are taken from a work entitled *Nihon-*

shoki 日本書記. After this time, it would seem that tributes of gold, silver and other precious things were received. It is said that she also brought some coins or money of the shape of a bird. This coin however is only mentioned in old books, no drawing being given. In my collection I have a coin which may be the one in question.

In the 38th year of the regency of the Empress Jingō Kōgō 神功皇后 (238 A.D.) it is said that gold and other precious things were received as presents from China.

In the 14th year of the reign of the Emperor Ōjin Tennō 應神天皇 (282 A.D.) it is stated that Yuzuki-kun 弓月君, later on said to be a son of the King of Hyakusai 百濟 a part of Corea, came to Japan bearing gifts of gold, silver etc. and according to the work entitled *Dainihonshi* 大日本史 or History of Japan, His Majesty the Emperor was highly pleased to accept these presents, and, as guerdon, accorded him permission to reside in the Empire, and further assigned to him a gift of land. I find in my Japanese *Shinsen-nempyō* 新撰年表 or Japanese Chronology, an article corresponding in date with the arrival of this Corean, which, although it has no connection with Numismatics, is nevertheless from a historical point of view very interesting. I shall therefore give it: "At the same time, two women were "sent over from Corea as presents, to teach in Japan "the way of weaving silk with figures or brocade; they "were kept at the court, and there they instructed pupils "in their art. These two women were sisters, one being "named Ayaha 綾ヲ服ス and the other Kureha 呉ヲ服ス. "The elder, Kureha, really did the weaving while "the younger, Ayaha, sat above the loom raising the "threads as the work proceeded, as was necessary to "produce the figures in the woven cloth." Now even down to this day that part of the work in this trade is still called *Ayadoru* a word derived from this woman's name; so in like manner, is the term *Gofuku* 呉服 which the Japanese apply to woven goods, is derived from the

name Kureha which is only another reading of the same character.

In Kyōto these women came to be deified and worshipped as the tutelary goddesses of that trade.

According to the work *Dainihon-kwaheishi* 大日本貨幣史 there was silver money in the time of the Emperor Gensō Tennō 顯宗天皇 (485. A.D.); one piece was of one *sun* diameter (1 Jap. inch or=centm.), and weighed 1 *momme* 8 *fun*=104.97 grs. troy. Another of the same diameter weighed 3 *momme* (174.99 grs. troy). The fact that since the time of the Empress Jingō Kōgō quantities of gold and silver were received, and the existence of the above mentioned pieces conclusively prove that coins were already in use in Japan at that time. In Gensō Tennō's time we find even that on account of the crops having been plentiful and the consequent prosperity of the farmers, the price of rice was fixed at one silver piece per one *koku*.

In the time of the Emperor Hanshō Tennō 反正天皇 (406-11 A.D.) there were gold, silver and copper coins, and all these must have been made from metal received from abroad inasmuch as it is not recorded that gold, silver, or copper, had, up to that time, been found in Japan.

In the time of the Empress Suiko Tennō 推古天皇 and in the 13th year of her reign (605 A.D.) according to the work *Nihonshoki* 日本書記 gold was received as tribute from Kōrai 高麗, a part of Corea, and of this gold, by Imperial Decree, and by order of the Prince Imperial and the ministers, an idol was made, and when the King of Corea heard of this, he sent a further tribute of 300 gold *ryō* 金三百兩.

The origin of gold, silver and other tribute being paid to Japan by Corea is said to be really this:

One night the Empress Jingō Kōgō dreamed that the god of Sumiyoshi or Sumiyoshi-Myōjin whose shrine and temple are in Ōsaka, appeared to her and said: 'I give the gold and silver countries Kōrai, Hyakusai, Shinra, and Ninna 任那 to the Emperor you bear within you' Her Majesty was

pregnant at that time, and it was on account of this dream, that she undertook to cross over and take possession of those countries, appointing officials to administer the realm during her absence, and stationing guards along the coast to protect the Empire from invasion.

The same work *Nihonshoki* records also a very clever and apt saying of the Emperor Senkwa Tennō 宣化天皇 who reigned from 536 to 539 A.D. that:—"Food "is the principal thing required under this Heaven; thou- "sands and thousands of pieces of gold will not nourish "you, nor will thousands of precious stones quench one's "thirst."

Shoku wa Tenka no moto nari,
Ōgon mangwan uye wo ryō su bekarazu,
Hakugyoku senko nanzo yoku rei wo sukuwan.

In the first year of the Empress Kōkyoku Tennō 皇極天皇 (642 A.D.) tribute of gold and silver was received from Kōrai borne by an embassy which landed at Naniwazu or Ōsaka.

In the work *Shinsen-nempyō* I find that again in 647 A.D. and 653 A.D. embassies came from Corea to Japan bearing tribute.

In the 3rd year of the reign of the Emperor Temmu Tennō 天武天皇 (675 A.D.) in the 3rd month silver was received from the Island of Tsushima and regarding this, in the *Nihonshoki* we read that in that month the governor of Tsushima—Oshiumi Ōkuni 忍海大國 found, for the first time, silver in his province, and presented it to the Court. This was the first silver found in this Empire, and consequently the precious metal was first offered up to the different gods, after which portions were given to the high officials and to all of the rank of *Shōkin* 小錦 and *Daibu* 大夫. The governor of Tsushima received the rank of *Shōkin* in recompense for the zeal and activity which he had displayed in the matter.

In the 8th year and 10th year of the reign of the Emperor Temmu Tennō (680-82 A.D.), tribute was again received from Shinra (a part of Corea) consisting of gold,

silver, copper, iron, piece goods, silk, deer and other skins, fine hemp, and banners embroidered with gold and silver. As a proof that the tributes must have been very plentiful at that epoch, I may adduce the fact that in a sumptuary law promulgated in that year the costumes to be worn by the different classes from the princes down to the lowest of the people were regulated and fixed. In the same decree the wearing of gold and silver embroideries was also placed under certain restrictions and regulations.

In the time of the Emperor Kōtōku Tennō 孝徳天皇 (645-654 A.D.) a law was already passed forbidding the burial of the dead with gold, silver, copper, or iron in the coffin, as this had become an almost universal custom with the people.

In the 12th year of the reign of the Emperor Temmu Tennō (684 A.D.) it is said that copper coin was first circulated, the circulation of silver coin being stopped. But in the same year the silver coinage was resumed. This was the 10th year after silver was first found in the Empire, and thus the silver coin spoken of will probably be that which was made in the time of Gensō Tennō 顯宗天皇 (485-487 A.D.). I may further remark with regard to the decree in which the use of copper coin is prescribed, that it is the first notice which we find of the existence of such coin at all, and as the decree contains nothing but the bare prescription that copper coin in future is to pass current, we have no basis upon which to ground a statement as to where these coins came from or when they were struck; it is, however, most probable that it was a Chinese coin brought over through Corea, although it is possible that it may have come from China directly.

In the 4th month of the 1st year of Shuchō 朱鳥 (686 A.D.) tribute was again received from Shinra (Corea) but was this time only brought to Tsukushi 筑紫 (at present known as Chikuzen and Chikugo). This tribute consisted of gold and silver pure; articles wrought in gold and silver; gold and silver embroidered stuffs; gauze and other tissues; gold and silver bells and various

other articles of the precious metals; and horses, mules, and dogs.

In the second year of the reign of the Empress Jitō Tennō 持統天皇 (691 A.D.) tribute was received from Shinra consisting of gold, silver, copper, and iron. This time the ship bearing the tribute came to Dazaifu 大宰府 in Chikuzen. At the same time idols, embroideries and paintings on silk, birds, horses etc. were brought; and an envoy of the name of Sōrin 霜林 himself presented to the Court several beautiful articles wrought in gold and silver.

In the 5th year of the reign of the Empress Jitō Tennō (694 A.D.) a silver lode was found in Iyo-no-kuni 伊豫國 in Shikoku, and silver and silver ore were presented to the court. In the 7th month of this year the governor of Iyo named Tanaka ason Hōmaro 田中朝臣法麿 and others found a silver lode in the mountain called Mimma-yama 御馬山 in the county of Uwagōri 宇和郡, and they sent 3 *kin*, 8 *ryō* 三斤八兩 of silver and a basket of ore as sample to the Court. This is mentioned in the work *Dai-nihonshi* and in the *Nihonshoki*.

In the 8th year of the reign of the Empress Jitō Tennō (697 A.D.) or first year of the reign of the Emperor Mombu Tennō 文武天皇 one named Nawo-no-hiroshi Ōdakemaro 直廣肆大宅麿 was appointed director of the mint *Tōsenshi* 鑄錢司. Up to this time there had been no official position, and this therefore was the first appointment accompanied with a definite rank that was made and is another proof that coin was already struck here at this time. Some books also state that copper coin was made; if this be so, it must have been made from copper received from abroad seeing that copper had not yet been found in Japan.

In the 2nd year of the reign of the Emperor Mombu Tennō 文武天皇 (698 A.D.) copper ore was received from Inaba 因幡 at present known as Tottoriken; and from Iyo 伊豫 at present known as Ehimeken tin and tin ore were received. From Suwō 周防 at present Yamaguchiken copper was brought and some, also, was received from Tsushima 對馬.

It is further said in some of the books in my possesion that it was only in the 12th month of the 3rd year of the reign of Emperor Mombu Tennō (699 A.D.) that a director of the mint was appointed, and that this function was called *Tōsenshi*, still this position was created already two years ago as aforesaid, but at this time now a new director was appointed one named Nawo-no-ōshi Nakatomi ason Imimaro 直大肆中臣朝臣意味麿.

The first copper piece of Japan is said to be a coin quite plain, and without any characters on it, in shape it is circular and has a round hole in the centre. On the face around the hole, are four small round marks with a cross. At the back there is nothing, the surface being entirely smooth. It is very roughly made.

See No. 1 of the Japanese coins. Illustrations of this coin are found in nearly every old book treating on coins, and it is always stated to have been struck in the time of Mombu Tennō (697-709 A.D.); but it is impossible to find out either the exact date or its size and weight, and I believe that although we see that copper ore had lately been found and presented to the Court, still the quantity then found was small and the true method of coining was not yet well understood in Japan, and this is probably the reason why this piece is roughly made and rather uneven. It is most likely that it was made from copper received from abroad, as that was at this time much more plentiful than that which was mined here.

In the 4th year of the reign of the Emperor Mombu Tennō (700 A.D.), Prince Osakabe Shinnō 刑部親王 and two other ministers were ordered by His Majesty to make regulations and laws, and in these laws it was ordered that the *Ōkurashō* 大藏省 or Ministry of Finance should have the administration of the entire finance and taxes, and should decide the values and prices of coins, gold, silver, precious stones, copper, iron, ivory, feathers, lacquer ware, and piece goods, and regulate weights and measures, in the interest of commerce in general. It was further laid

down that the *Ōkurashō* should enjoy a monopoly of the minting of gold, silver, copper, and iron coins.

In an article of the above laws, relating to mines it was enacted that mines which were discovered, and not taken over by the government, might be worked by the farmers themselves, upon application being made for permission at proper quarters.

In the 1st year of Taihō 大寶 (702 A.D.) an envoy was sent to Mutsu 陸奥 now Miyagiken and Awomoriken to have the gold mines there worked and the ore smelted.

At this time a tribute of gold arrived from Tsushima. In the 3rd month of the same year an officer was sent to Mutsu in connection with the working of gold mines—this statement is found in the work *Zoku-nihonki* 續日本紀—and in the same month a tribute of gold was again received from Tsushima. Now, as gold had been found in several places in this year, the denomination of the period was changed and a new era inaugurated and the 1st year of Taihō 大寶 commenced. These characters mean "Great Treasure."

Some time before this, one Mita Gose 三田五瀨 of Oshimigōri in Yamato-no-kuni was sent to Tsushima to commence the working of a gold mine and in the 8th month of the same year (701 A.D.) in recompense for the zeal displayed by him in the matter, this Gose received the rank of *Shōrokui* 正六位 (or 1st of the 6th grade).

In the 3rd year of Taihō 大寶 (703 A.D.) silver was received from the province of Kii-no-kuni 紀伊國 and it is further said that from the two counties in this Kii-no-kuni, named respectively Nakagōri 奈我郡 and Nakusagōri 名草郡, in this year instead of the taxes being levied in linen they were received in silk, and from the three counties of Ategōri 阿提郡, Iitakagōri 飯高郡 and Murogōri 牟漏郡, the taxes or revenue were collected in silver, which proves that at that time this metal was found in Kyūshū.

According to the works *Zoku-nihonki* and the *Mizukagami* 水鏡, in the reign of the Empress Gemmei Tennō 元明天皇 in the 1st year of Wadō 和銅 (708 A.D.)

copper was received in payment of revenue from the province of Musashi 武藏 where a director of the mint or *Tōsenshi* 鑄錢司 was appointed.

The copper coin called Wadō-kaichin 和同開珍 was put in circulation at that time. There were however two kinds of this coin Wadō-kaichin, for, besides the copper one, we find another made of silver, and of the copper one different varieties again were made. In the same year (708 A.D.) in the 1st month Wadō 和銅 (meaning "Our Copper" or "Copper of Japan,") from the county Chichibugōri 秩父郡 in the province of Musashi copper was presented to the Court, and it was in commemoration of this, the first discovery of copper in the Empire, that, by Imperial decree, the denomination of the year was changed and a new era called Wadō 和銅 was inaugurated.

According to the works *Zoku-nihonki* and *Ruijū-kokushi* 類聚國史, in the 2nd month of this year (708 A.D.) one named Tajibi-no-Mahito Miyakemaro of the rank of *Jugoijō* 從五位上多治比眞人三宅麿 was appointed director of the mint in Musashi or *Tōsenshi*.

In the 5th month of this year (708 A.D.) the first silver coins made of Japanese silver were put in circulation; and in the 7th month of the same year copper coins were minted in Ōmi-no-kuni 近江國 and were put in circulation in the 8th month, and these according to the works entitled *Sen-i* 泉彙 and *Senkwa-kagami* 泉貨鑑 were the above mentioned coins called Wadō-kaichin.

See No. 2. This is a fac-simile of the silver piece of Wadō-kaichin 和同開珍 which four characters are on the face, one on each side of the square hole in the centre. The diameter of this coin is 8 *bu* or 24½ mm., its weight is 2 *momme* 1 *pun* (about 122½ grs. troy).

The silver coin is very rare, being now hardly ever to be met with, but a gentleman named Naruta Zembei of Ōsaka is in possession of one.

See No. 3. This is the fac-simile of the copper Wadō-kaichin coin. The characters are disposed in the same manner around the square hole in the centre; its diameter

is also 8 *bu* or 24½ mm. and its weight 1 *momme* or 58. 33 grs. troy.

See No. 4. This is the same piece as No. 3; it has the same diameter and differs only in weight, being 8 *fun* or 46.64 grs. troy.

Many books treating on old coin have been published at different periods and they all say that this Wadō coin was the first true coin made here. Still, although the composition of the metal is not well known, the fineness is very good. It must have been made in different parts of the Empire, but is now very rare.

The first of the Wadō coins were made in the Province Ōmi-no-kuni 近江國 now the Sigaken. Later on the same coin was made in Dazaifu 太宰府 in Chikuzen and in Harima 播磨 now embraced in the Hyōgoken. Later on Nagato-no-kuni now Yamaguchiken was, it seems, definitely set apart as the place for minting these coins. The main reason for the choice of this place was that by degrees as copper at the places Suwō 周防, Harima 播磨, Inaba 因幡, Bitchū 備中, Bingo 備後 and others, was more and more produced, this place was found to be more centrally situated, and therefore more convenient.

In the 2nd year of Wadō (709 A.D.) it was prohibited by Imperial decree for private persons to make silver coin. We find also in books that at different times silver coins were abolished and copper ones only ordered to be used.

In the 3rd year of Wadō (710 A.D.) copper was again received from several places such as Dazaifu and Harima and another decree was promulgated prohibiting the use of silver coin over the whole country or *Tenka* 天下.

The meaning of the word *Tenka* 天下 was the whole world or everything under Heaven, as it was not then supposed that other countries existed; or the impression may have been that the sky hung only over Japan.

We find in the *Zoku-nihonki* that in the 4th year of Wadō 和銅 (711 A.D.) 6 *shō* 六升 or over 9 quarts of rice was worth 1 *mon* or one cash, and now the same

quantity is of about 600 times that value. At this time a law determining the salaries of officials was made; and another law was made providing that persons who saved money should obtain rank, and on the other hand, that those found coining money on their own account should suffer decapitation.

According to the work *Zoku-nihonki* it was in the 10th month that the above *Rokuhō* 祿法 or scale of official emoluments or incomes according to rank was fixed as follows:

The yearly income of a *Nihon* 二品 or Prince of the second rank and all *Nii* 二位 or officials of the second grade was fixed at 30 *piki* of linen cloth 三十疋, or 60 *tan* as one *hiki* equals two tan (One *tan* or piece of dry goods was 30 feet in length. At present the length depends upon the kind, make and value of the cloth, varying from 24 to 30 feet), plus 100 *kin* or pounds of raw silk 絲百鈞 (the character 鈞 *kin* or pound is written now 斤.) and at 2000 *mon* or cash 錢二千文, that is to say, about 2 *yen* of the present currency.

The yearly income of a prince of the 3rd rank or *Ōsammi* 王三位 was 20 *piki* 絹二十疋 of linen cloth, and 1000 *mon*, or cash, which would now be equal to about one *yen*.

That of an official of the 3rd grade or *Shinsanmi* 臣三位, was linen cloth 10 *piki* and money 1000 mon.

Of a Prince of the 4th rank or *Ōshii* 王四位, it was linen cloth 6 *piki* and 300 *mon*.

Of an official of the 5th grade or *Goi* 五位 it was linen 4 *hiki* and 200 *mon*.

Of an official of the 6th grade *Rokui* 六位 and of the 7th grade or *Shichii* 七位 it was linen cloth, two *hiki* and 40 *mon*.

Of an official of the 8th grade or *Hachii* 八位 and of the lowest grade *Shoi* 初位 it was linen cloth 1 *piki* and 20 *mon*.

Although no comparison can be drawn between the dresent enlightened Era of Meiji and the times from the

annals of which I am giving extracts, yet, as the official ranks of that period still exist to-day, it is interesting to note the contrast: thus, the present *Naikaku* or Privy Council is composed of officials, ten in number, who are all of the second rank *Nii* 二位. I am afraid that with the present style of living, a yearly income such as was enjoyed by their predecessors of 60 pieces of linen, 100 pounds of raw silk and 2000 "cash" would not go very far.

We can see that the people, and especially the farmers, had no desire at that time to use coin, and in order to teach them its value as a medium of exchange, an Imperial edict was promulgated in which it was decreed that as the farmers, being accustomed to the old system of barter, did not seem to be willing to understand the value and utility of money, they should begin gradually to take it in lieu of their produce and in their other business transactions; and in order to encourage their use of it, it was further decreed that every person who should have accumulated over 10 *kwammon* 十貫文 or 10,000 cash should be entitled to receive a rank below that of *Jurokui* 從六位 or 2nd of the 6th grade, and anyone who should have amassed above 20 *kwammon* 二十貫文,or 20,000 cash two ranks higher, and for every 5 *kwammon* or 5000 cash above this, one grade higher, up to the 8th grade, which having attained, it became necessary to possess 10,000 cash or 10 *kwammon* for every grade higher.

In the same edict, however, it was stated that anyone borrowing coin from another person wherewith to obtain rank would be exiled for one year, and the carrying into execution of this clause was placed in the hands of the *Dajōkwan* 太政官 or Council of State. All who were found guilty of having coined money on their own account, would be decapitated, and if officials, be first degraded and then they and their whole families should be exiled; and if the neighbours dwelling in the two houses on either side of theirs, or the *Gonin-gumi*, that is to say the five families composing a subdivision of the ward to which the culprit belonged (see Dr. Hepburn's Dictionary under the

word *Kumi* 組) knew about it, they would all be punished in the same way, but if they were innocent of all knowledge of it, their punishment should be mitigated by five degrees.

All this enables us to form an idea of the high estimation in which copper coin was already held by the officials; and we find here the origin of the term *kwan* or *kwammon*, as in the document ten and twenty *kwammon* are used to express fixed sums in the counting of cash: thus 1 *kwammon* was 1000 *mon* or cash. This number of cash was generally threaded on a string; in fact the character *kwan* 貫 itself means anything strung upon a string.

In the 9th month of the 5th year of Wadō (712 A.D.) an order was made that travelers should carry money to defray the expenses of their journeys, instead of the heavy loads of goods which they had hitherto carried about with them for that purpose, and in the 12th month of the same year another order appeared saying that all duties or taxes etc. would be received in coin from the different provinces and fixing the value of 1 *jō* of linen 布一常 at 5 *mon* or cash (one *jō* had a length of 16 feet).

According to the same before-mentioned work, in the 3rd month of the 6th year of Wadō (713 A.D.) an Imperial decree appeared saying that county and higher officials, whether intelligent and studious etc. or not, unless they had a fortune of 6 *kwan* or 6000 cash, could not be advanced in position and; on the same day a decree was promulgated saying, that by the sale of any rice fields, the price should be decided and paid for in cash, and in case the sale should be effected by exchange against any articles, such rice fields and articles as well would be confiscated.

According to the work *Fusōryakki* 扶桑畧記 in the 5th month a decree appeared, ordering that in the records of each province should be minutely mentioned the quantity of silver and copper etc. that had been produced.

In the 9th month 7th year of Wadō (714 A.D.) appeared a decree saying that by examining the coins, if any one

should reject a coin which he should know to be a real government-made one he would be condemned to receive 100 blows with a stick, and if a bad coin was found the order was to break it up and take it to the official of the district.

In the reign of Emperor Genshō Tennō 元正天皇 in the 9th month of 1st year Reiki 靈龜 (715 A.D.) a decree appeared pardoning all criminals except those who had been found guilty of making counterfeit coin.

In the 2nd year of Reiki (716 A.D.) 6th month, a decree appeared prohibiting the farmers at Dazaifu keeping any Hakkatsu 白鑞 (pewter). This had been from prohibited long before but no notice was taken and secretly a good deal was in the market with which the bad and counterfeit money was made, so this time it was ordered that if found it should be confiscated.

In the 5th year of Yōrō 養老 (721 A.D.) in the 1st month appeared an Imperial decree fixing for the benefit of the farmers, the value of the silver *sen* or cash at 25 copper *sen* or cash, and one silver *ryō* (銀壹兩 or 4 silver cash) at 100 copper cash.

According to the work *Zoku-nihonki* in the 2nd month of 6th year of Yōrō 養老 (722 A.D.) by Imperial decree, and in the interest of the business transactions, amongst the farmers the value of the copper cash was fixed at 200 copper *sen* or cash for 1 *ryō* silver. In the 9th month of this years all taxes etc. were received in cash from the provinces Iga 伊賀, Ise 伊勢, Owari 尾張, Ōmi 近江, Echizen 越前, Tamba 丹波, Harima 播磨, Kii 紀伊, and others. Naturally the above changes in the value of the copper towards silver had become more and more necessary, for by this time copper was found in great quantities in many places.

In the 2nd year of Tempei 天平 (730 A.D.) in the reign of Emperor Shōmu Tennō 聖武天皇 the copper that was produced from the mines Tatsurizan 達理山 in the Province Suwō 周防 was forwarded to the mint in Nagato 長門 to be minted there.

According to the before-mentioned work and the *Ruijū-kokushi* 類聚國史 it is said that in the 7th year of Tempei 天平 11th month (735 A.D.) a mint was established, but I think this is better to be understood in this way that for a while the working of the mint had been stopped, and as at this time a want for coin was shown again the working of the mint was again resumed.

In the 2nd month 1st year of Tempei-kampō 天平感寶 it is said that for the first time gold was found in Mutsu 陸奥 and was presented to the Court; this good news was widely proclaimed by His Majesty over the whole Empire. This gold, conformably to the Imperial information, was found in Mutsu in the county Odagōri 小田郡 under the jurisdiction of the Mutsu-no-kuni-no-Kami or governor a *Jugoijō* 從五位上 called Hyakusai-Ō Keifuku 陸奥ノ國ノ守百濟ノ王敬福. It was in the 21st year of Tempei 天平 that this precious metal was found, and for that reason and in commemoration of it the denomination of the year was changed into 1st year of Tempei-kampō or in other words the two last characters of Kampō 感寶 or "exciting gem or treasure" were added to the already existing denomination of the year. The same governor, in the same month sent again a quantity of this precious metal, this time 900 *ryō* of gold, to the Court.

This Hyakusai-Ō 百濟王 called also Keifuku who was governor of Mutsu must have been a descendant of the Hyakusai-Ō (which means, King or Prince of Hyakusai a part of Corea), or son of the King of Hyakusai who as was said in the commencement of this work, came to Japan in the year 282 A.D. and to whom the then Emperor gave land. It is most probable that the land or province in which he was installed was Mutsu where his descendants remained known always as the governors or *Kami* of that province and keeping the same name.

The old books are wrong in saying that this gold of Mutsu was the first found in Japan, while we have mentioned that gold had already been found in Tsushima, from where it had been sent to the Court in the year 701 A.D.

and for which happy discovery the denomination of the 1st year of Taihō 大寶 was given to that year; unless at that time Tsushima was not considered to form part of this Empire's dominion, which may very well have been the case, specially when I note from Japanese books that speak of tributes which were at certain times received from that island.

In the 3rd month of 2nd year of Tempei-shōhō 天平勝寶 (750 A.D.) the governor of Suruga 駿河 named Narahara Azuma and others discovered gold along the sea beach Tago-no-ura 多潮浦 and presented it to the Court. The governor got in compensation the rank of *Jugoijō* 從五位上 or 1st of the 2nd class of 5th rank and to the other people miners etc. was given the rank of *Jurokuige* 從六位下 or 2nd of the 2nd class of 6th rank.

In the 4th year of Tempei-shōhō (752 A.D.) the taxes and revenue of the Mutsu-no-kuni or province of that name and north of Taga 多賀, were taken in gold, but from the counties south of Taga they were as before received in linen goods.

This, says the *Dainihon-Kwaheishi* proves that from the Province of Mutsu much gold was produced.

According to the work *Zoku-nihonki* in the 8th month of the 2nd year Tempei-hōji 天平寶字 (748 A.D.) one Fujiwara ason Nakamaro a first minister of the Court, who it seems being the only one who could make the Emperor laugh and merry, received for that reason to his name the two characters of *Emi* 惠美 (meaning "laughing") and was called thereafter Emi-no-oshikatsu 惠美押勝, petitioned for the right to mint coin, and this request was accorded to him, but, as from that time no proof exists of any new style of cash having been made, those which he made must have been also the Wadōsen 和同錢. In the 6th year of Tempei-hōji we find that this Emi-no-oshikatsu became the owner of two iron mines one in the county Asai 淺井 and one in the county Takashima 高島 in the province Ōmi 近江.

In the reign of Emperor Junjin Tennō 淳仁天皇 in the

4th year of Tempei-hōji (706 A.D.) the cash called Kaiki-shōhō 開基勝寶, the one called Taihei-gempō 大平元寶 and one called Mannen-tsūhō 萬年通寶 were minted and made of 3 different kinds-one of gold, one of silver, and of one copper.

By Imperial decree the coin Kaiki-shōhō was to be of gold (see No 5). Its weight is 3 *momme* 1 *pun* (abt. 180.83 grs. troy) it has a diameter of $\frac{8}{10}$ of a *sun* (or over 24 mm.) and was worth ten of the silver pieces.

The silver piece was the one called Taihei-gempō (see No. 6). Neither the design, size nor weight are given because the piece itself has not yet been found, but as the writer says by excavating, since these many unknown coins have been discovered, with patience this silver piece will probably be found hidden away somewhere. This silver coin was worth ten new copper coins called the Mannen-tsūhō of which two kinds were made, the first (see No. 7) weiging 1 *momme* 2 *fun* (69.99 grs. troy) and having a diameter of 8 *bu* (24 mm.) and the second kind (see No. 8) It weiging 1 *momme* (58.33 grs. troy) with the same diameter as No. 7.

These copper coins were worth 10 of the old copper coins and conformably to the works on coins called *Sen-i* 泉貲 and *Kosen-Haibunkō*. 古錢背文考, the characters cast on these coins were written by the famous penman Kibi Mabi 吉備眞備 who was one of the 1st ministers of the Court, and as regards the gold coin above mentioned, it was the first that was minted and put in circulation says the work *Hōka-jiryaku* 寶貨事畧. The decree accompanying the emission of these new coins stated, that this new emission was made for the benefit of the people and farmers, for through the private fabrication of counterfeit coins a great deal had become to be of very bad quality, and that withdrawing all from circulation, would occasion too great a loss to the people, so they were advised to use the old with the newly emitted according to the fixed value above mentioned. (This must have been a very agreeable surprise to a man who had for

example a fortune of 10,000 cash or *mon* and who found himself all at once to be in possession only of a 10th part of that amount, very good sort of people they must have been indeed).

In the time of Shōtoku Tennō 称徳天皇 in the 1st year of Tempei-jingo 天平神護 (765 A.D.) 1 *to* (or $\frac{1}{10}$ of a *koku* —1 *koku* about 150261 grammes) of unpealed rice was priced at 100 cash.

In the 9th month of this year the coin called Jingō-kaihō 神功開寶 was coined. This was of copper and was put in circulation at the same standard as those lately made.

The before mentioned market value of rice is extracted from the work "*Zoku-nihonki* in which it is said that in the 2nd month of that year (765 A.D.) the rice produced in left and right Kyō or Kyōto was sold at auction, (this district was then divided in two, one part called the *Sakyō* 左京 or left Kyō and the other the *Ukyō* 右京 or right Kyō). 2000 *koku* of rice from each part were sold by auction in the east and west markets and fetched the price of 100 *sen* or cash per 1 *to* and in the 4th month again 1000 *koku* of rice of each part of Kyōto were sold in the markets. This was generally done when the crops were bad, and these sales were in those times generally made from the rice kept in reserve just in case of the crop being bad, and when the price had gone up these sales took place in order to reduce the prices and assist the wants of the people.

The characters cast on the new coin Jingō-kaihō were written by Kibimabi also (see No. 9).

The weight of this cash was 1 *momme* 5 *rin* (about 61. 24 grs. troy), and it had a diameter of 8 *bu* (over 24 mm.). There were two more kinds of this same coin cast, one (see No. 10) which had a weight of over 8 *fun* (or about 46.66 grs. troy) and a diameter of over 8 *bu* (over 24 mm.) and the second (see No. 11) had a weight of 7 *fun* 5 *rin* (73.74 grs. troy) and a diameter of 8 *bu* (over 24 mm.).

In the second year of Tempei-jingō (766 A.D.) those who were found guilty of making counterfeit coins were

handed over to the director of the mint and were condemned to work there for the government.

In the 2nd month of this year the *Juhachiige* (or 2nd of the 2nd 8th rank) Tachibanado Takashimaro 從八位下橘戶高志麿 presented the Court with 1,000,000 *sen* or cash, and for this he was made *Jugoige* 從五位下 or 2nd of the 2nd 5th rank.

In the 2nd month of 1st year Jingo-keiun 神護景雲 the mayor of the Ochi county of the province Iyo the *Shō-shichiige* (or 2nd of the 1st 7th rank) Ochi nawo Asukamaro 正七位下越智直飛鳥麿 presented 230 pieces of linen cloth and 1200 *kwan* of *sen* or cash making 1,200,000 cash to the Court. He was made for this *Jugoige* 2nd of the 2nd 5th rank. In the 11th month one Ōkiyomaro 王清麿 and 40 others, who were found guilty of making counterfeit coin were exiled to Dewa 出羽 and received the family name of *Tōsenbu* 鑄錢部 meaning Coin Caster's plot or Tribe.

In the time of Emperor Kōnin Tennō 光仁天皇 in the 3rd year of Hōki 寶龜 (772 A.D.) and by Imperial decree of the 8th month the new and old cash were again declared to be used on the same footing or value.

The decree explained that the government had found wrong the decree emitted in the 4th year Tempei-hōji 3rd month by which the new cash were declared to be worth 10 old ones, for on the contrary it was found that the old ones were made of a much better quality of metal and alloyage and consequently that such a decree was thus an injustice committed towards the farmers and people.

Later in the 10th year of Hōki (779 A.D.) in the 8th month the same decree was anew promulgated as it seems that in some places the people were unaware of its existence.

In the 11th year Hōki (780 A.D.) new laws were promulgated for the punishment of counterfeit money makers.

In the time of Emperor Kammu Tennō 桓武天皇 in the 1st year of Enryaku 延曆 (782 A.D.) by order of His Majesty the mint was closed, and the reason was that the

coin stood at that time at a good rate so that the Court, the people and temples were all in good pecuniary condition, so both the ordinary mint or *Tōsenshi* 鋳銭司 and the mint for coins with designs or *Hōkwashi* 法花司 were closed. (Here we see there was a mint for coins with designs at that time already or for the cash called also Esen 絵銭 and of which I have found a good many.

In the 10th month of 9th year of Enryaku (790 A.D.) the mint was again opened.

In the 15th year of Enryaku (796 A.D.) the copper coin or cash Ryūhei-yeihō 隆平永寶 was minted; two kinds were made, the first (see No. 12) weighing 9 *fun* 9 *rin*= 57.71 grs. troy and having a diameter of 8 *bu* or 24 mm.

The other (see No. 13) has a weight of 7 *fun* 5 *rin* or 43.72 grs. troy with a diameter of 8 *bu*=24. mm.

By Imperial decree it was decided that these new cash should be used at the value of one equal to 10 of the old kind, allowing only 4 years more for the old coin to remain in circulation, by which time the old were to be entirely replaced by the new. In the same month the new cash were offered to the big temples of Ise, of Kyōto Kamigamo and Shimogamo, of Matsuwo and other temples and also to the Prince Imperial and other princes of the blood and to officials of 1st of 6th rank 正六位. This cash was made from this year to the 8th year of Kōnin 弘仁 (817 A.D.)

In the 16th year of Enryaku (797 A.D.) an order appeared prohibiting the keeping or too much collecting of cash, the farmers were warned that they would do well not to lay too much cash by but to lay on the contrary more rice by, for, in case there should be a bad crop and famine, boiling cash would not make food for them.

This is a striking contrast with some years before when the farmers did not wish to see any coin, and now they were putting it by and did away with all their produce in order to get money for it.

In the 17th year of Enryaku (798 A.D.) a similar decree appeared but rather more severe. It said that the circulation of money was very useful and commodious, and that

every one outside of the Imperial Court's domain or Kinai, keeping and laying it away, was a general hindrance, so all taxes would be received in cash and those who should hide the cash wishing only to pay their taxes in produce, should have their savings confiscated by the government, one fifth of the amount being given to the person who had given the information about it. The above is according to to the work called *Ruijū-sandaikaku* 類聚三代格.

According to the work *Nihon-isshi* 日本逸史 in the 1st month of the 18th year of Enryaku (799 A.D.) His Majesty on the occasion of a feast pardoned criminals and presented new cash to all officials from the 5th rank or *Goi* 五位. Those of the 3rd rank or *Sammi* 三位 received 3000 cash, those of the 4th rank or *Shii* 四位 2000 cash, and those of the 5th rank or *Goi* 五位 1000 cash.

In the 2nd month of 19th year of Enryaku (800 A.D.) a decree was promulgated abolishing that which allowed titles of rank or nobility to be obtained for money.

We find further several times that on certain grand occasions, criminals were pardoned, but with the exception always of those who had made counterfeit cash.

During the reign of Heijo Tennō 平城天皇 in the 5th month of 3rd year of Daidō 大同 (808 A.D.) a decree was promulgated ordering the old and new cash to be used on the same footing or standard.

In the reign of Emperor Saga Tennō 嵯峨天皇 in the 1st year of Kōnin 弘仁 (810 A.D.) with the copper which was remaining at the mint 1,040,000. new cash were minted, bearing the inscription of Ryūhei-yeihō 隆平永寶 the same as Nos. 12 and 13.

In the 4th year of Kōnin 弘仁 (813 A.D.) a certain fixed income was given to the officials of the mint.

According to the work *Ruijū-kokushi* 類聚國史 in the 7th year of Kōnin (816 A.D.) we find again that the mint in the Emperor's domain Kyōki 京畿, was abandonned and closed.

In the 3rd month of 9th year of Kōnin (818 A.D.) the governor of Nagato or Nagato-Kokushi 長門國司 was ap-

pointed Director of the mint in that province, and the staff of this mint was composed and settled to be of 1 director, 1 vice director, 2 assistants, 3 accountants, 2 minters, 1 head fitter, and 5 servants. In the 11th month of the above year new cash were made in Nagato called Fuju-jimpō 富壽神寶 and the inscription on one piece was written by Emperor Saga Tennō and on another by Kūkai 空海 a very renowned priest who is now the patron of the Kawasaki-Daishi Temple the real head temple of his sect is on Kōyasan in Kishū. This Kūkai was a long time studying in China and afterwards founded this great temple; he was the inventor of the syllabic alphabet or *Iroha*, it was after his death that he received the name of Kōbō-daishi, he did not really die his natural death but had himself buried alive saying that he did not die but left this world for some time and would come back again. The light he lit on the Kōyasan mountain at the temple tower is said to be still burning, never having been extinguished since. He buried himself in his cave in 835 A.D. The two pieces of coin above mentioned are: one (see No. 14) weighing 1 *momme* = 58.33 grs. troy with a diameter of $7\frac{1}{2}$ *bu* or 23 mm. the other (see No. 15) weighing $8\frac{1}{2}$ *fun* = 49.52 grs. troy and having a diameter of $7\frac{1}{2}$ *bu* also or 23 mm.

We find by examining different works treating about coins, that of the above Fuju-jimpō cash, from the 9th year of Kōnin (818 A.D.) every year 5,670,000. of these cash were minted. From the 12th year of Kōnin (821 A.D.) till Tenchō 天長 3rd year (828 A.D.) every year 3,000,000, were made, and from the 6th year of Tenchō to the 1st year of Shōwa 承和 (829 834 A.D.) every year 1,830,000 were minted.

In the 11th year of Kōnin (820 A.D.) in the 6th month an order appeared that the *Ōkurashō* 大藏省 or Finance Department should examine all the cash minted at the mint or *Tōsenshi;* and any of them, whose inscriptions should not be clear, or shape not perfect or which had small defects, should not be allowed to come in circulation.

In the 12th year of Kōnin 弘仁 (A.D. 821) a decree was

promulgated with regard to the manner of employing the copper, as the turn out of the copper mines from the 9th year of Kōnin (A.D 818.) seemed to be rather less, and in order thus to leave the necessary quantity of this metal for the use of different other articles, instead of 5,670,000 cash which were made yearly, only 3,000,000 cash were to be minted. Still, if a better turn out should be obtained again, more cash was to be made again also. The above is according to the work *Nihon-isshi* 日本逸史.

In the 13th year of Kōnin (A.D. 822) in 7th month, 100,000 cash were given out amongst the poor of the different provinces.

In the 3rd month of 14th year of Kōnin (A.D. 833) cash were dealt out to the poor of left and right Kyōto.

Under the reign of Emperor Junna Tennō 淳和天皇 and in the 9th month of 3rd year of Tenchō 天長 (A.D. 826) His Majesty ordered that new copper should not be used for minting while the old cash was being minted over again, and further to provide the government with 1000 *kin* (a *kin* is $1\frac{1}{3}$ ℔) of refined copper.

In the reign of Emperor Nimmei Tennō 仁明天皇 2nd month of 1st year of Shōwa 承和 (A.D. 834) by order of His Majesty it was prohibited to use gold and silver leaf and powder for public or private use, as it was found that these metals were used up in different ways without leaving any benefit to the country.

In the 1st month of 2nd year of Shōwa (A.D. 835) by order of His Majesty, it was notified that in consideration of the worn out state of the existing cash, which was losing its value, it was necessary to mint a new coin, and this was then called the Shōwa-shōhō 承和昌寶. This new cash was to be worth 10 of the old ones and was to be used as such and as well as the old. This coin was minted from the 14th year of Shōwa (A.D. 847). The model of the characters on the cash was written by Sugawara Kiyokimi 菅原清公 a high official of the Court.

In the 2nd month the rule for the occupation of the position of governor of the mint or *Tōsenshi* was changed

and His Majesty decided that, as it was not the same as governor of a province or *Kokushi* 國司 whose duration of office was 4 years, the first named would have in future a duration of office of 6 years.

In the 10th month of the same year, 40,000 new cash were by order of His Majesty distributed amongst the temples within the Court's dominions in Yamato 大和 and Kyōto. The new coin above mentioned was in two kinds:

See No. 16, weighing 7 *fun* = 40.81 grs. troy and having a diameter of 6½ *bu* = 20 mm.

See No. 17, weighing 6 *fun* = 24.98 grs. troy and having a diameter of 6½ *bu* = 20 mm.

Still it seems that amongst these cash some were made which had a weight of 9 *fun* or 92.47 grs. troy and a diameter of 7½ *bu* or 23 mm.

In the 5th month of the 9th year of Shōwa (A.D. 824) by Imperial decree it was prohibited to any official below the rank of *Rokui* 六位 or of the 6th rank, to have gold or silver on anything belonging to his dress, except in his armour and official dress, and any above the 5th rank could have gold about the saddle.

In the 10th month of 1st year of Kashō 嘉祥 (A.D. 848) His Majesty by decree proclaimed that by order received from Heaven the denomination of the year would be Kashō 嘉祥 and that the coins in use hitherto getting very old, the order from above was also to see to it and to make a new cash which was named Chōnen-taihō 長年大寶. This piece was to be worth 10 of the old cash and it was ordered to use it as well as the former. It was made from off this year till the 2nd year of Ten-an 天安 (A.D. 858).

Two different kinds were made, viz.:

See No. 18. It had a diameter of over 6 *bu* or 18½ mm. and weighed over 5 *fun* or 29.15 grs. troy.

See No. 19 which had a diameter of over 6½ *bu* or 20 mm. and weighed 4 *fun* or 23.32 grs. troy, but it seems that some were minted having a diameter of 7 *bu* or 21½ mm. and weighing 8 *fun* or 46.64 grs. troy.

In the 10th month of 2nd year of Kashō 嘉祥 by order

of His Majesty 500,000 cash were dealt out among the poor people of Kyōto.

In the reign of Emperor Seiwa Tennō 清和天皇, in the 4th month of 1st year of Jōgwan 貞觀 (A.D. 859) by Imperial decree, a new coin was emitted as His Majesty found that the old were deteriorating. The new cash was called Nyōyeki-shimpō 饒益神寶 and one was to be worth 10 of the old ones and to be used in the same way. The model of the characters on the piece was written by Kasuga Otsugu 春日雄繼 one of the court ministers. This cash was minted from this year, 1st of Jōgwan (A.D. 859) till 11th year of Jōgwan (A.D. 869).

On the 28th of 10th month 1st year of Jōgwan, from the mint the new cash was distributed out to the most renowned Shintō temples and to the Imperial graves and also to the princes etc. Of this coin two kinds were made:

See No. 20. It has a diameter of 6 *bu* or 18⅛ mm. and weighs 6 *fun* or 34.88 grs. troy, and the other, see No. 21, 1 has a diameter of 6 *bu* or 18⅛ mm. and weighs 4½ *fun* or 26.24 grs. troy. Some were made also of a diameter of 7 *bu* or 21½ mm. and weighing 7 *fun* or 40.81 grs. troy.

On the 10th of 6th month 7th year of Jōgwan (6th July, 865 A.D.), by Imperial decree it was prohibited to the merchants of Kyōto, Kinai and Ōmi to refuse to take the bad cash, and this was ordered for the following reasons: In the 6th month of 11th year of Kōnin 弘仁 (820 A.D.) the cash newly made then and handed by the mint to the *Ōkurashō* or Finance Department, to be put in circulation, was not of a very good quality of make nor of inscription; still it was put in circulation and ordered to be used, although many pieces had defects, but the people would not obey this and followed their own will by discarding all cash that had any defect either in shape or in inscription. From 20 to 30% would be rejected by the merchants for the one or the other defect, the greater percentage being refused for defects in the inscription; this was found very unjust for those who

came to buy rice, and was in reality keeping food out of each other's mouth. It was also preventing those who wanted to buy cotton or cloths, from covering themselves and getting warm. "I wish," said the Emperor, "that this order be made public and placarded along all the roads, and any one who does not obey my order shall be flogged." This is taken from the work called *Sandai-jitsu-roku* 三代實錄.

In the 2nd month of 8th year of Jōgwan (866 A.D.) the market price of rice was decided and fixed for left and right Kyōto at 40 *mon* or cash for 1 *shō* white rice, and 30 *mon* or cash for 1 *shō* unpolished rice. (1 *shō*= 109.752. cub inches or 1 gt 1 pt. and ½ gill). Before this 1 *shō* of white rice was 26 *mon* or cash, or 14 *mon* less, and the black or unpolished rice was per 1 *shō* 18 *mon* or 12 *mon* less.

According to the last named work *Sandai-jitsuroku* on the 22nd of 4th month of 9th year of Jōgwan (29th May 867 A.D.) for the first time the rice kept by the government in case of emergencies, was put to auction at Kyōto and was sold at 8 new cash per *shō* or 80 old cash. At this time the crops had failed and caused rice to be scarce, so this government-rice was sold to the people, because it had risen in the market to a price of 1400 cash per *koku*.

On the 10th of 5th month (15 June, 867 A.D.) a decree appeared repeating what had once been promulgated already on the 23rd of 9th month 17th year of Enryaku 延曆 (5 November 798 A.D.) by which it was prohibited for people to accumulate quantities of cash, as it was considered detrimental to business transactions; and this time it was proclaimed that, those who were found to possess more than what was considered reasonable, should have their cash confiscated, and the person who would bring the information to the ears of the government should get ⅛ of it, the rest going to the government. However it was notified that this rule would not be put in force in the provinces Iga, Ōmi, Wakasa, Tamba and Kii.

On the 26th of 6th month 10th year of Jōgwan (19 July 868) the term of office for the governor of Suwō to be at the same time director of the mint of that province was fixed at 4 years.

On the 10th of 7th month 11th year of Jōgwan (21 August 869) the *Jugoige* (ex-governor of Echigo), or Echigo-no-Kami Kiyowara Mahito 2nd of the 2nd 5th rank was sent to the province Yamashiro-no-kuni to superintend the extracting of copper of the mountains Okadayama 岡田山.

In the 1st month of 12th year of Jōgwan (February, 870) according to an Imperial decree, the new cash called Jōgwan-eihō 貞觀永寶 was made and put in circulation. It was made of copper of the provinces Bitchū, Bingo and others, and was to be used like the former cash but was worth 10 of the old cash. It was cast from this year till the 1st year Kwampei 寬平 (889 A.D.). The characters on the piece were written by the Court Minister Fujiwara Ujimune. In the 2nd month, copper for the minting of cash was obtained from the provinces Bitchū and Bingo. The usual gifts of the new cash were made to the Imperial family and amongst the officials etc. In the 11th month a special envoy was sent to offer the new cash to the temples of Ise Daijingū. On the 13th day of 12th month (7 Jan. 371 A.D.) it was decreed that 6 *tan* and 352 *ho* of farming land in Yamashiro-no-kuni Kadono-gōri were to be taken in for the use of the mint.

The new cash above mentioned were as follows:

See No. 22. It has a diameter of 6 *bu*=18½ mm. and weight of 7 *fun*=40.81 grs. troy.

See No. 23. It has a diameter of 6 *bu*=18½ mm. and weight of 5 *fun* 5 *rin*=32.06 grs. troy.

See No. 24. It has a diameter of 6 *bu* 5 *rin* or 20 mm. and weight of 5 *fun* or 29.15 grs. troy.

On the 25th of 9th month 14th year of Jōgwan (30 Oct. 872) as it was found that the cash were badly made and very inferior, the mints were specially and severely reprimanded by the Court and ordered to make the coin of good quality.

The 4th of 8th month 16th year of Jōgwan (18 Sept. 774

A.D.) a decree was promulgated by His Majesty for left and right Kyōto, deciding the indemnity to be paid by each farmer of 15 *mon*, this freeing them from the obligation they were in to go and serve for a certain time at the *samurai* houses after the harvest.

On the 13th of 6th month 17th year Jōgwan (19 July, 875 A.D.), to the 15 big temples, new cash was given, to each about from 2000 to 3000 cash, this was in order to implore or pray for rain as that year there was a great drought.

On the 27th of 3rd month 18th year of Jōgwan 貞觀 (25 April, 876 A.D.) by Imperial decree, farmers were prohibited from making according to their own wish, as they were accustomed, all sorts of articles of the copper they dug out themselves of the mountains of Nagato and which they were selling, as this was prejudicing the minting of the coins.

On the 15th of 2nd month 2nd year of Genkei 元慶 (22 March, 878 A.D.) new copper governmental seals were made, of which one was handed to the director of the mining office in Bitchū.

By Imperial decree of the 5th of 3rd month (11 April, 878 A.D.) some 100 men of Dazaifu were sent to Buzen 豐前 to work the copper mines there in the county Kikugōri 規矩郡.

On the 26th of 6th month (29 July, 878 A.D.) the farmer's yearly indemnity which was fixed at 15 cash before in order to be liberated from doing a certain time of work at the *samurai's*, was doubled, and they had consequently now to pay 30 cash.

Up till this several times we find that for one or other occasion, criminals were pardoned, but never were those who had been found making counterfeit coins; still on the 4th of 12th month 4th year of Genkei 元慶 (7 Jan. 881 A.D.) even that class of criminals was pardoned.

In the 3rd month 5th year of Genkei 元慶 (April, 882, A.D.) copper was found in Iwami 石見 (neighborhood of Ikuno) in several places of the mountains Tomo-no-gō-Maruyama

of Minogōri 美濃郡, and one named Magabe Yasuwo was sent there to investigate the place. In the 6th month (June, 881 A.D.) the mining bureau of Okada in Yamashiro-no-kuni was closed.

Under the reign of Emperor Kōkō Tennō 光孝天皇 on the 10th of 3rd month of 1st year of Ninna 仁和 (29 March, 885 A.D.) from Nagato-no-kuni, by order of the *Dajōkwan* (or government), one miner and one smelter were sent to Bungo-no-kuni to superintend the working of the copper mines there, as the people in that locality were not well up to the working of mines.

On the 15th, of 2nd month of 2nd year of Ninna 仁和 (24 March, 886 A.D.) it was decided that from the 1st month of this year every month 4000 *mon* or cash should be allowed by the *Ōkurashō* 大藏省 (Finance Dept.) for the private table expenses of His Majesty.

In Emperor Uda Tennō's 宇多天皇 reign, in the 5th month 1st year of Kwampei 寬平 (June, 889 A.D.) the cash called Kwampei-taihō 寬平大寶 was made, and the model for the characters on the coin was written by the hand of the *Udaijin* (3rd Minister of the Court) Sugawara Michizane 菅原道眞 and these cash were:

See No. 25. It has a diameter of 6 *bu* = 18½ mm. and weight of 7 *fun* 5 *rin* = 43.72 grs. troy.

See No. 26. It has a diameter of 6 *bu* = 18½ mm. and weight of 5 *fun* = 29.15 grs. tory.

See No. 27. It has a diameter of 6 *bu* = 18½ mm. and weight of 4 *fun* = 23.32 grs. troy.

Of this coin different sizes were made and thus they varied also in weight; there were some made of a diameter of 6 *bu* 5 *rin* or 20 mm. and weighing 9 *fun* or 52.47 grs. troy, and some of 1 *momme* 1 *fun* of weight or 64.16 grs. troy.

In Emperor Daigo Tennō's 醍醐天皇 reign, in the 3rd year of Engi 延喜 (903 A.D.) it was prohibited to buy secretly any articles from China; and with regard to the above prohibition the proclamation of His Majesty of the 1st of 8th month of that year (25th August, 903 A.D.)

was as follows: "From what I have heard, lately when a Chinese merchant-ship comes, before the official envoy of the ship has been up to the Court, from the temples and *Miya*, from the *daimyō* and ministers, emissaries are sent to buy things up with great eagerness, and the wealthy people of Kyōto also desirous to get articles from far lands at any high price can not get them. This leads to the fact that these articles come to have no price, that there is no market value for them. The fault of all this mismanagement is greatly due to the bad admini stration of the custom officials who do not fulfil their duties. The article of the law seems to be forgotten, where it is said that any one who, before the government have given their approval, does any commercial transactions secretly with the *banjin* (savages or foreigners) will be considered as a thief, judged accordingly and be condemned to 3 years hard labour."

"It is further said, that before the government have performed the necessary transactions any one who secretly does make purchases from the people of foreign countries, will have said articles confiscated; the person who gives the information of it will get one half the government taking the other half, but if found out by the government everything goes to the latter. My desire is thus that the regulations be well observed by the officials, who should always keep their eyes well open; by the little attention paid to the rules by the officials, the people are led to misbehave, consequently until we permit transactions openly and in general, the existing rules must be strictly followed and any one who, contrary to this, does any transactions secretly, will have not only his things confiscated but will be heavily punished beside."

On the 3rd of 11th month of 7th year of Engi 延喜 (10 Dec. 907 A.D.) by order of His Majesty the cash Kwampei-taihō 寬平大寶 was minted over again and the coin newly made from it was called Engi-tsūhō 延喜通寶. This was put in circulation and one of these new coins was decided to be worth 10 of the old. This cash was made from this

year up to the 1st year of Tentoku 天德 (957 A.D.) and the model of the characters on it was written by Emperor Daigo Tennō 醍醐天皇.

Three different kinds were made as follows:

See No. 28. Diameter 6 *bu* or 18½ mm.; weight 1 *momme* or 土 58.33 grs. troy.

See No. 29. Diameter 6 *bu* or 18½ mm.; weight 7 *fun* or 土 40.81 grs. troy.

See No. 30. Diameter 6 *bu* or 18½ mm.; weight 5 *fun* 5 *rin* or 土 32.06 grs. troy.

At this time some coin of this same denomination was made of lead, and some of it must still exist.

In the work *Dai-nihonshi* 大日本史 we find a petition of the great savant of the Court, Miyoshi Kiyotsura 三善清行 in which the last named minister advises His Majesty to order a stop to the existence of a class of people which took all to a sort of priestlike kind of a life, shaving their heads, but having habits and characters worse than brutes; he said two thirds of the population had joined in this league, these people or so-called priests would act entirely like thieves and ruffians when in number, and they were the people that made the false coins of the Engi period. They were called *Tōsentō* 鑄錢盜.

On the 13th of 10th month 8th year of Engi 延喜 (9 Nov. 908 A.D.) the new coin was offered up to the different temples.

In the 5th year of Enchō 延長 (927 A.D.) the law called *Engi-shiki* 延喜式, or the Laws of Form of the Engi Period, was promulgated.

In the time of the reign of Emperor Shujaku Tennō 朱雀天皇 on the 22nd of 10th month 3rd year of Tenkei 天慶 (24th Nov. 940 A.D.) one Fujiwara-no Sumitomo 藤原純友 created a rebellion, he took and burned the place called Dazaifu, and the 7th of 11th month (8 Dec. 940. A.D.) the same Sumitomo burned the mint in Suwō. (This disturbance or rebellion was created by both one Taira-no Masakado who was governor or *Daijō* of Kazusa and the above named Fujiwara Sumitomo who was gover-

nor or *Daijō* of Shikoku. Masakado was dissatisfied with his position; he had in Kyōto solicited for the post of *Kebiishi* 檢非違使 or governor of Kyōto (or this title might be better translated by Head of the Police), but this post he did not obtain; he and Sumitomo were made then *Daijō* of the provinces as above mentioned, and the day of their separation and leaving Kyōto for their respective posts, Masakado said to his friend Sumitomo, "We are living in an exciting period; I am one of the last Taira or Heishinnō 平親王 or Heishi Prince; your name is Fujiwara and consequently you belong to the old *kerai* or serviteurs family, you be my *kerai* and assist me in my scheme which consists in taking Kyōto and overthrowing the Emperor, and when I am Emperor you shall be *Dajōdaijin* or premier. In two or three years we may do it by attacking Kyōto each from a different direction or each from his side, the one from north and the other up from south, now we go and take possession of our posts." Masakado was thus to the north of Kyōto being in Kazusa, and Sumitomo to the south being in Shikoku. These were really the first, and we can say the only, revolutionists who wanted to overthrow the Emperor. They for a long time made their preparations, and Sumitomo began his operations from the south northwards with the force he had been able to accumulate in boats, attacked Dazaifu, burned and plundered the place, and fought up to Suwō where he burned the mint. The rebellion of this pirate army as they were called, lasted for about six years but it was finally subdued in Shikoku without the leader being able to came up to Kyōto. Masakado was fighting his way down from north southwards; he took the whole of Kazusa and Shimōsa which he put under his rule; he made his castle in Shimōsa in the place called Sarujima; and the remains of this castle are still to be seen. (It seems he put also Musashi under his rule, but he did not pass the Hakone ranges, and it was when he wanted to put Jōshū under his rule that he was defeated by the governor of Kōzuke or the Kōzuke-no *Daijō* named Tawara Tōda

Hidesato, who organised a strong army and by whom Masakado was killed, this putting a stop to his rebellion which lasted about five years.)

During the reign of Emperor Murakami Tennō 村上天皇 on the 25th of 3rd month of 2nd year of Tentoku 天德 (16 April, 938 A.D.) the coin called Engi-tsūhō 延喜通寶 was replaced and the new coin called Kengen-taihō 乾元大寶 was made. The model of the characters of this coin was written by the Imperial Prince Ahō Yasuyuki Shinnō 阿保懷之親王.

Two kinds were made as follows:

See No. 31. Diameter 6 *bu* = 18½ mm.; weight 7 *fun* = 40.81 grs. troy.

See No. 32. Diameter 6 *bu* = 18½ mm.; weight 5 *fun* = 29.15 grs. troy.

According to a law which was promulgated the 28th of 3rd month 2nd year of Tentoku 天德 (28 April, 958 A.D.) some of this same coin was made of lead. Now from this time to about 600 years later or up till the period of Tenshō 天正 (1573-91 A.D.) we find in different books that in Emperor Godaigo Tennō's reign (1319-37 A.D.) there was a coin called Kenkon-tsūhō 乾坤通寶 in circulation. This was in the time that the Imperial Court was divided into the North and South Courts, still not one of these coins has yet been found; and during that time and for many years, the old coin formerly made in Japan and further mostly cash imported from China were all that was used. The quantity that was imported from abroad must have been very great, still the amount is not known.

During this time affairs being very unsettled and the government not minting any coin, many imitations must have been and were made of the Chinese coins by private individuals; and this being the case and not finding any reliable records about the minting of coin during about 600 years after the last made here, we can speak with some certainty only of the coins made from the period of Wadō 和同 (708-14 A.D.) till that called Kengen-taihō 乾元大寶 (958 A.D.) as described already.

In the period of Emperor Ichijō Tennō 一條天皇 on the 16th of 3rd month of 1st year of Eiyen 永延 (16 April, 987 A.D.) at the place called Kamigamo or near to the gate of the temple of that name, 782 old cash were dug up and presented to His Majesty. There were three kinds of coins amongst it, one was the Wadō-kaichin coin 和同開珍, one was the Mannen-tsūhō 萬年通寶, and the last was the Jingō-kaihō coin 神功開寶. The official fortune-teller of the Court had then to pronounce whether it was correct or advisable or not to use those coins and put them in circulation.

On the 2nd of 11th month (25 Nov. 987 A.D.) a decree appeared prohibiting the use of cash, as stated in the works called *Fusōryakki* 扶桑畧記 and *Hyakurenshō* 百錬抄.

It is curious to note that even according to the book *Nihonkiryaku* 日本紀畧 at this time it was prohibited to use coin or cash, or in other words the circulation of coin was stopped; only for buddhist religious purposes was it tolerated, which is another proof of what a footing Buddhism had taken or what power the priests had.

In the reign of Emperor Goshujaku Tennō 後朱雀天皇 on the 13th of 4th month 1st year of Chōreki 長暦 (30 April, 1037 A.D.) a present of copper was sent to the Court from the county Nosegōri in the province Settsu 攝津 and on the 3rd of 8th month (14 Sept. 1037 A.D.) this copper was offered to the 7 principal *miya* or Shintō temples.

In the reign of Emperor Goreizei Tennō 後冷泉天皇 on the 18th of 10th month 5th year of Eishō 永承 (5 Nov. 1050 A.D.) a commemoratory celebration took place for the great Chinese savant Taizanfukun 泰山府君 in the Imperial Palace and 240,000 silver cash and many other things were offered up to his idol. (This is mentioned in the work called *Chōyagunsai* 朝野群載 and shows as if at that time there were silver cash, yet as it is not shown that the government had silver coin minted, it may have been privately made coin).

In the reign of Emperor Takakura Tennō 高倉天皇 in the 3rd year of Shōan 承安 (1174 A.D.) from Sō-no-kuni

宋國 or China came a present of several articles with a letter addressed to the Emperor of Japan; but, as some impolite expressions were used in the letter, the councillors of the Court proposed to return the whole, but the Emperor's father, Goshirakawa Hōwō 後白河法皇 would not give his consent to this, so he sent a letter in reply with 30 dyed skins and 100 *ryō* in gold dust in return to Sō-no-kuni or China.

On the 12th of 11th month of 2nd year of Jishō 治承 (22nd Dec. 1179 A.D.) Taira-no Shigemori one of the ministers of the Court, gave an offering of 1000 *ryō* of gold dust and 100 silver *nan-ryō* pieces 南鐐 for imploring the aid of the gods to get a prince born to the Imperial family. (This is taken from the work called *Gempei-seisuiki* 源平盛衰記, and in the work called *Heike-monogatari* 平家物語 it is said that on that same day a prince being born Shigemori made a present of 99 gold cash to the infant prince).

In the reign of Gotoba Tennō 後鳥羽天皇 on the 4th of 7th month 4th year of Kenkyū 建久 (2nd August, 1193 A.D.), an order of His Majesty was promulgated prohibiting for the future the use of coin of Sōchō 宋朝 or of China (This is said in the work called *Hōsō-shiyōshō* 法曹至要抄, and the above shows us that from the time of the cash minted in Japan called Kwampei-tsūhō 寛平通寶 to Engi-tsūhō 延喜通寶 and Kengen-taihō 乾元大寶 and later, each time new coin was made the quality got worse; consequently that was the reason why so much Chinese coin was imported and why the latter got to be more liked and valued than the Japanese. In reality the Chinese cash was better, the people all preferred it, and it is for that reason that the above promulgation was made).

The real reason why Japanese coin was made more and more of a bad quality, is that the good copper metal and coins all were for the greatest part turned into idols or copper Buddha statues.

This habit took root more and more from the one down

to the other Emperor. For instance according to the work called *Nōsei-honron* 農政本論 in the time of Emperor Shirakawa Tennō 白河天皇 (1073-1129 A.D.) His Majesty had large and small idols made to the amount of over 3000, and this is without counting what the priests had made of cash and others. This was the Emperor who said that the whole of Japan was obeying him except the Kamogawa or the Kamo River in Kyōto and the priests of Eizan 叡山 (a mountain behind Kyōto).

In the reign of Emperor Gohorikawa Tennō 後堀河天皇 (1222-32 A.D.) in the 2nd year of Karoku 嘉祿 1st of the 8th month (25 Aug. 1226 A.D.) coin was used again, and the exchange of articles or business transaction by barter was prohibited; and although the state of affairs in this country was far from being quiet as they were in the very restless and revolutionary time of the Hōjō family, who did entirely according to their own will, we find that decrees were promulgated as on the 24th of 6th month 2nd year of Kwangi 寬喜 (4 Aug. 1230 A.D.) fixing the price of rice at 1000 *mon* for a *koku* or 2½ picul.

In the period of Emperor Shijō Tennō 四條天皇 in the 1st year of of Katei 嘉禎 (1235 A.D.) in Kamakura a large bell was made of copper coin.

On the 29th of 6th month (15 July, 1235 A.D.) of this year 30,000 copper coins more were added for the recasting of a bell which had been made in the middle of that month, but which casting had not succeeded well, and in which already 300,000 coins had been used. This is according to the work called *Azuma-kagami* 東鑑 and was probably the same bell as mentioned before.

In the period of Emperor Gofukakusa Tennō 後深草天皇 on the 11th of 10th month 6th year of Kenchō 建長 (22nd Nov. 1254 A.D.) and according to the above same book, a decree was promulgated fixing the price of 1 horse load of charcoal at 100 *mon* or cash.

In the time of Emperor Kameyama Tennō 龜山天皇 on the 10th of 9th month of 3rd year of Kōchō 弘長 (13 Oct. 1263 A.D.), by Imperial decree it was prohibited to use

any more the *kirisen* or cut coin. (This shows that there must have been copper cut coin as well as gold and silver cut coin which consisted of long thin pieces of metal of which just the quantity required for payment was cut. It is a pity that some drawing of it is nbt given in any of the works I have consulted).

In the time of Emperor Gouda Tennō 後宇多天皇 in the 3rd year of Kenji 建治 (1277 A.D.) some merchants were sent to Gen 元 or China with gold in order to get copper cash for it, as cash was wanted in this country and no more was made at this time.

It was in the China Gen 元 period that people went over with gold to exchange it against copper coin. Later on Ashikaga Yoshimitsu or 3rd Ashikaga (1394-1408 A.D.), sent gold to China, in the Min 明 period and copper cash was obtained in exchange. In Ashikaga Yoshinori's time (the 6th 1429-41 A.D.) copper cash was also received or sent from Min or China, and later in Ashikaga Yoshimasa's time, (the 8th 1449-90 A.D.) three times copper coin was received from Min or China. During this time as is seen a great deal of copper coin was always in circulation in Japan, but as in the last years none was made here it had to come from abroad, and in revenge a great quantity of gold and silver was exported to foreign countries as is well known. From years gone by, by Japan gold and silver were always very highly appreciated, they were used very little, and if used in payment of anything they were weighed out by small quantities, but they were never lawfully allowed in that time to be used as a currency. There were some gold and silver coins, but they were very rare and hardly used at all. The only things gold and silver were used for in those times were for making ornamentations for temples and idols, playthings and small ornaments for decorating saddles and harnesses, *kabuto* or helmets, *gusoku* or armour, dresses, swords, and for other ornamental purposes also as decorations or rewards to persons who had distinguished themselves. They were also used for presents to foreign countries, to show a proof of

friendly relations. So in reality the only money that was in circulation among the people was the copper coin; there was always enough in circulation, without being obliged to use gold or silver, but more and more times changed, and as years went on, the wants grew larger, and as copper cash was no longer sufficient to meet the wants, gold and silver monies were bound to come in use.

It is however only in the period of Tenshō 天正 (1573-92 A.D.) that the minting of gold and silver coin commenced on a great scale, and in nearly all the provinces each *daimyō* had some made.

Now from this Tenshō 天正 period till Kwanyei 寛永 time (1624-40 A.D.) when the introduction of foreign religion was strictly prohibited, a great many foreign vessels used to come to Japan, and still there seemed not to be any special prohibition against their landing as they used to arrive at any seaport, and moreover *daimyōs* and rich merchants had themselves also ships which were sent out to do commerce with foreign lands; and as for such purposes only copper coin could not be used, for these reasons also the minting of gold and silver was done on a much larger scale, as great quantities were required for the transaction of business abroad.

In the time of Emperor Godaigo Tennō 後醍醐天皇 in the 1st year Kemmu 建武 (1334 A.D.) the copper coin called Kenkon-tsūhō 乾坤通寶 was minted.

On the 28th of 2nd month of this year (3 March, 1334 A.D.) His Majesty in his decree with regard to this coin said: "In our Empire coins were minted in former years, from the year Temmpei-hōji 天平寶字 (757 A.D.) till the year Tentoku 天徳 (957 A.D.) and during that time over ten times the coins were reminted or new ones made; but since many years now a great quantity of foreign coin has been introduced and used by the people, and it is still all over in circulation, while coins of the country are not used. This is a great mistake and disadvantage; consequently, in order to comply with the wants of the country, the government will mint this new coin for the benefit

and usage of the people. The characters on it will be Kenkon-tsūhō 乾坤通寶, and it is hereby ordered that this coin be used and circulated the same as the other coins and as the paper money."

The above is according to the book *Dainihonshi* 大日本史.

As is said here the coin that was in circulation in the Empire at that time, was for the greatest part all coin imported from abroad, and this was a quite newly minted coin in Japan; but what kind of a coin it was or how this new Kenkon-tsūhō looked are not known as we have not been able to find a specimen of it yet.

Now taking into consideration that the reign of this Emperor was very short, that soon after commenced the great revolutions and division of the Imperial Court into South and North branches, it is most probable that the government had not had the opportunity of having much of this coin minted; and consequently, as the government was only a short time in His Majesty's hands after this when the revolution broke out again, much of it cannot have been put in circulation. Hence the reason why it is difficult to find any specimen of it.

In the time of Emperor Gokomatsu Tennō 後小松天皇 on the 13th of 5th month of 8th year of Ōyei 應永 (24 June, 1401 A.D.) Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (or 3rd) sent a letter to the Emperor of Min 明 (China) and 1000 *ryō* in pure gold and other things.

In the 10th year of Ōyei 應永 (1403 A.D.) Chinese ships laden with coin arrived at Sagami, and these coins were taken and put in circulation in the district.

In that year, says the work entitled *Kokka-kingin-sempu* 國家金銀錢譜 Chinese ships arrived at Miura in Sagami, the ships being heavily laden with Chinese copper coin. Ashikaga Mitsukane, who was then governing Kamakura, took the coin and had it put in circulation in his district.

The copper coin called Eirakusen 永樂錢 was a coin from abroad or rather from China. This coin's being

of a very good quality, was the reason why it was used for so long in Japan. From there came also the custom or habit of the Ei or 永 price or Ei 永 way of counting, as the prices of things differed according to which coin they were calculated for, and in fact at the time this coin was taken as the standard coin for any calculation.

In every book which may be consulted, it is said that the Chinese ships brought Eiraku coin, this would lead us to believe that none but this kind was imported; still that is wrong, as other coins were shipped to Japan also, it may be true that the greater part was Eirakusen, but cash of other denominations came also in by great quantities from China, so it would be better to call the imported coin simply China coin.

The Eiraku coin was only made from the 9th year of Eiraku (1411 A.D.) and as since many years before that Japan received great quantities of China coin, it is impossible that only Eiraku cash could have been imported.

There are different reports as regards the quantity of cash received by the Kamakura government from these Chinese ships, so the true amount is not known; still from letters found of Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimasa (the 8th) it is shown that great quantities of cash were received from China during the period of Eiraku (1403-24 A.D.), so it is supposed that the shipment, which was bound for Ōsaka or Sakai purposed to be forwarded to Kyōto, and which by mistake landed at Miura in Sagami, contained quite a big value of coin and which Ashikaga Mitsukane, governor of Kamakura must have been pleased to make use of.

This Eiraku coin being of very good quality, very soon all round in Kwantō or *Kwan-hasshū* (the eight province north of the Hakone ranges, or Sagami, Musashi, Kōzuke, Shimozuke, Kazusa, Shimōsa, Awa, and Hitachi,) the people would not receive any other coin but this, and refused to take that which was called *bitasen* or the old Japanese-made cash at the same rate.

It got so far that many disputes and fights took place

about this coin question, so Hōjō Nagamasa, then governor of the Kwantō province (1502-8 A.D.), who had taken the power in hand of his own accord, promulgated a decree ordering that one Eiraku coin should be worth 4 *bitasen* and the coins were to be used in circulation as such.

From this time then all the *bitasen* made their way down to Kyōto where they took the name of *kyōsen* and in Kwantō provinces only the Eiraku 永樂錢 was used.

The copper Eiraku-tsūhō 永樂通寶 or Eiraku-sen is as follows:

See No. 33. Diameter 8 *bu*=24½ mm.; weight 1 *momme* 1 *pun*=64.16 grs. troy.

See No. 34. Diameter 8 *bu*=24½ mm.; weight 1 *momme*=58.33 grs. troy.

See No. 35. Diameter 8 *bu*=24½ mm.; weight 8 *fun*= 46.64 grs. troy.

Of these Eirakusen there were different sorts, still all of the same size of 8 *bu* in diameter or 24½ mm. They used only to differ in weight and the best quality and the most in demand were those of course of 1 *momme* and over.

In the time of Emperor Gohanazono Tennō 後花園天皇 in the 6th month of 6th year of Eikyō 永享 (July, 1434 A.D.) an embassy came from Min (China) bringing 300,000 *kwan* of cash or 300,000,000 copper coin, according to the book *Zoku-kōchō-shiryaku* 續皇朝史畧.

In the 7th month of 3rd year of Hōtoku 寶德 (July, 1451 A.D.) from the Ryūkyū people came a present of 1000 *kwan* of copper cash or 100000, cash which Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimasa (the 8th) presented to His Majesty.

In the 5th year of Kwanshō 寬正 (1464 A.D.) Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimasa sent a letter to the Emperor of China Min 明 asking for copper coin in return.

In this year Shōgun Yoshimasa wrote a letter to the Emperor of China Min 明 in which he said that during the period of Eiraku China had sent a great quantity of copper cash, but he found that in late years she had not done so, consequently the financial offices were all in great want and could not come to the assistance of the

people who also were in great need. So he requested Min 明 to send some money as soon as possible.

In the time of Emperor Gotsuchimikado Tennō 後土御門天皇 in the 7th year of Bummei 文明 (1475 A.D.) Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimasa wrote again a letter to the Emperor of China, Min 明, asking for copper cash. In this letter Yoshimasa asked not only for money but also for books.

He said further that there was great want for money, the finance bureau had nothing in the vaults, the ground was getting uncultivated and the people in misery. In the time of Eiraku, great quantities of cash were sent and affairs were not allowed to come to this stage, consequently in the present state of affairs he urgently asked them to send money without any further delay and said that it was more wanted than books.

In the 10th year of Bummei 文明 (1478 A.D.) the Emperor of China Min 明 sent 50,000,000 cash upon the demand made in the 7th year of Bummei (1475 A.D.) by Yoshimasa.

In the 15th year of Bummei 文明 (1483 A.D.) in the 3rd month (April) Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimasa sent a letter again to the Emperor of China, Min 明, in which he said, "Lately by the fires which have taken place in the capital (Kyōto) the state of affairs has got daily worse, and not a cash is to be found and there is nothing "en-caisse" at the finance department, so there is nothing with which to come to the assistance of the people. We require, and that absolutely as soon as possible, 100,000,000 cash or 100,000 *kwan* of coin, and if you send this without any delay my thankfulness will be unbounded."

The Shōgun Aashikaga's way of writing to the Emperor of China, Min 明, was always in rather a too highly flattering way, or rather in the letters he wrote, in order to obtain money, he would date his letter with the Chinese year's denomination and would sign as the "serviteur" of Min, which way of acting was a shame for the country and was an unpardonable crime; still when it is taken into consideration that if the country was in such a great

want, he tried to obtain money in such a way that it was not obliged to be refunded, not contracting a real loan, and if he did this really in order to come to the assistance of the poor, the crime is somewhat lessened, but if it is not the case, his way of acting was still more blameable.

This Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimasa was very fond of luxury and extravagance, it was in his time that the temple Ginkakuji and grounds were made; for instance an extravagant fancy of his, was once in the middle of the summer to have the mountain behind his palace (his palace was at Higashiyama in Kyōto), and which he looked out on from his sitting room, entirely covered with white silk, and the garden and trees towards his house all covered and hung with white cotton so as to have the appearance of snow, and admiring this view he would drink his powder tea in company of his guests, a little pleasure which must have cost him something. The so covered mountain has kept its name from this and is known by the name of Kinugasayama 衣笠山.

Notwithstanding these extravagant caprices, Yoshimasa at the same time having always the best artists in his employ, it was in his time that the finest works of art, lacquer, paintings, metal, ivory work of all sorts were made, in fact his time is and was called the period of the production of fine articles, which is a proof that he was a man with very good taste.

In the 9th year of Meiō 明應 10th day of 9th month (3 Oct. 1500 A.D.) by decree it was notified that the wrongful system adopted of late years of sorting the coin was not to be allowed any more, and any one who should still be found to do this, contrary to the present decree, would be severely punished. (Although the cash in circulation at this time was nearly all imported from China, the people would not only sort the Japanese coin but would sort even the Chinese also).

In the time of Emperor Gokashiwabara Tennō 後柏原天皇 on the 7th of 8th month of 5th year of Yeishō 永正 (2 Sept. 1508 A.D.) an Imperial decree was promulgated

where in Art. 1 it was said that the putting in circulation of bad cash was prohibited and in Art. 2 of same, it was said that of late years, people had the habit of sorting the cash which was very wrong and bad for the interest of business, and every one was ordered to use the cash old or new which came from China, all on the same standing.

During the period above mentioned nearly all the cash in circulation was from China, so if there were any bad cash, it must have been some that were broken or some on which the characters were not very readable, moreover it will have probably been also those made in Japan as many imitations were made.

In the work called *Senka-kagami* 泉貨鑑 it is said that in the time of the war when Yamana-uji 山名氏 made his entry into Kyōto (1450-70 A.D.) Yamana had some bronze Buddha statues melted and had coin made of them; these also are believed to have been the bad cash referred to in the above decree (and the saying that old or new, all cash from China were to be used, in the same way, meant that all were to be used as even different sorts of cash came from China).

In the 1st year of Eishō 永正 (1504 A.D.) the cash in use in the province of Aizu 會津 was that called Taikan-tsūhō 大觀通寶 as is said in the work called *Aizu-shika-gōkō* 會津四家合考, and according to the information found in the diary of the temple Myōhōji 妙法寺 in the province of Kai 甲斐, in that province in the 24th year of Tembun 天文 (1556 A.D.) there was a cash in use which the people called Sen-nankin 錢南京 (or Nankin or China coin), but this must have been the Chinese Eiraku and other China coin which were in quantity in use in many places.

In the time of Emperor Ōgimachi Tennō 正親町天皇 in autumn of 13th year of Tenshō 天正 (1485 A.D.) Toyotomi Hideyoshi gave out to the *daimyōs* 大名 and *shōmyōs* 小名 5000 gold *mai* or *ōbans* and 30,000 *ginmai* or silver *mai* (1 gold *mai* had 43 *momme* weight of gold or 2508.19 grs.

troy or 161-53 grammes, and silver *mai* had a weight of 43 *momme* also, and a *daimyō* was a feudal chief with an income of over 10,000 *koku* of rice, and a *shōmyō* was one with an income of under 10,000 *koku* of rice, a *koku* being 2½ picul).

In the annals of Toyotomi Hideyoshi we find that in the 5th month of 17th year of Tenshō 天正 (1589 A.D.) the *Kwambaku* had distributed out up to a value of some 365,000 *ryōs* in gold and silver, but this was probably given out on two occasions.

In the same works it is said that it was in the 16th year of Tenshō 天正 (1588 A.D.) that the first *ōban* and *koban* were made. In the work called *Hōkwa-jiryaku* 寶貨事畧 it is said also with regard to the denomination of *mai* which is used for them, that these coins were made already before that time, and that the *ōban* and the silver coin called *chōgin* etc. were existing, and that the *ōban* must be considered as having existed already from the time of Ota Nobunaga (1556-82 A.D.). But whatever may be said in different books about it, the real shape of these gold coins, or their kinds if any, was not known before the Tenshō 天正 period which began in 1573 A.D., and it is only since that period that the shape, kinds and quantities of those coins did decidedly become known.

In the time of Emperor Goyōzei Tennō 後陽成天皇 in the 15th year of Tenshō 天正 (1587 A.D.) the coin called Tenshō-tsūhō 天正通寶 was made in two kinds one of silver and the other of copper, says the book *Sen-i* 泉彙 and the *Sankwa-zui* 三貨圖彙.

The silver coin was:

See No. 36. Diameter 7 *bu* 5 *rin* or=23 mm.; weight 1 *momme* 8 *rin* or 62.99 grs. troy or about 15 *sen*.

The copper coin:

See No. 37. Diameter 8 *bu* or 24¼ mm.; weight 8 *bu* 5 *rin* or 49.56 grs. troy.

In the work called *Konyō-manroku* 昆陽漫錄 it is said that in this Tenshō 天正 and Keichō 慶長 period the people in Kwantō (environs of Yedo) had made some lead

coins which they were circulating and using, so this shows that at this time lead coins were in circulation also.

To show that there was a gold piece in the shape of an *ōban* before those known as being made in Hideyoshi's time, the *Dainihon-kwaheishi* 大日本貨幣史 gives a passage out of the work called *Sankwa-zui* 三貨圖彙, in which it is said that in the Hōyei 寶永 period (1704-10 A.D.) a farmer of Seki (Sekigahara) while digging, found an *ōban* of nearly pure gold, of which the natural size is given and which was:

Length 4 *sun* 9 *bu* 5 *rin* or 15 cm., width 3 *sun* 5 *rin* or 9 cm. and $3\frac{1}{2}$ mm.; its weight was 44 *momme* 7 *fun* (or equal to about 2607-33 grs. troy or about 165-29 grammes. This piece was then considered worth 10 *ryō*, but would have a value as gold now of over *yen* 156.45). It had no stamp nor any characters on it.

It was taken by this farmer to an exchange place in Kyōto where it was decided that it was the gold *ōban* without letters or stamp made in the time of Ota Nobunaga and of which they used to cut pieces when any payment had to be made, but these *ōban* had not been much in circulation.

In the period of Tenshō 天正 in Hideyoshi's time gold and silver coins, were made the same shape as the copper cash with the inscription of Eiraku-tsūhō 永樂通寶 on it; these coins were also used in Kōshū, for we find in the Annals by Kondō-Morishige 近藤守重筆記 that in the 10th year Tenshō 天正 (1582 A.D.) the *daimyō* of Kōshū, Takeda Katsuyori, made a present to the people of Kōshū gold and of 15 silver Eiraku coins.

In the work called *Zoku-honchō-tsugan* 續本朝通鑑 it is said, that in the 18th year of Tenshō 天正 (1590 A,D.) Hideyoshi used to go out on the battle field with a string of gold cash, which he used to distribute to those who won a battle; further in the work called *Yashi* 野史 it is said also that Hideyoshi every time he was going out, used to have a bag with silver cash with him, but, as is said in the work *Sankwa-zui* 三貨圖彙, these gold and

silver Eiraku coins which were minted under Hideyoshi in the Tenshō period became in use in all the provinces although Hideyoshi generally used them only as compensation for bravery in war.

In the 1st year of Bunroku 文祿 (1592 A.D.) also in Hideyoshi's time the coin called Bunroku-tsūhō 文祿通寶 was minted; two kinds were made, the silver and the copper; the former:

See No. 38 had a diameter of 7 *bu* or 21½ mm.; weight unknown; and the copper.

See No. 39. Its size and weight are unknown to the present time although it seems it was generally in circulation.

In the time of Emperor Goyōzei Tennō 後陽成天皇 in the 1st month of 9th year of Keichō 慶長 (Febr. 1604 A.D.) by decree of the Court, it was ordered that one Eiraku coin was to be used in future for 4 *bitasen* 鐚錢 (these *bitasen* were the cash really made in Japan and which were called the bad coin, the character *Bita* 鐚 means bad or shameful metal).

In this time also conformably to an order of Tokugawa-uji one *koban* of one *ryō* gold was worth 1 *kwammon* of Eirakusen or 1000 Eiraku cash, and 250 Eirakusen were worth one *Ichibu* (which shows at what a high price or value, copper cash was held).

In the 11th year of Keichō 慶長 (1606 A.D.) a coin called Keichō-tsūhō 慶長通寶 of copper was minted:

Till this, as has been seen, the Eirakusen or coin was mostly in use but when this new cash was made by order of the court this was to be put in circulation at the same rate as the Eiraku coin.

Since the year before this or 1605 A.D. the mines in the province of Izu 伊豆 had produced a great deal of gold and silver, consequently one named Ōkubo Chōan 大久保長安 was appointed director of those mines, and on the 18th of 6th month 11th year of Keichō 慶長 (22 July, 1606 A.D.), to one named Watanabe Bingo 渡邊備後 was given the order to make further researches after gold and silver mines says the book called *Tokugawa-jikki* 德川實記.

Of this Keichō coin some were made of silver:

See No. 40. Diameter 7 *bu* 5 *rin*=23 mm.; weight 1 *momme* 1 *pun*=63.76 grs. troy, the copper coin was:

See No. 41. Diameter 7 *bu* 5 *rin*=23 mm.; weight 6 *pun* 2 *rin*=35.94 grs. troy.

In the 12th month of 13th year of Keichō (Jan. 1609 A.D.) by order of the Court the circulation of the Eirakusen was prohibited and this was done because although by Imperial decree the *Bitasen* (or bad coin) was ordered to be used on the same scale as the Eirakusen yet the people would keep on discarding the *Bitasen*.

In the 14th year of Keichō 慶長 (1609 A.D.) the value of gold, silver and other metals was decided upon and a new pecree was promulgated prohibiting the circulation of the Eirakusen.

It was in the 7th month (July, 1609 A.D.) of this year that the value was decided; gold one *ryō* was to be worth 1 *kwammon* of Eirakusen or 1000 Eiraku cash and 4 *kwammon* of *kyōsen* or Japanese cash of Kyōto. Further 1 *ryō* gold was decided to be worth 50 *me* of silver (this would be to-day, as one *me* or *momme* silver is at an average of 13 *sen*,=to *yen* 6.50 the gold *ryō*).

In the 8th month (Sept. 1609 A.D.) a new Imperial decree was promulgated, prohibiting again the circulation of the Eirakusen, and this was necessary because as for payment of taxes the government offices in Suruga and in Yedo had accepted Eirakusen from the people and farmers, they thinking the circulation was allowed again, recommenced to use it amongst themselves, but then a stop was put to it.

(The idea was not so bad, as naturally Eirakusen was known to be the best coin, the people preferred it to the other, which the government wanted absolutely the people to use the same as the Eirakusen, and now prohibiting the use of this good coin the government on the other side were quite willing naturally to accept it in payment of taxes.).

In the reign of Emperor Gomizuo Tennō 後水尾天皇 in

the 2nd year of Genna 元和 in the 5th month (June, 1616 A.D.) an Imperial decree appeared, fixing the rate of *sen* or cash at 1000 or 1 *kwan* for 1 *bu* gold and prohibiting any one from rejecting any *sen* or cash except the six kinds hereafter mentioned, and if any one should be found guilty of rejecting any other cash, that person would receive a stigma or burnt mark on the face. The six kinds admitted to be rejected were:

1. Pieces badly broken or with big pieces out of them.
2. Cracked pieces which were generally mended with paper and so held together.
3. Pieces on which the inscription was illegible.
4. Newly made false pieces.
5. Pieces badly made; too small.
6. Lead pieces.

In the 3rd year of Genna 元和 (1617 A.D.) the cash called Genna-tsūhō 元和通寶 was minted. They were made in two sorts, silver and copper.

Regarding this period, we find in the work called *Tokugawa-jikki* 徳川實記 a decree which appeared on the 20th of 5th month of above year (23 June, 1617 A.D.) fixing the travelling expenses along the Tōkaidō or rather the lodging fee, and deciding it to be in each stopping place, per one person for one night 4 *kyō* cash or Japanese Kyōto-made cash, and for one horse 8 cash, but if the traveller should bring his own wood (for boiling his rice), the inn keeper could only charge in that case, the half of the above fee.

The copper cash above named was:

See No. 42. Diameter 7 *bu* 5 *rin* or 23 mm.; weight 9 *fun* or 52.47 grs. troy.

Again on the 12th of 2nd month 4th year of Genna 元和 (7 March, 1618 A.D.), this was in the time of the 2nd Shōgun Tokugawa Hidetada, a new decree appeared prohibiting the rejection of other cash but the six kinds already mentioned before, and as people seemed still to go on with the habit of rejecting, the punishment of the stigma or burnt-mark on the face was again promulgated.

Further it was anew decreed that the value of one *ryō* would be 4 *kwammon* or 4000 cash and any one who should disobey this latter decree would have the whole amount of the transaction confiscated, both parties to be dealt with in the same way, besides where such an infringer of the law should be found, the village officer would be fined 5 *kwammon* or 5000 cash and each house of that village 100 cash.

In the 3rd month of 8th year of Genna 元和 (April, 1622 A.D.) and on the 27th of 8th month 2nd year of Kwanyei 寛永 (26 Sept. 1625 A.D.) the above same decree with punishment and fines had to be repeated.

In the 12th month of 4th year of Kwanyei 寛永 (Jan. 1628 A.D.) in each province a director of the mines and of finance was appointed.

In the 6th month of 13th year of Kwanyei 寛永 (July, 1636 A.D.) the new copper cash called Kwanyei-tsūhō 寛永通寶 was made and put in circulation on the same footing as the former cash. One named Doi Ōi-no-kami Toshikatsu 土井大炊頭利勝 was appointed director for the minting of this coin. In the same month, by decree, it was promulgated that this coin would be minted in two places, in Sakamoto 坂本 of the Province Ōmi 近江 and in Yedo 江戸, and that it was prohibited to privately make it in any other place. It was decreed also that the new as well as the old cash would have to circulate at the rate of 4 *kwammon* or 4000 cash for one *ryō* gold, and if any one should be found to make any difference in the value of these cash, the person so found guilty would have double the amount of the transaction confiscated and the officer of the village would be fined 200 *piki* or 2000 cash and each household of the same village 10 *piki* or 100 cash: further the prohibition of rejecting any cash other but the 6 sorts already mentioned and any other infraction, would be punished by the offender being exposed for 3 days on the public road or by getting 10 days imprisonment; the punishment for the rest of the district or village of the offender would be the same as above mentioned.

The above Kwanyei-tsūhō 寛永通寶 cash were:

1. See No. 43. Diameter 7 *bu* 5 *rin*=or 23 mm.; weight 9 *fun*=or 52.47 grs. troy which was made in Shiba 芝 in Yedo.

2. See No. 44. Diameter 8 *bu*=or 24½ mm.; weight 9 *fun* or=52.47 grs. troy which was made in Sakamoto, Ōmi.

3. See No. 45. Diameter 8 *bu*=or 24½ mm.; weight 1 *momme* or 58.33 grs. troy which was made in Asakusa, Yedo.

4. See No. 46. Diameter 8 *bu*=or 24½ mm.; weight 1 *momme*=58.33 grs. troy which were made in Asakusa at Yedo.

The last kind has a round dot at the back above the square hole. These two last mentioned coins were made from the 13th year of Kwanyei 寛永 till the period of Meireki 明暦 or 1655-57 A.D. As this Kwanyei-tsūhō 寛永通寶 coin was made in many different places and during many years, it has been impossible to ascertain how many were really minted, but one thing has been ascertained, and that is that in the Ansei 安政 period (1854-59 A.D.) the *Bakufu* or Tokugawa government had in its vaults alone 2,114,246,283 of these coins, which amount taken at the then rate of 6000 for a *yen* represented about 352,375 *yens*.

In the 8th year of Kwambun 寛文 (1668 A.D.) a coin Kwanyei-tsūhō was made:

See No. 47. Diameter 8 *bu*=24½ mm.; weight 9 *fun* or=52.49 grs. troy.

This coin was made in Kyōto of the bronze *Daibutsu* statue, which was melted for that purpose. The minting of this coin was kept up till the period of Tenwa 天和 (1681-83 A.D.) and in order to define it from the other Kwanyei-tsūhō coin, it had the character *bun* 文 on the back above the square hole.

In the same year or 8th year of Kwambun 寛文 (1668 A.D.) another coin Kwanyei-tsūhō was made:

See No. 48. Diameter 8 *bu*=24½ mm.; weight 9 *fun* or 52.47 grs. troy.

This coin had also a small star at the back above the square hole, but where this coin was made is not well known.

Another coin Kwanyei-tsūhō 寛永通寶:

See No. 49. Diameter 8 *bu*=24½ mm.; weight 1 *momme* 1 *pun*=65.16 grs.troy, was made in the Kwambun 寛文 period (1661-72 A.D.) in Yedo at the place called Kameido 龜井戸; some say however that this coin was also made in the Shōtoku 正德 period (1711-15 A.D.)

Another coin Kwanyei-tsūhō 寛永通寶:

See No. 50. Diameter 8 *bu*=24½ mm.; weight 1 *momme* 1 *pun*=65.16 grs. troy was made in the 4th year of Genroku 元祿 (1691 A.D.) in Kameido also in Yedo.

Two other coins Kwanyei-tsūhō 寛永通寶 were made:

See No. 51. Diameter 7 *bu* 5 *rin*=23 mm.; weight 7 *fun*=or 40.81 grs. troy.

See No. 52. Diameter 7 *bu* 5 *rin*=23 mm.; weight 7 *fun*=40.81 grs. troy. These two coins differ very little from each other as regards the formation of the characters on the face, their weight and diameter is the same, they were made one in Yedo and one in Kyōto at Shichijō 七條 in the 12th year of Genroku 元祿 (1699 A.D.).

Another kind of Kwanyei-tsūhō 寛永通寶 copper cash was made:

See No. 53. Diameter 8 *bu*=24½ mm.; weight 1 *momme* =58.33 grs. troy. This was made in Yedo at Kameido from the 5th year of Hōyei 寶永 (1708 A.D.) till the 4th year of Shōtoku 正德 (1714 A.D.).

In this 5th year of Hōyei 寶永 (1708 A.D.) a large copper cash called Hōyei-tsūhō Taisen 寶永通寶大錢 or big cash was made, and by decree this cash was ordered to be used in circulation without any objections. This piece was worth 10 of the ordinary cash and the value of copper coin was settled to be for 1 *ryō* gold, from 3 *kwan* 300 *mon* (or 3300 cash) to 4 *kwan* (or 4000 cash) says the work *Tokugawa-jikki* 德川實記. In the 9th month of this year (Oct. 1708 A.D.) although a new decree appeared ordering to use this large coin the same as the gold, silver or other smaller coin, still the people found the use of it not convenient and it would not get popular. The people would not get accustomed to it, they were informed

that they would be punished for not using it, and orders were given to report every one who should refuse to take it.

This coin was:

See No. 54. Diameter 1 *sun* 2 *bu* or 36½ mm.; weight 2 *momme* 4 *fun* or 128.32 grs. troy.

On the back, each in a small round circle, were the following 4 characters; 1 was 永 2 was 久 3 was 世 and 4 was 用.

In the 6th year of Hōyei 寶永 (1709 A.D.) or the next year this large coin had to be taken out of circulation. It is not at all surprising that the people did not like to use this big coin as ordered equal to 10 of the ordinary cash, while its real value was only about equal to 3 ordinary small cash.

Another interesting point is that at this time it seemed that those who had coin laid aside, kept it so preciously and prevented it so well from coming in circulation that there came a scarcity of coin which was very much felt in the daily business transactions, and cash got even to be very dear, so on the 29th of 10th month 6th year of Hōyei (30 Nov. 1709 A.D.) by decree it was promulgated that 5000 *kwan* (5,000,000 cash) would be sold by public auction at the rice godowns of Asakusa in Yedo by the superintendent of these godowns.

Another Kwanyei-tsūhō 寛永通寶 coin:

See No. 55. Diameter 8 *bu*=24½ mm.; weight 8 *fun* =46.64 grs. troy. It was made in Kameido 龜井戸 at Yedo 江戸 from the commencement of Shōtoku period 正德 (1711-15 A.D.).

From the 4th year of Shōtoku 正德 to the 5th year of Shōtoku (1714-15 A.D.) a copper coin Kwanyei-tsūhō 寛永通寶 was made:

See. No. 56. Diameter nearly 8 *bu* or 24½ mm.; and weight 9 *fun*=52.47 grs. troy. It was made in Aikawa 相川 in the province of Sado 佐渡國 and bears on the back above the square hole the character 佐 *sa*.

From the 11th year of Kyōhō 享保 (1726 A.D.) a coin

called also Kwanyei-tsūhō 寛永通寶 was made in Kyōto or Heian 平安 ("the place of peace and tranquility" as Kyōto was also called), at Shichijō 七條:

See No. 57. Diameter 8 *bu*=24½ mm.; and weight 1 *momme*=58.33 grs. troy.

From the 11th year to the 17th year of Kyōhō 享保 (1726-32 A.D.) a coin called also Kwanyei-tsūhō was made in Yedo 江戸 at the place called Fukagawa 深川:

See No. 58. Diameter nearly 8 *bu*=24½ mm.; weight 8 *fun*=or 46.64 grs. troy.

From the 13th to the 15th year of Kyōho 享保 (1728-30 A.D.) a coin called also Kwanyei-tsūhō 寛永通寶 was made at Nambamura 難波村 in the province Settsu 攝津國 (near Ōsaka):

See No. 59. Diameter 8 *bu*=24½ mm.; weight 1 *momme*=58.33 grs. troy.

In the 13th year of Kyōhō 享保 (1728 A.D.) a coin also called Kwanyei-tsūhō 寛永通寶 was made in Settsu 攝津 in Mutsu 陸奥 and Sado 佐渡. Those made in Mutsu or Ōshū were minted during 6 years in the place called Ishinomaki 石巻 and up to an amount of 400,000 *kwan* (400,000,000 cash) were made. At the back of these cash is above the square hole the character *sen* 仙 of Sendai. There were two pieces or coins made:

See No. 60. Diameter nearly 8 *bu*=24½ mm.; weight 9 *fun* 5 *rin*=55.38 grs. troy.

See No. 61. Diameter 7½ *bu*=23 mm.; weight 1 *momme*=58.33 grs. troy.

In the same year a coin also called Kwanyei-tsūhō as said before was made in the province of Sado 佐渡 in the place called Aikawa 相川. This coin had the character *sa* 佐 of Sado on the back above the square hole:

See No. 62. Diameter 8 *bu*=or 24½ mm.; weight 8 *fun*=or 46.64 grs. troy.

In the same place at the same time was minted also a coin of the same denomination with also the character of *sa* 佐 on the back above the square hole:

See No. 63. Diameter 8 *bu*=or 24½ mm.; and weight

1 *momme* 5 *rin*=or 61.25 grs. troy and another coin of the same denomination and mark was made:

See No. 64. Diameter 8 *bu*=24½ mm.; and weight 9 *fun* 5 *rin*=or 55.39 grs. troy.

In the 14th year of Kyōhō 享保 (1729 A.D.) by decree the interest on money, gold and silver, was decided and was not allowed to be over 5% per year, says the work called *Tokugawa-jikki* 德川實記, because too heavy interests were charged to the people, who were suffering under it, and this new rate of interest was to be applied on all borrowed moneys already from as far back as the 15th year of Genroku 元祿 (1702 A. D.).

Conformably to the same book, in the 12th month 20th year of Kyōhō 享保 (Jan. 1736 A.D.) a decree was promulgated ordering the rice of 1st quality to be sold at 1 *koku* 2 *to* 5 *shō* and the 2nd quality at 1 *koku* 3 *to* 5 *shō* for 1 *ryō* gold (by taking the gold *ryō* as being worth then 400 cash, it made about 3 cash $\frac{8}{10}$ for one *shō* as 1st quality rice and 2 cash 96 or nearly 3 cash for 1 *shō* 2nd quality rice, while now 1 *shō* of rice is about $14\frac{8}{10}$ *sen*).

In the 1st year Genbun 元文 (1736 A.D.) at the place called Jūmantsubo 十萬坪 at Fukagawa 深川 in Yedo 江戶 two kinds of copper Kwanyei-tsūhō coins were made, the first was:

See No. 65. Diameter nearly 8 *bu*=or 24½ mm.; weight 8 *fun* or 46.64 grs. troy which had at the back above the square hole the character *jū* 十 or ten. The other was without any character at the back:

See No. 66. Diameter a little over 7 *bu* 5 *rin*=or 23. mm.; weight 8 *fun* or 46.64 grm. troy.

In the same year (1736 A.D.) two copper coins also called Kwanyei-tsūhō 寬永通寶 were made in the province Yamashiro 山城 at Yoko-ōji 橫大路 in Toba 鳥羽; one was:

See No. 67. Diameter 7 *bu* 5 *rin*=or 23 mm.; weight 8 *fun*=or 46.64 grs. troy; and the other:

See No. 68. Diameter 8 *bu*=or 24½ mm.; weight 1 *momme*=or 58. 33 grs. troy.

In the same year (1736 A. D.) in Kommemura 小梅村 at

Yedo two copper coins were made bearing both at the back above the square hole the character *ko* 小; one was:

See No. 69. Diameter 7 *bu* 5 *rin* or 23 mm.; weight 8 *fun* = 46.64 grs. troy; and the other:

See No. 70. Diameter 7 *bu* 5 *rin* = or 23 mm.; weight also 8 *fun* = 46.64 grs. troy.

In the same year (1736 A.D.) a copper cash called Kwanyei-tsūhō 寛永通寶 was made at Wakayama 若山 in the province Kishū 紀伊國:

See No. 71. Diameter 7 *bu* 5 *rin* = 23 mm.; weight 7 *fun* 5 *rin* = 43.72 grs. troy.

In the same year (1736 A.D.) a copper cash called Kwanyei-tsūhō 寛永通寶 was also made in the province Kishū at the places called Udo 宇都 and Nakajima 中島:

See No. 72. Diameter over 8 *bu* or 24⅓ mm.; weight 9 *fun* = 52.47 grs. troy.

In the same year (1736 A.D.) a copper cash called also Kwanyei-tsūhō was made in the province Yamashiro 山城 at Fushimi 伏見 (near Kyōto):

See No. 73. Diameter nearly 7 *bu* 5 *rin* or 23 mm.; weight 7 *fun* or 4 .81 grs. troy.

In the same year (1736 A.D) a copper cash of the same name Kwanyei-tsūhō was made at Sado 佐渡國 at the place called Aikawa 相川 and bears at the back above the square hole the character *sa* 佐; it was:

See No. 74. Diameter 8 *bu* or 24½ mm.; weight 7 *fun* or 40.81 grs. troy.

In this same year, 6th month (July, 1736 A.D.) with regard to the copper sales transactions, an order was sent to the governor of Nagasaki ordering him to diminish the numbers of Chinese ships which used to take copper away from that port and the number of such vessels was now limited to 25 in a year.

In this year a cash called also Kwanyei-tsūhō was made of iron, and a decree was promulgated prohibiting people from laying cash aside or from accumulating cash. As is seen in this time, in many places coin was made in Yedo 江戸

as well as in Kyōto 京都 and other places, and notwithstanding this, there was not much to be found in circulation, which must have originated from the great quantity that was exported to China, so this is probably why, we find that a decree was promulgated in the 9th month of this year (October, 1736 A.D.) prohibiting entirely the exportation of cash. By this we see the entire turn of things, first it was Japan that wanted copper coin from China but now China came to purchase copper and imported even the copper coin from Japan.

At this time at the mint at the place called Jūmantsubo 十萬坪 in Fukagawa, Yedo during 7 years every year 150,000 *kwammon* (or 150,000,000 cash) was minted, and at the mint of Yoko-ōji 横大路 (Kyōto) every year for 10 years 50,000 *Kwammon* (or 50,000,000 cash) was made.

From the Gembun period 元文 (1736 A.D.) to the Keiō period 慶應 (1865-67 A.D.) 6,332,619,404 iron cash or coin were made and put in circulation.

In the 2nd year of Gembun 元文 (1737 A.D.) two pieces called Kwanyei-tsūhō 寛永通寶 were made in Yedo at Kameido; these cash are:

See No. 75. Diameter nearly 8 *bu*=or 24½ mm.; weight 8 *fun*=or 46.64 grs. troy; and:

See No. 76. Of the same diameter and weight as 75, the difference can only be noticed by the rim of the square hole at the back.

In this time more Kwanyei-tsūhō of iron were made in great quantities in Kameido in Yedo; every day 150 *kwammon* or 150,000 of those cash were turned out.

In this same year (1737 A. D.) in Akita 秋田 in the province of Dewa 出羽 three sorts of copper cash called Kwanyei-tsūhō were made; they were:

See No. 77. Diameter over 7 *bu* 5 *rin* or 23 mm.; weight 8 *fun*=or 46.64 grs. troy.

See No. 78. Diameter over 7 *bu* 5 *rin* or 23 mm.; and weight as No. 77. and:

See No. 79. Diameter and weight also the same.

Here in Dewa 出羽 in Akita 秋田 for ten years every

year 100,000 *kwammon* or 100,000,000 copper cash were made. In the villages Udo 宇都 and Nakajima 中島 in the province Kii 紀伊國 was also made a Kwanyei-tsūhō 寛永通寶 cash from the copper of the mines Kumano 熊野, and here in these two villages in 7 years 80,000 *kwammon* or 80,000,000 copper cash were made, and iron cash was made here also according to the records kept by one Kondō Morishige 近藤守重.

In this same year 2nd year of Gembun 元文 (1737 A. D.) Yedo at Onagigawa 小名木川 (Honjo) was made a copper cash called also Kwanyei-tsūhō with the character *kawa* 川 at the back above the square hole:

See No. 80. Diameter nearly 8 *bu* = or 24¾ mm.; weight 1 *momme* 2 *fun* = or 69.99 grs. troy.

In this same year (1737 A.D.) a copper cash called Kwanyei-tsūhō was made in Fujisawa 藤澤 in the province of Sagami 相模:

See No. 81. Diameter 8 *bu* = or 24½ mm.; weight 1 *momme* = or 58.33 grs. troy.

In this same year (1737 A.D). a copper cash called also Kwanyei-tsūhō was made at Nikkō 日光 at the temple Jakkōji 寂光寺:

See No. 82. Diameter 7 *bu* 5 *rin* or 23 mm.; weight 7 *fun* or 40.81 grs. troy.

In the 3rd year of Gembun 元文 (1738 A.D.) in the province Settsu 攝津 Nishinarigōri 西成郡 in the village Kaminakajimamura 上中島村 near Ōsaka, copper Kwanyei-tsūhō cash was made. They were minted for 10 years at 100,000 *kwammon* or 100,000,000 cash a year. Some iron cash were made also, and a copper mint was established at Ōsaka 大坂.

In this year and on the 4th of 4th month (22th May, 1738 A.D.) by decree it was promulgated and ordered that all the copper that was extracted in the different provinces out of the different copper mines, was to be sold by the people to the newly established copper mint in Ōsaka 大坂 and was not allowed to be kept back or in possession by the owners.

In the same month there appeared also a decree ordering that unless the copper extracted from the mines was not first examined by the copper mint officials and afterwards the necessary permission obtained from the *Machi-bugyō* 町奉行 or governor, nobody was allowed to make any cash.

In the same month appeared a decree informing that on the 10th of 12th month (19 Jan. 1739 A.D.) at the government warehouses at Asakusa (Yedo) a sale of cash would take place and ordering the intending buyers to send in their tenders by the 8th of that month.

In the 4th year of Gembun 元文 (1739 A.D.) a copper cash called Kwanyei-tsūhō 寛永通寶 was made at the place called Oshiage 押上 (Honjo, Yedo):

See No. 83. Diameter 8 *bu* = 24½ mm.; weight 8 *fun* = or 46.64 grs. troy.

From the Gembun 元文 period (1736 A.D.) till the Kwampō 寛保 period (1743 A.D.) a copper cash Kwanyei-tsūhō was made in Yedo at the place called Jūmantsubo 十萬坪 near Fukagawa:

See No. 84. Diameter 8 *bu* 5 *rin* = 26 mm.; weight 1 *momme* 2 *fun* = 69.99 grs. troy.

From the Gembun 元文 period (1736 A.D.) till the Kwampō 寛保 period (1743 A.D.) a copper cash called Kwanyei-tsūhō was made which has the character *Ichi* 一 behind above the square hole, but it is not well known where it was made.

See No. 85. Diameter nearly 7 *bu* 5 *rin* = 23 mm.; weight 8 *fun* = 46.64 grs. troy.

In the 4th year of Gembun 元文 (1739 A.D.) in Hiranoshinden 平野新田 in Fukagawa 深川 (Yedo) in 3 years 150,000 *kwammon* or 150,000,000 cash were made of Kwanyei-tsūhō 寛永通寶.

At the village Oshiagemura 押上村 at Honjo 本所 Yedo during 6 years from 30,000 to 70,000 *kwammon* or 30,000,000 to 70,000,000 Kwanyei-tsūhō cash were made, and at Sendai 仙臺 Ishinomaki 石巻 during 3 years every year 70,000,000 cash Kwanyei-tsūhō were made.

In the 4th month of this year (May, 1739 A.D.) the *daimyō* of Nambu or Nambu Toshimi 南部利視 put the copper

mines that were in his dominions, at the disposal of the Government and forwarded the copper that was produced, to the ports of Ōsaka and Nagasaki.

In the 1st year of Kwampō 寛保 (1741 A.D.) a copper cash was made at Kōzu 高津 in the province of Settsu 攝津 (Ōsaka). This piece, of which 3 designs are given, is called also Kwanyei-tsūhō; they are all three of same size and have the character *gen* 元 at the back above the square hole, because it is noted that the order for minting these cash had been given in the Genbun 元文 period or the year before (1740 A.D.). Yearly 200,000 *kwammon* or 200,000,000 of these cash were made according to the work called *Sen-kwan-jōhōsho* 銭貨上包書 and that called *Kondō Morishige Hikki* 近藤守重筆記.

See Nos. 86, 87 and 88. Diameter 7 *bu* 5 *rin*=23. mm.; weight 1 *momme*=58.33 grs. troy.

In the 2nd year Kwampō 寛保 (1742 A.D.) at the place called Ashiwo 足尾 in the province Shimotsuke 下野 was made the cash called also Kwanyei-tsūhō bearing at the back above the square hole the character *ashi* 足:

See No. 89. Diameter over 7 *bu* 5 *rin*=23. mm.; weight 1 *momme*=58.33 grs. troy.

This cash which has the character *ashi* 足 at the back was called by the people Ashijisen 足字銭, it was made during 5 years at the above said copper mines called Ashiwo-dōzan 足尾銅山 in the county Asogōri 安蘇郡 and 40,000 *kwammon* or 40,000,000 of these cash were made every year. (Note: The above mentioned mines belong now to one Mr. Furukawa Ichibei of Tōkyō who has in the last few years managed to make these mines produce very well. I have been myself to visit them in the month of August 1889, and—although the road which I took out from Chūzenji, above Nikkō, crossing the lake and over the pass Asegata-tōge which is 400 feet above the lake was very bad and in many places really dangerous through land-slips occasioned by the heavy rains they had there, but which are rendered still more extensive through their having made the surrounding mountains nearly quite bare, not a single tree having been

left, everything cut for the mines, a state of affairs, which can not be very good for the rivers either—the trip was most interesting and I can say that it has become quite an extensive place thanks to the great enterprising spirit of its present owner, but of course we must not forget that matters have entirely changed; in former years, as soon as a mine was known to render well, the Tokugawa government laid its hands on it and it was even about the same in the commencing of the present enlightened era. I was really surprised to see in the midst of these wild bare mountains what we may call a small town, and after these mines had been lying dormant for years, the great change which has taken place there and which is to the great advantage of the people, for it keeps busy and procures a living to thousands I may say, has only been arrived at since the last few years when this Mr. Furukawa Ichibei undertook their working on a great scale. The working of these mines is mostly performed with the aid of foreign machinery, specially for the smelting part; for the washing, crushing and sorting for the greatest part the foreign system is there adopted also. I noticed also that a good many convicts were very advantagously utilized at the mines.)

From information I have been able to obtain from the *Kōzankyoku* or Mining Bureau in the *Nōshōmushō* or Agriculture and Commerce Department, it seems that during the year 1889 these mines rendered:

Ore 8,487,281 *kwamme* and 900 *me* or about 31,886,718 kil. gr. or about 319,867,180 lb troy and copper 1,275,054 *kwamme* and 300 *me* or about 4,790,379 kil. gr. or about 47,903,790 lb troy; and 4,184,077 men were employed.

In the 4th month of this year (2nd year Kwampō) (May, 1742 A.D.) by decree it was prohibited in future to bury people putting gold, silver or the usual 6 cash in the coffin. The habit was before always to put at least the *Rokudōsen* 六道錢 in the coffin or in the tub with the dead body. These were the cash for the travelling expenses up to heaven (the travelling expenses for that journey cannot have been very

expensive in this land of the rising sun. These 6 cash were generally put in a small bag called *Zudabukuro* 頭陀袋 and hung round the neck of the dead traveller. Many more fond of their *sake* preferred to have a bottle of that divine juice of the rice and a cup with them, as a pick-me-up probably on the way). But even after this decree the people were so accustomed to this, that cash was printed on paper, cut out to the same shape as the cash and this was then put in the coffin or in the bag in question. (This system is often still kept up among the lower classes).

In the time of Emperor Gosakuramachi Tennō 後櫻町天皇 in the 2nd year of Meiwa 明和 (1765 A.D.) at Nagasaki 長崎 in Hizen 肥前 a copper coin called Kwanyei-tsūhō 寛永通寶 was made which bears at the back above the square hole the character of *chō* or *naga* 長:

See No. 90. Diameter 7 *bu* 5 *rin* = 23 mm.; weight 8 *fun* = 46.64 grs. troy.

And in Yedo 江戸 Kameido 龜井戸 a copper coin called Kwanyei-tsūhō was also made:

See No. 91. Diameter 8 *bu* = 24½ mm.; weight 8 *fun* = 46.64 grs. troy.

In the 4th year of Meiwa 明和 (1767 A.D.) in the province Yamashiro-no-kuni 山城國 at Fushimi 伏見 a coin of iron was made called Kwanyei-tsūhō:

See No. 92. Diameter over 8 *bu* = 24½ mm.; weight 9 *fun* = 52 47 grs. troy.

In the 5th year of Meiwa 明和 (1768 A.D.) in Yedo 江戸 at Kameido 龜井戸 a copper cash called Kwanyei-tsūhō of yellow copper or brass was made of a value of 4 *mon* or 4 ordinary cash. It was made in two kinds; they have what was called the *nami* or waves behind; one had:

See No. 93. Diameter nearly 9 *bu* = 27½ mm.; weight 1 *momme* = 58.33 grs. troy, it had 21 waves on the back; and the other had:

See No. 94. Diameter over 9 *bu* = 27½ mm.; weight 1 *momme* 4 *fun* = 81.65 grs. troy, it had 11 waves at the back.

According to the work *Kempō-burui* 憲法部類 on the 1st of 5th month of this year (15 June, 1768 A.D.) this coin

was put in circulation by a decree ordering it to be used as the other, but at the rate of one being worth 4 of the ordinary coins; and in all at Kameido 157,425,360 of these cash were made.

Those made in the Meiwa 明和 period were of the following composition:

Copper.	68 parts
Zinc.	24 ,,
Tin.	8 ,,
Total	100.

Those made in the Bunsei 文政 period were of the following composition:

Copper.	75 parts
Zinc.	15 ,,
Lead.	10 ,,
Total	100.

and those made in the Ansei 安政 period were of the following composition:

Copper.	65 parts
Zinc.	15 ,,
Lead.	20 ,,
Total	100.

In the beginning when this coin was made it was circulated as being worth 4 cash of the ordinary sort, while now it is considered to be worth 2 *rin* or $\frac{2}{10}$ of a sen.

In the same year also at Kameido in Yedo there was made another cash of copper called Kwanyei-tsuhō:

See No. 95. Diameter 7 *bu* 5 *rin*=23 mm.; weight 7 *fun* 5 *rin*=43.72 grs. troy.

In the 6th year of Meiwa 明和 (1769 A.D.) an iron coin called Kwanyei-tsūhō was made at Ishinomaki 石巻 at Sendai 仙臺:

See No. 96. Diameter nearly 8 *bu*=24½ mm.; weight 8 *fun*=or 46.64 grs. troy.

It has behind above the square hole the character *Sen* 千.

In this same year (1769 A.D.) in Hidachi or Jōshū 常州 in the county Kujigōri 久慈郡 at the place called Kizaki

木崎 was made an iron coin called Kwanyei-tsūhō. It has behind above the square hole the character *kyū* 久 and below the square hole behind, the character *ni* 二.

See No. 97. Diameter 7 *bu* 5 *rin*=23 mm.; weight 8 *fun*=46.64 grs. troy.

In the same year (1769 A.D.) and in the same place was made also a copper coin of the same denomination Kwanyei-tsūhō, which had also above the square hole behind the character *kyū* 久 and below the square hole that of *ni* 二.

See No. 98. Diameter nearly 8 *bu*=24½ mm.; weight 8 *fun*=46.64 grs. troy.

In the same year (1769 A.D.) and in the same place an other Kwanyei-tsūhō copper coin was made. This has only behind above the square hole the character 久.

See No. 99. Diameter nearly 8 *bu*=24½ mm.; weight 8 *fun* 5 *rin*=49.56 grs. troy.

In the reign of Emperor Gomomozono Tennō 後桃園天皇 in the Anyei 安永 period (1772-80 A.D.) at Aikawa 相川 in Sado 佐渡 a copper cash was made called Kwanyei-tsūhō 寛永通寶:

See No. 100. Diameter over 7 *bu* 5 *rin*=83 mm.; weight 6 *fun* 5 *rin*=37.90 grs. troy.

During the same period (1772-80 A.D.) at the same place in Sado 佐渡 another copper coin called Kwanyei-tsūhō was made with the character *sa* 佐 at the back above the square hole:

See No. 101. Diameter over 7 *bun* 5 *rin*=23 mm.; weight 7 *fun*=40.81 grs. troy and at the same place an other coin of the same denomination and with the same character at the back was made:

See No. 102. Diameter over 7 *bu*=21½ mm.; weight 6 *fun*=34.98 grs. troy.

In the reign of Emperor Kōkaku Tennō 光格天皇 (1780-1817 A.D.) in the 4th year of Temmei 天明 11th month (December, 1784 A.D.) the *daimyō* of Sendai 仙臺 Matsudaira Shigemura 松平重村 made the necessary application to be allowed to have Kwanyei-tsūhō cash minted in his province. This was consented to and iron cash were then

made at the place called Ishinomaki 石巻, and in the same year at the mint of this place Ishinomaki 石巻 another copper cash called Kwanyei-tsūhō was made:

See No. 103. Diameter 7 *bu* 5 *rin*=23 mm.; weight 7 *fun*=40.81 grs. troy.

The above mentioned cash made by the *daimyō* of Sendai were made during 5 years and only circulated in his own dominion.

Note: (In the commencement of the reign of Emperor Kōkaku Tennō 光格天皇 there originated a rebellion in Sendai which is called the *Sendai-sōdō*, and as an indemnity or punishment for allowing such an uproar to happen in his dominion, the *daimyō* of Sendai, Matsudaira Mutsuno kami Shigemura was ordered by the Shōgun to make at his own expense, the cutting or canal in Yedo which is called the Sendai-bori, which is behind Surugadai, and which allows now the communication by boat from the Ushigome and Koishikawa districts of Tōkyō to Meganebashi and the sea; and it is said that in order to facilitate the paying of this great work, when he once had the permission to mint this coin, and in order to keep always on good terms with the inspecting officials who would come now and then, when they were coming Sendai-tsūhō square iron coin was made, but as soon their backs were turned iron Kwanyei-tsūhō coin was minted. By land it would have been difficult to forward any great quantity of this coin in Yedo, but as communication by boat from Sendai with the *Yashiki* or Palace of the then *daimyō* of Sendai, which was near the sea shore where now the Shimbashi railway station grounds are, was quite easy, these coins were brought in Yedo without any difficulty and mixed with the ordinary good Kwanyei-tsūhō, put on string and used for paying these works. Of course as is said before this the Government had already been making iron coin in Kizaki and also in this same Ishinomaki but it seems that those made by Sendai on this occasion were the worst and very much disliked).

In the 8th year of Tenmei 天明(1788 A.D.) the minting of

the yellow copper cash Kwanyei-tsūhō 4 *mon* piece was stopped.

With regard to this, according to the paper *Fure-tasshi-dome* 觸達留 it was said by decree in the 12th month of this year (January, 1789 A.D.), until this every year 10,000 *kwam-mon* of these Shimonsen or 4 *monsen* or 10,000,000 were made; from the 4th month of this year this was brought down to $\frac{7}{10}$ but now it is hereby notified that the minting of this coin will be stopped entirely. (Now as they began the making of this coin in the 5th year of Meiwa 明和 (1768 A.D.) they must thus have made till this time of stopping in 1788 A.D. at the rate of 10,000 *kwan* during 20 years, as much as 200,000 *kwan* plus 7000 *kwan*, in all 207,000 *kwammon* or 207,000,000 pieces of this coin).

In this Tenmei 天明 period (1781-88 A.D.) there was a copper cash made, called also Kwạnyei-tsūhō minted at the place called *Zeze* 膳所 in the province Ōmi-no-kuni 近江國.

See No. 104. Diameter nearly 8 *bu*=24½ mm.; weight 1 *momme* or 58.33 grs. troy.

In the reign of Emperor Ninkō Tennō 仁孝天皇 in the 6th year Tempō 天保 (1835 A.D.) the copper coin called Tōbyakusen 當百錢 was made. This is the well known coin called also Tempō of which a good deal is still in use. It is oblong and has also a square hole in the center and is called Tōbyaku 當百 meaning-equal to 100=or 100 cash or *mon*. In the 9th month (October 1835 A.D.) by decree this coin was ordered to be put in circulation the same as the former coins as this was specially made for the facility and commodity of the people, its value was decided to be 100 *mon* or cash although it was really only worth 96 cash or *kuroku* and from this has sprung up the expression of Tempō which is sometimes said of a person, meaning a fool or a person with something lacking; they say thus he is only a Tempō which means he is a fool. This coin is:

See No. 105. Long 1 *sun* 6 *bu*=48½ mm.; width 1 *sun* 5 *rin*=31½ mm.; weight 5 *momme* 5 *fun*=320.80 grs. troy.

On the face of this piece is written Tempō 天保 above the square hole and Tsūhō 通寶 below the square hole, and

behind above the square hole is written Tōbyaku 當百, and below the square hole the signature of the official of the mint.

In this same year some iron cash Kwanyei-tsūhō were made again, although the minting of these cash had been stopped for some time, but by decree new ones were emitted again, because the saying was that in the country in many places there was a scarcity of cash.

Conformably to the work *Kyūkwaheihyō* 舊貨幣表, from the 6th year of Tempō (1835 A.D.) in a few years only the number of the Tempō coin made, had reached to 484,804,054, and the first that were made were composed of 78% of copper 10% of tin and 12% of lead. Very soon this coin was very much liked and a great deal more was minted, but it got worse in quality, and its alloyage becoming also worse its value got consequently less.

In the 6th year of Tempō (1835 A.D.) this coin was made for the first time but it was only after some time in the year Manyen 萬延 (1860 A.D.) that great quantities of this coin were made, and the reason for this was, because at this time all the *Hans* or Daimiates had such great quantities of paper money in circulation, so it was with a view of redeeming all this paper money in the different *daimyō* territories that such a great quantity of Tempō coin was made. Every day in Yedo 300,000 Tempō coin were made, but very soon copper began to give out and the quantity of Tempō coin had only augmented but all the paper money of the *daimyōs* could not be redeemed.

The Tempō's value at first was 40 for 1 *ryō*. In Ansei period 安政 (1854-59 A.D.) it was 60 for one *ryō*, but from the Manyen year 萬延 (1860 A.D.) it was 100 Tempō coin for 1 *ryō*, and now at the time of the publication of the work *Dainihon-kwaheishi* 大日本貨幣史 or 9th year of Meiji (1876 A.D.) 125 Tempō coin are equal to a *yen*.

In the time of Emperor Kōmei Tennō 孝明天皇 in the 4th year of Ansei 安政 (1857 A.D.) cash were made in Yedo called Kwanyei-tsūhō of red copper, yellow copper and of iron; at this time cash were made also at Hakodate, which

were called Hakodate-tsūhō. The Kwanyei-tsūhō red and yellow copper cash were:

See No. 106. Diameter over 9 *bu* or 27⅓ mm.; weight over 1 *momme* 1 *fun* or 64.16 grs. troy. These cash had 10 waves at the back.

The iron cash was without anything on the back:

See No. 107. Diameter nearly 8 *bu* = 24⅓ mm.; weight 9 *fun* = 52.47 grs. troy.

According to the work called *Kokkwa-rei* 國貨令 the Hakodate-tsūhō 箱館通寶 which was made in that place was of iron and was put in circulation at Hakodate in Yesso and Matsūmai but it was not allowed to be used in circulation anywhere; also:

See No. 108. Diameter over 7 *bu* = 21⅓ mm.; weight 9 *fun* = 52.47 grs. troy; this piece contrary to any others, instead of a square had a round hole.

In the 1st year of Manyen 萬延 (1860 A.D.) in Yedo at Kosuge Honjo 小管本所 an iron cash also called Kwanyei-tsūhō 寛永通寶 was made, this was of so-called steel and was a shiny piece of coin; it was made about in the 12th month of this year (January, 1861 A.D.), at the Ginza or silver mint in Yedo and by decree it was ordered to be used by the people over all Japan at the value of 4 cash of the ordinary cash, it being thus considered to be worth 4 *mon* 四文. However this cash did not become very popular, the people did not like it, and although it was shining and looking very nice at the beginning, they could not see why this piece of iron could be worth 4 of the copper 1 *mon* cash. It had 10 waves at the back:

See No. 109. Diameter nearly 9 *bu* 5 *rin* = 29 mm.; weight 1 *momme* 1 *fun* = 64.16 grs. troy.

I further will give here the coins and remarks which I found in the appendix called *Kwanyei-sembu* 寛永錢部 volume No. 6 of the work *Dainihon-kwaheishi* 大日本貨幣史 *Sankwabu-furoku* 三貨部附錄, and which were not directly in circulation, or of which the circulation was soon stopped, also coins that were made in other provinces.

Amongst these coins is one of copper with Kwanyei-

tsūhō 寛永通寶 on the face and four characters 丑拾四年 or Ushi 14th year (1637 A.D.) at the back above the square hole and on the left of the square hole the four characters 三月吉日 or "Sangatsu-kichinichi."

See No. 110. Diameter 3 *sun* 7 *bu* 5 *rin* = 114 mm.; its weight is not given. The drawing in the book of this piece was taken of the original coin itself and was made in the 14th year of Kwanyei (1637 A.D.). It is not known where this large coin was made, or if it was only in one certain province, like that called Ryūkyū-tsūhō; but the design of this coin was found in the work *Senkwahikō* 錢貨比較 and as said before was taken from the original piece and as Ushi 14th year is on it, this corresponds with the 14th year of Kwanyei or 1637 A.D.

We further find a copper coin called Gindai-tsūhō 銀代通寶; it has:

See No. 111. Diameter 9 *bu* = 27⅓ mm.; weight 1 *momme* 5 *fun* = 61.24 grs. troy.

In the 16th year of Genroku 元祿 (1703 A.D.) a merchant in Kyōto requested for the permission to mint 200,000 *kwan* or 200,000,000 of the above mentioned cash, and the Government allowed it, but as from some other parties objections were lodged, the circulation of it was stopped.

In the Ansei 安政 period (1854-59 A.D.) an iron coin was made in Hakodate, called Hakodate-tsūhō 箱館通寶. The hole in it is round.

See No. 112. Diameter over 7 *bu* = 21⅓ mm.; weight 9 *fun* = 52.47 grs. troy,

During the Bunkyū 文久 period (1861-63 A.D.) in Satsuma a copper coin of the oblong Tempō shape was made, on which is written above the square hole Ryūkyū 琉球 and under the square hole Tsūhō 通寶, at the back above the square hole the character *tō* 當, and below the square hole 百 *hyakn* is written, the last two characters meaning worth 100 or 100 *mon* or cash.

See No. 113. Length 1 *sun* 6 *bu* = 49 mm.; width 1 *sun* 1 *bu* = 33⅓ mm.; weight 5 *momme* 6 *fun* = 209.97 grs. troy.

In Satsuma was made also in the same period as above (1861-63 A.D.), a large round coin with a square hole, on which is written on the face Ryūkyū 琉球, but in the style of writing called *Reisho* 隷書, and at the back it has Hanshu 半朱, the first character of these two above, and the second below the square hole:

See No. 114. Diameter 1 *sun* 4 *bu*=42½ mm.; weight 9 *momme* or 524.97 grs. troy.

In the period of Bunkyū 文久 (1861-63 A.D.) in the province Ushū 羽州 (Dewa) at the Ani-dōzan 阿仁銅山 copper mine, a round coin of copper was made without any hole; on the face were only waves as they call it, 21 in number and on the back, which is smooth, is a little on the side the character of *aki* 秋:

See No. 115. Diameter 1 *sun* 3 *bu*=40 mm.; its weight is not given.

At the same place and period was made a square coin of copper with the corners rounded and a long square hole in it; it looks very much like a *tsuba* 鍔 or the guard on the hilt of a sword. On the face it has two paradise birds, and at the back round the hole are the marks *sangi* 算卦 used by the fortune tellers or also called the eight diagrams:

See No. 116. Height 1 *sun* 7 *bu*=51½ mm.; width 1 *sun* 5 *bu* 5 *rin*=47 mm.; its weight is not given.

In the same period and same place another copper coin, long square with a round hole, was made, on the face it has Dōzan-shihō 銅山正寶, and at the back it has above the hole 當 *tō*, and below the hole 百 *hyaku*, and in the middle on the right of the hole *kyū* 久, and on the left *ni* 二, which must mean probably that it was made in Bunkyū 文久 2nd year (1862 A.D.), and having on the back Tōbyaku (equal to 100) like on the Tempō it must mean that it had the same value of 100 cash.

See No. 117. Height 1 *sun* 6 *bu* 5 *rin*=50 mm.; width 1 *sun* 1 *bu* 5 *rin*=35 mm.

In Sendai 仙臺 there were two kinds of copper coin made, both somewhat square with rounded corners and a square hole in the center. The first the smallest one, has

Sendai-tsūhō 仙臺通寶 on the face and nothing on the back.

See No. 118. Height nearly 7 *bu* 5 *rin*=23 mm.; width the same; weight 1 *momme*=58.33 grs. troy.

This piece was made in Temmei 天明 period (1782-88 A.D.).

The next piece is somewhat larger, long square with rounded corners, it was made in the year Genji 元治 (1864 A.D.) it has on the face also Sendai-tsūhō, but at the back it has the 5 characters *Tōgin-ichimomme* 當銀壹匁 meaning equal to one *momme* silver or 58.33 grs. troy or about 164 cash:

See No. 119. Height over 1 *sun*=or 30½ mm.; width 8 *bu* 5 *rin*=26 mm.

There was further a piece or coin made of lead minted in Sendai in the province Iwate 磐手. It has a square shape with rounded corners:

See No. 120. Height 1 *sun* 9 *bu* 5 *rin*=59 mm.; width the same.

On the face it has the characters *Tōbyaku-hosokura* 當百細倉 which mean equal to 100 cash, and the name of Hosokura must be the name of the person who had it minted; at the back below the square hole is a signature or *kakihan*, but in what year this was made is not known.

Besides these there were further coins called:

Keian-tsūhō 慶安通寶.

Teikyō-tsūhō 貞享通寶.

Genroku-tokuhō 元祿德寶.

Another coin with only Hōyei 寶永.

Shōtoku-tsūhō 正德通寶.

Kyōhō-tsūhō 享保通寶 and others, but these were more considered as gems.

According to the 6th volume of the work *Taihei-nempyō* 太平年表 in the 2nd year of Bunkyū 文久 (1862 A.D.) on the 24th of 2nd 8th month (17 October) by decree it was promulgated that until this the administration of all the copper extracted from the mines of the different provinces was left only to the copper mint of Ōsaka, but as at this

time a copper mint agency or bureau had been opened at Yedo and Nagasaki, irrespective to the quantities, all copper obtained from the mines was to be brought to these agencies as well, and where a proper price would be paid for said copper according to the quality.

In the 3rd year Bunkyū 文久 (1863 A.D.) a copper coin called Bunkyū-yeihō 文久永寶 was made in Yedo 江戸 Hashiba 橋場.

In the 2nd month of this year (March, 1863) by decree it was promulgated that for the general use of the world (Japan!) this coin was put in circulation, being equal to 4 *mon* or 4 old cash. This cash was called thus the *Shimonsen* 四文錢.

Three kinds were made:

See No. 121. Diameter nearly 9 *bu*=27½ mm.; weight 1 *momme*=58.33 grs. troy.

On the face of it was Bunkyū-yeihō as above, and the model of the inscription on it was written by the *daimyō* of Echizen, Matsudaira Yoshinaga who was the regent of the Shōgunate at that time. For No. 2 of this kind:

See No. 122. Diameter nearly 9 *bu*=27½ mm.; weight 9 *fun*=52.47 grs. troy.

The inscription on this second one was also Bunkyū-yeihō 文久永寶 but the character *hō* was different and the model of it was written by the *Gorōjū*, Itakura Suwō-no-kami. The 3rd was:

See No. 123. Diameter nearly 9 *bu*=27½ mm.; weight 8 *fun*=46.64 grs. troy.

The inscription on this was the same as on the last, but the model of it was written by the last Shōgun Keiki or Tokugawa Yoshinobu. All these coins have waves at the back 10 in number.

In all of this coin or Bunkyūsen the quantity that was minted amounted to 891,515,631 cash and they were for a great part made out of the old one *mon* cash. At first this Bunkyūsen was worth 4 *mon* or 4 old cash and now (9th year Meiji 1876 A.D.) it is worth 1 *rin* and ½ or 1½ tenth of a *sen*.

With this ends the history of the old style of copper coin. The fabrication of this Bunkyū-yeihō coin however was kept up till the year Genji 元治 (1864 A.D.), and the Tempō coins were minted still in the Keiō period 慶應 (1865-68 A.D.).

In the 1st year of Meiji 4th month (1868 A.D.) and by Imperial decree of the 24th of that month (16 May, 1868 A.D.) it was informed to Tayasu Chūnagon who was then representing the Tokugawa government, that the finances of the country were always the property of the government, and as in this past winter the Tokugawa Keiki had surrendered the government or had abdicated, he was to hand to the Imperial government all gold and silver money, all copper and other coins and the finance offices with everything, utensils, machinery etc. as they were.

In the 2nd 4th month of this year (May, June, 1868 A.D.) by Imperial decree it was promulgated that whereas since the restoration the finances are to be administrated by the Imperial government, the value of gold, silver and copper monies has now been settled and decided upon, and is to be as follows:

(Note: As I have treated in this work only the copper coins I will limit myself by giving the officially decided comparative rates of those coins alone.)

The coin with waves at the back called Kwanyei-namisen 寛永濤錢 which was worth till this 12 *mon* or cash, was to be worth now 24 *mon*, or in other words 4 would be equal to a Tempō as a Tempō was always considered to be worth *Kuroku* 九六 or 96 *mon* or cash.

The ordinary coin called Kwanyei-dōsen 寛永銅錢 without waves behind, which was worth till then 6 *mon* or cash, was to be worth now12 *mon*, or 8 would be equal to a Tempō.

The coin called Bunkyū-dōsen 文久銅錢 which till then was worth 8 *mon* was to be worth now 16 *mon*, or 6 would be equal to a Tempō.

The value of the coin called Tempō-hyakumonsen 天保百文錢 or the Tempō, was kept on the same footing as before viz. of 96 *mon* or cash.

The official value of the Dollar was then decided to be 3 Ichibu-gin or silver *bu* 分.

Further the official average weight of the different coins was decided at that time to be:

100 Dollar cents copper equal in weight 250 *me*=14582.50 grs. troy.

347 Kwanyei-dōsen 寛永銅錢 coins equal 250 *me*=14582.50 grs. troy.

250 Bunkyū-dōsen 文久銅錢 coins equal 250 *me*=14582.50 grs. troy.

191 Kwanyei-namisen 寛永濤錢 coins equal 250 *me*=1458y.50 grs. troy.

44 Yedo-made Hyakumonsen 百文錢 or Tempō equal 250 *me*=14582.50 grs. troy.

45 Ōsaka-made Hyakumonsen 百文錢 or Tempō equal 250 *me*=14582.50 grs. troy.

245 Mimijirosen 耳白錢 light yellow copper Kwanyei cash with the character *bun* 文 on the back equal 250 *me*=14582.50 grs. troy.

The weight per hundred pieces of the Japanese copper coins was:

100 Kwanyei-dōsen 寛永銅錢=72 *momme*=4199.76 grs. troy.

100 Bunkyū-dōsen 文久銅錢=100 *me* 5 *fun*=5833.00 grs. troy.

100 Kwanyei-namisen 寛永濤錢=131 *momme*=7941.23 grs. troy.

100 Hyakumonsen 百文錢 or Tempō made in Yedo from 550 to 570 *me* or from 32,081,50 grs. troy to 33,248,10 grs. troy.

100 Hyakumonsen or Tempō made in Ōsaka from 550 to 560 *me* or from 32,081,50 grs. troy to 32,664,80 grs. tory.

100 Mimijirosen 耳白錢=102 *momme*=5949,66 grs. troy.

After this on several occasions the comparative value of these different coins changed again, but I think it is not necessary for me to give it here as it can not be of very great interest.

In the 8th month of 1st year Meiji 明治 (Sept. 1868 A.D.) the machinery contracted for some time before through the intervention of the English firm Messr. Glover & Co. and which had been in use in Hongkong, for the mint, arrived here and was brought to Ōsaka, and the place called Kawasaki, where in the Tokugawa time the rice warehouses were, was decided to be used for the mint.

In the 11th month (Dec. 1868 A.D.) one Mr. Waters was engaged for the superintending of the erection of the necessary buildings for the mint.

In the 2nd year of Meiji, 8th of 7th month (15 Aug. 1869 A.D.), the *Kwaikeikwan* 會計官 or Accomptants Bureau which had been created the year before was abolished, and the *Ōkurashō* 大藏省 or Finance Department was established and under its administration were put the different bureaux called:

Zōheikyoku 造幣局 or the Mint Bureau.
Suinōshi 出納司 or Treasurer's Office.
Sozeishi 租稅司 or Revenue ,,
Kantokushi 監督司 or Inspector's ,,
Tsūshōshi 通商司 or Commerce ,,
Kōzanshi 鑛山司 or Mining ,,

Before, when the finances were still in the hands of the bureau called *Kwaikeikwan* 會計官, the Vice-governor or Director of this bureau or *Fuku-chiji* 副知事 was Ōkuma *Shii* 大隈四位 who thus now became the chief or Director of the new-department.

At that time the *Gaikokukwan-chiji* 外國官知事 or governor or Director of the Foreign Bureau, was Date Chūnagon 伊達中納言 and we find that at this time, the before named Ōkuma-shii made an agreement with the Oriental Bank or Tōyōginkō 東洋銀行 by which the Japanese government undertook to engage foreigners to be employed in the mint and consequently the said Bank was ordered to superintend the working of the foreigners and to be the agent responsible towards the Japanese government.

In the 2nd year of Meiji, 18th of 10th month (21 Nov. 1869

A.D.), by decree it was promulgated that although a new mint had been erected for the minting of new coins, still for the use of the development and colonisation of the Hokkaidō 北海道 some more Tōbyakusen 當百錢 or Tempō were made.

In the 3rd year Meiji, 4th month (May, 1870 A.D.), the mint staff which was engaged from England, Messr. Kinder and others, arrived at Ōsaka.

On the 29th of 10th month of this year (22 Nov. 1870 A.D.) the Minister and Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs informed the Representatives of England, France, America Germany, Holland, Italy and Spain that the following coins would be made:

Gold =	10	*yen* pieces
	5	,, ,,
	2½	,, ,,
Silver =	1	,, ,,
	0.50	*sen* ,,
	0.20	,, ,,
	0.10	,, ,,
	0.05	,, ,,

And that 3 kinds of copper coins would be made, further that the silver 1 *yen* piece was decided to be the standard coin.

In the 1st month of next year 4th year Meiji 明治 (Feb. 1871 A.D.) it was communicated to the foreign representatives before mentioned that the 2½ *yen* gold piece would not be made, and instead a 2 *yen* gold piece was to be minted.

From this time no old system of coins was made any more.

In the 2nd month 15th day of this year (4 April, 1871 A.D.) the official inauguration of the *Zōheiryō* 造幣寮 (the mint in Ōsaka), took place in presence of the then Udaijin Sanjō 三條右大臣 (the present Prince Sanjō Lord Keeper of the seals), the Sangi Ōkuma 大隈參議 (the present ex-Minister of foreign affairs, Count Ōkuma) and some 30 other high officials, foreign representatives and consuls.

At first the three kinds of copper coin were: a piece of 1 *sen*, *Issen* 一錢; of ½ a *sen* or *Hansen* 半錢; and of a $\frac{1}{10}$ of a *sen* or *Ichirin* 一厘.

By decree the Regulations of the mint were published, and in it was said that from the 16th of 6th month of this year (2nd Aug, 1871 A.D.) the *Jiganekyoku* 地金局 or bureau for "metal brut" would be open every day from 10 a.m. till 1 p.m. (except on the days notified at the same time which were to be observed as holidays), for the receiving of any metal brut or other for annalisation and exchange against new coin.

Later other regulations appeared, by which the people were informed that the mint would be ready from the 15th of 12th month (24 Jan. 1872 A.D.) to receive old gold, silver and other coins as metal brut, and in consequence of this the approximate value of the different coins was then also published as follows:

125 Tempōsen pieces (See No. 105) was equal to 1 *yen*.

500 Kwanyei-tsūhō pieces or the yellow copper cash with waves at the back 93,942 (See No. 106 and 109), was equal to 1 *yen*.

669 Bunkyū-yeihō pieces copper cash with waves at the back (See No. 116) was equal to 1 *yen*.

1000 Kwanyei-tsūhō pieces copper cash without anything at the back and also those called Mimijirosen 耳白錢 and all other ordinary cash of the value formerly of 1 *mon*, was equal to 1 *yen*.

In the 9th month of 5th year of Meiji 明治 (Oct. 1872 A.D.) other regulations were promulgated by the mint regarding the exchange also of old iron coins. The approximate value of these was decided at:

4000 of the Kwanyei-tsūhō pieces or iron *Seitetsusen* or so-called steel coin which was formerly worth 4 *mon* (See No. 104) was equal to ½ *yen*.

8000 of the Kwanyei-tsūhō pieces iron also known under the name of *Nabesen* worth formerly 1 *mon* (See No.) was equal to ½ *yen*.

On the 29th of 9th month 6th year of Meiji 明治 (29 June,

1873 A.D.) by decree it was promulgated that whereas in 1871 there had only been emitted 3 kinds of copper coin viz. 1 *sen*, $\frac{1}{2}$ *sen*, and $\frac{1}{10}$ of a *sen*, in order to accommodate and facilitate the transactions of the people a new copper piece of 2 *sen* would be emitted from that day, and at the same time the design of the 2 *sen* piece was given, also the new designs of the 1 *sen*, $\frac{1}{2}$ *sen* and $\frac{1}{10}$ of a *sen* pieces; these at first had on the face the dragon and at the back the sun with rays, but the new ones made from 6th year of Meiji (1873 A.D.) have the dragon also on the face but at the back in the center of a garland of *Kiri* (Paulownia Imperialis) leaves and flowers is written 二錢 2 *sen*, 一錢 1 *sen*, and 半錢 $\frac{1}{2}$ *sen*, in characters with a *Kiku* flower or the Chrysanthemum crest above closing the garland. And the new $\frac{1}{10}$ of a *sen* piece received this *Kiku* crest in the center on the face as it had before, but at the back instead of the sun with rays, it has from that time only *Ichirin* 一厘 written on the back,

Since the designs on the face and on the back of the copper coin have not changed, the only difference is that of the year in which they are minted.

APPENDIX.

See 1-a. This must be the very first coin made in Japan; it is of silver with a round hole in the center, and was made before the Wadō-kaichin copper coin in the reign of Emperor Gemmei Tennō. So this silver coin according to the *Dainihon-kwaheishi* was made and in use in the Emperor Gensō Tennō's time (485 A.D.), but it was made of silver coming from abroad, as silver and gold were received in great quantity at that time from Corea.

Two kinds were made, the diameter of both being the same, viz. 1 *sun* or 3 centim. but the weight of one is 1 *momme* 8 *fun* or 6.76 grammes and the other was 3 *momme* in weight or 11.2695 grammes. The first one of 1 *momme* 8 *fun* is in the possession of one Mr. Matsuura Hiroshi a *Shizoku* of Tōkyōfu; the other is not known to be in the possession of any one, and the particulars given about it are taken from the work called *Sankwa-zuye.*

See *A*. This is a coin called Taihei-gempō 大平元寶, also a silver coin, but in the *Dainihon-kwaheishi* neither its design nor weight nor size are given. The work *Meiji-shinsen-sempu* vol. 3 alone gives its facsimile saying it was made in the time of Emperor Junnin Tennō in the 4th year of Tempei-hōji (760 A.D.).

See *B*. This is a coin of iron with the characters Taisei-tsūhō 大世通寶, and from what is said in the work *Meiji-shinsen-sempu* vol. 1 this coin was made in Ryūkyū in the Japanese Bun-an 文安 period (1444-48 A.D.) under the reign of the Ryūkyū King, Taiseiō Shōtaikyū.

See *C*. This is an iron coin with the characters Seikō-tsūhō 世高通寶, and from what is said in the above work vol. 1 this coin was also made in Ryūkyū in the Japanese

Kwanshō period 寛正 (1460-65 A.D.) under the reign of the Ryūkyū King, Seikō-ō Shōtoku.

(Note: In my collection I have two specimens of this coin one of iron and another of bronze which shows that they were not made of iron only).

See 32-a. This is a copper piece called Chōroku-tsūhō 長祿通寶, and was made in the Chōroku period or 1457-59 A.D. under the reign of Emperor Gohanazono Tennō 後花園天皇. This piece is not spoken of in the work *Dainihon-kwaheishi*, but is given in the work *Meiji-shisen-sempu* vol. 2-3 was probably only found after the first named work was published by the *Ōkurashō*. Of this coin probably not much was made as it was in the time of Ashikaga Yoshimasa who asked at every moment for cash from China.

See 43-a. This is a silver piece called Keian-tsūhō 慶安通寶 it was made in the Keian period or 1648-51 A.D. under the reign of Emperor Gokōmei Tennō 後光明天皇, in the time of the 3rd Tokugawa Shōgun. This piece is also not mentioned in the work *Dainihon-kwaheishi*, but is given in the work *Meiji-shinsen-sempu* vol. 3.

See 56-a. This is a copper or bronze piece called Kyōhō-tsūhō 享保通寶; it was made in the first year of Kyōhō or 1716 A.D. under the reign of Emperor Nakamikado Tennō 中御門天皇 in the time of the 8th Tokugawa Shōgun. Neither its size nor weight are given, nor is this piece in the *Dainihon-kwaheishi*.

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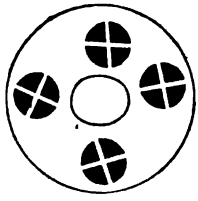
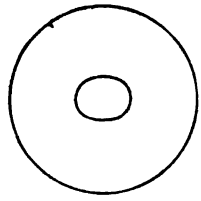
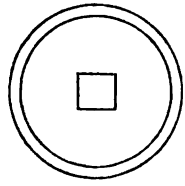
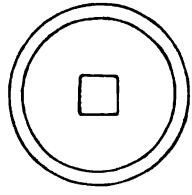
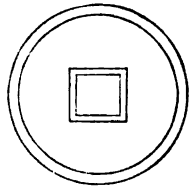
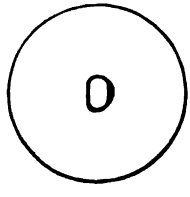
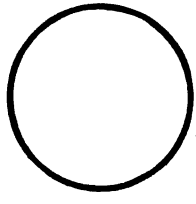
	Face.	Back.	
No. 1.			708 A.D.
No. 2.			Silver. 708-14 A.D.
No. 3.			
No. 4.			
No. 5.			Gold. 760 A.D.
No. 6.			760 A.D.

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Face. Back.

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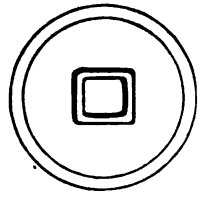 760 A.D.

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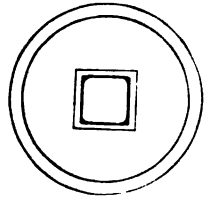

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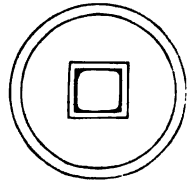 765 A.D.

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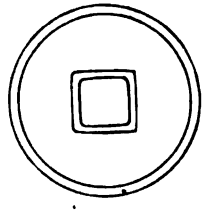

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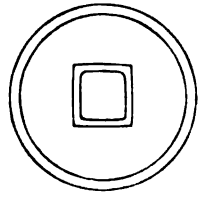

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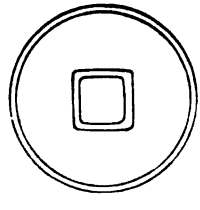 796 A.D.

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Face. Back.

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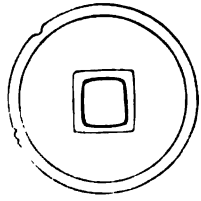

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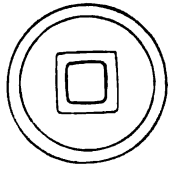
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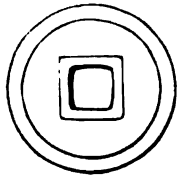

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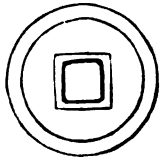
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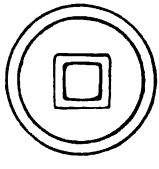

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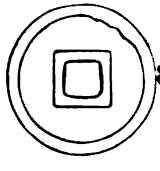
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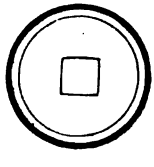

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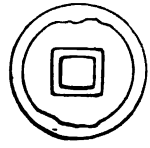
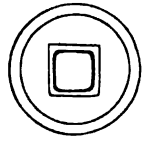
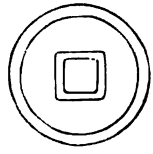
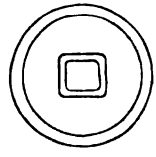
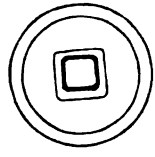
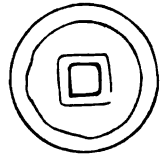
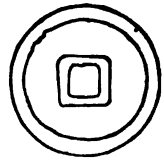
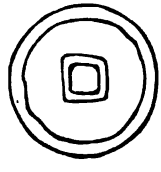
	Face.	Back.	
No. 20.			859-69 A.D.
No. 21.			
No. 22.			870-89 A.D.
No. 23.			
No. 24.			
No. 25.			890 A.D.
No. 26.			
No. 27.			

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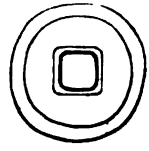 901-57 A.D.

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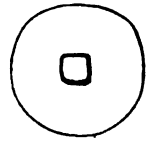

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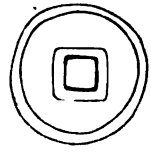

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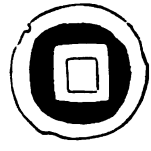 958 A.D.

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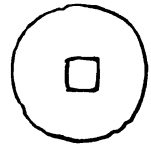

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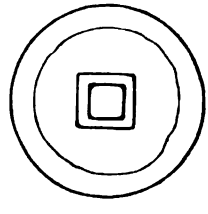

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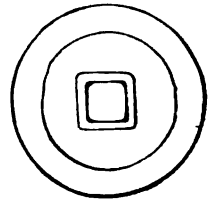

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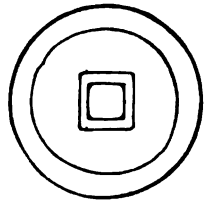

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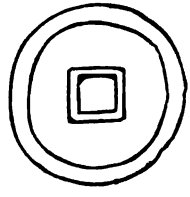

1587 A.D.

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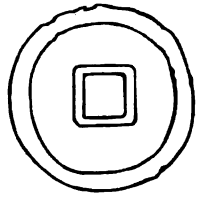

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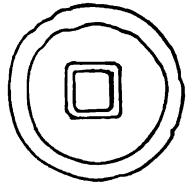

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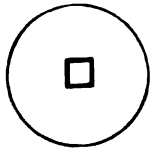

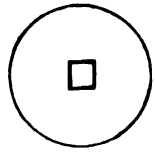

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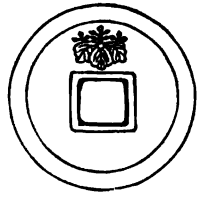

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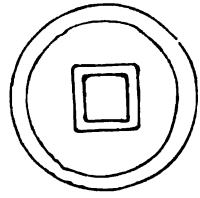

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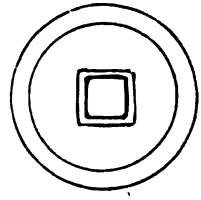

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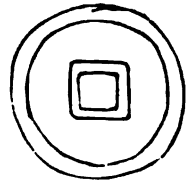

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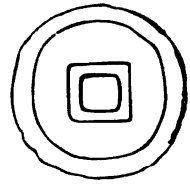

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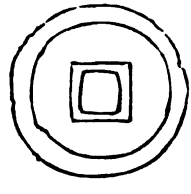

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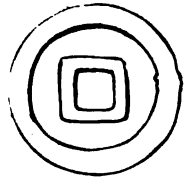

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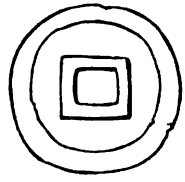

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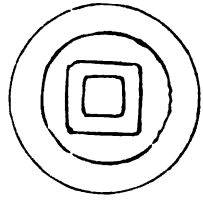

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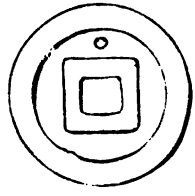

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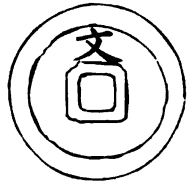

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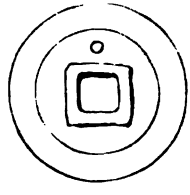

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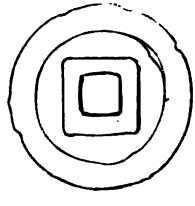

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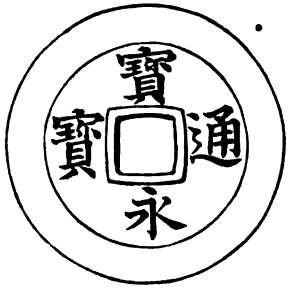
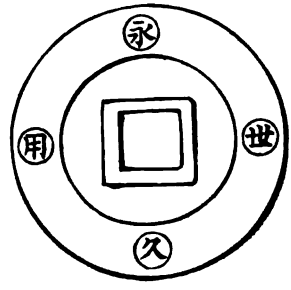
No. 54.





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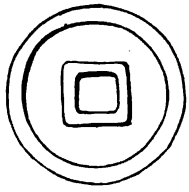
No. 55.



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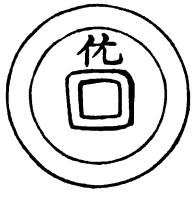

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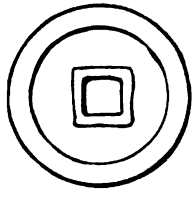

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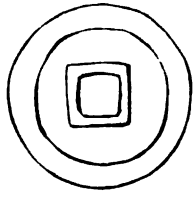

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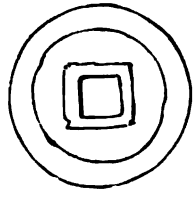

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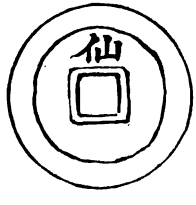

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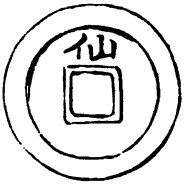

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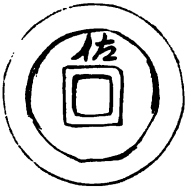

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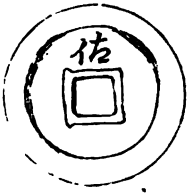

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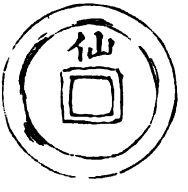

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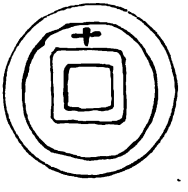

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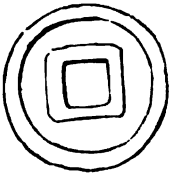

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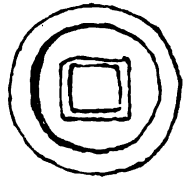
No. 67.



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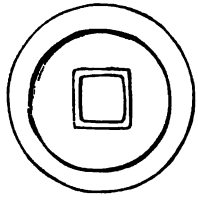

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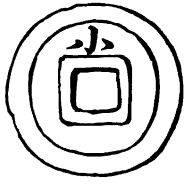

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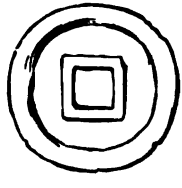

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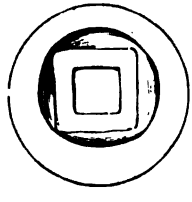

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Face. Back.

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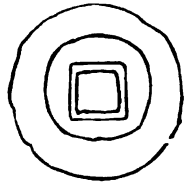

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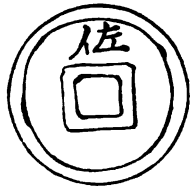

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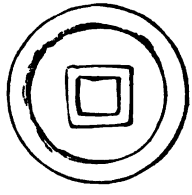

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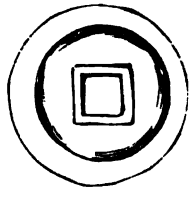

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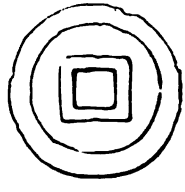

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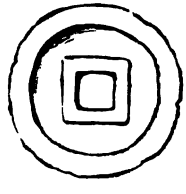

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Face. Back.

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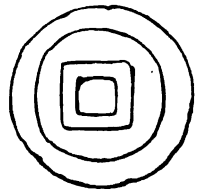

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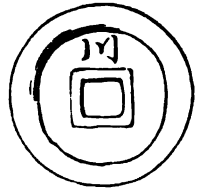

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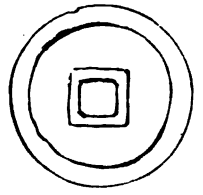

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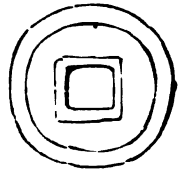

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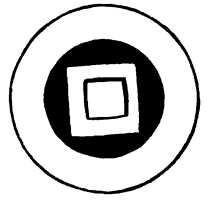

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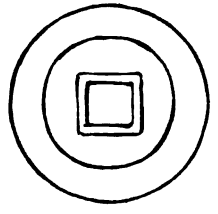

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Face. Back.

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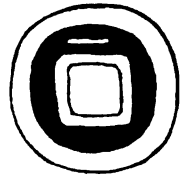

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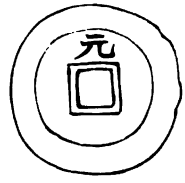

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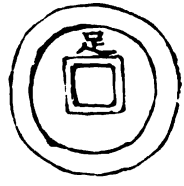

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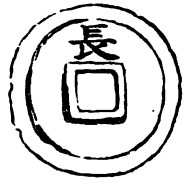

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Face. Back.

No. 91.

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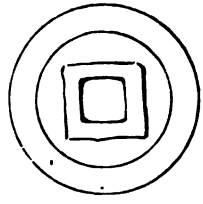
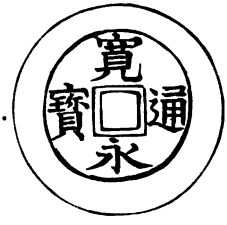
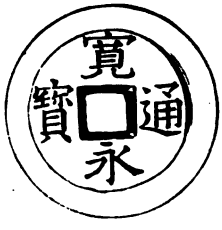
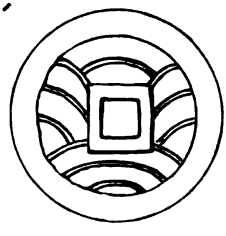


No. 93. 

No. 94. 



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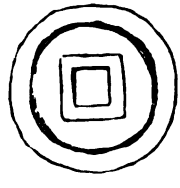

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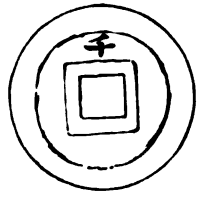

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Face. Back.

No. 97.

No. 98.

No. 99.

No. 100.

No. 101.

No. 102.

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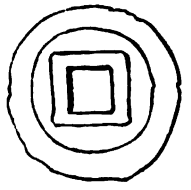
Face. Back.

No. 103.



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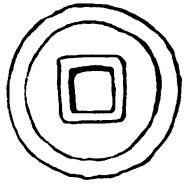

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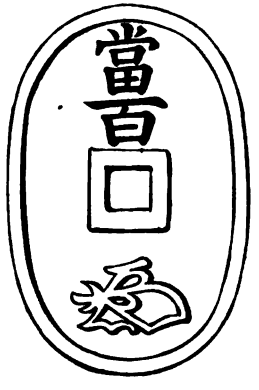

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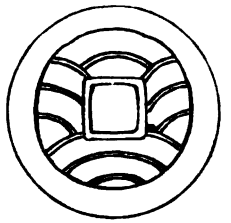

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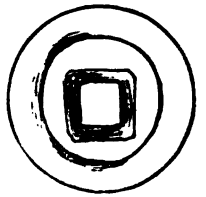

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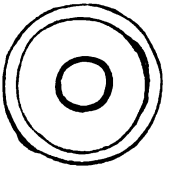
Face. Back.

No. 108.
„ 112.



No. 109.

No. 110. Face.

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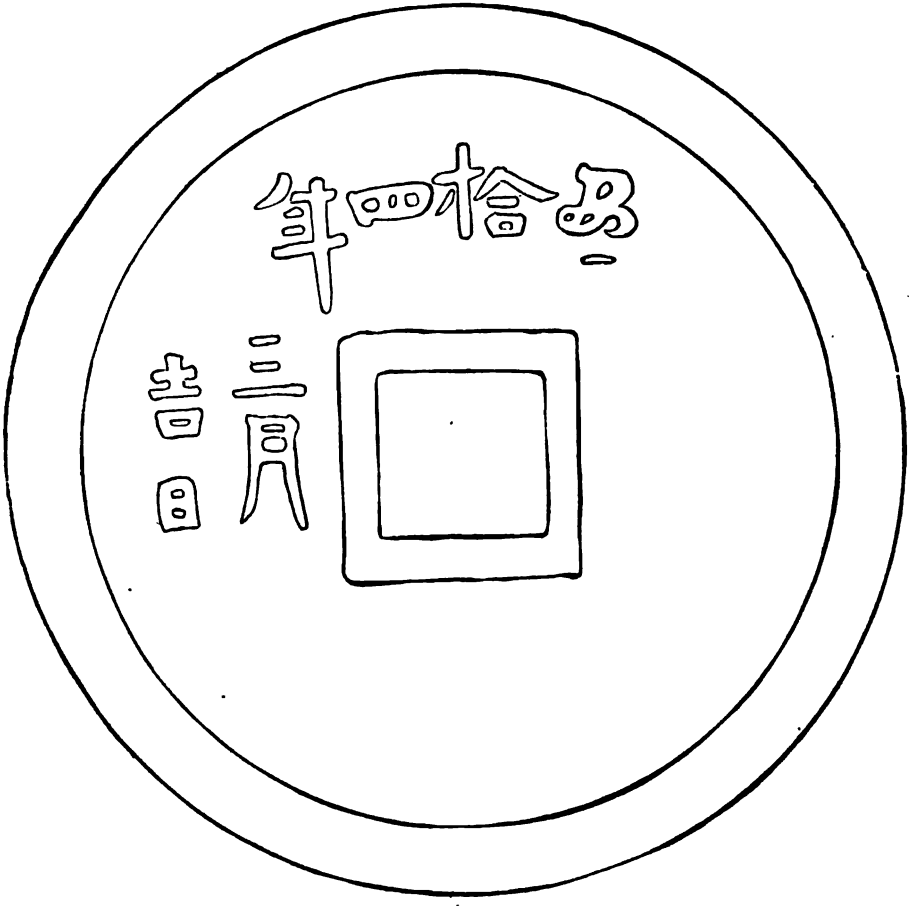
No. 110. Back.



Face. Back.

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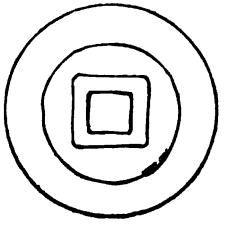

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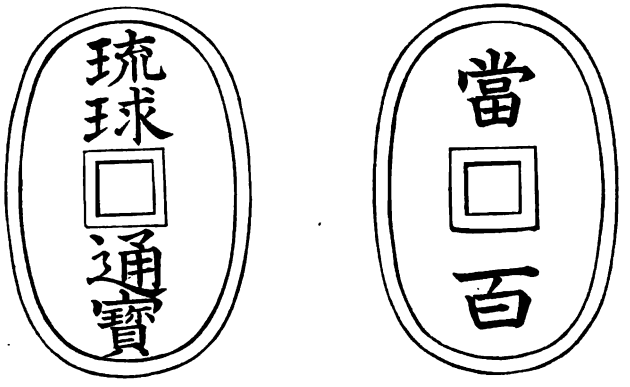
No. 112 is same as No. 108.

Face. No. 113. Back.



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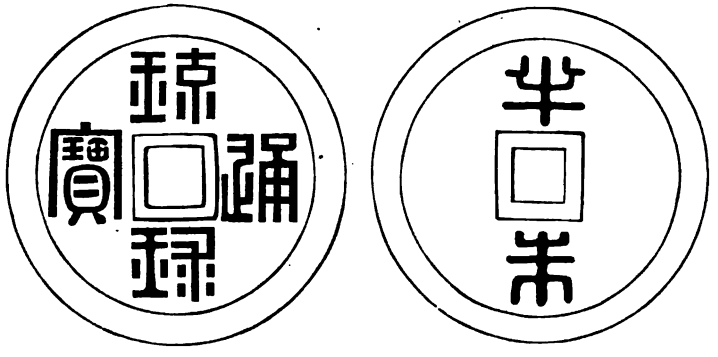

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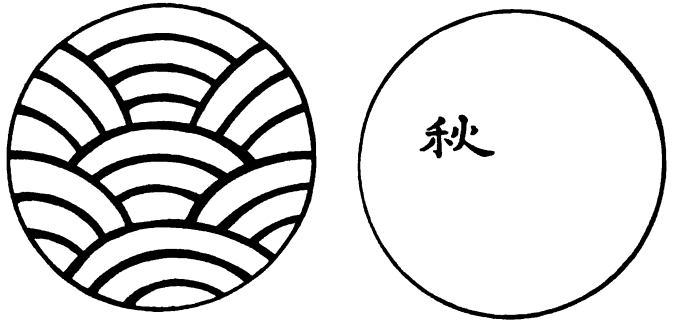

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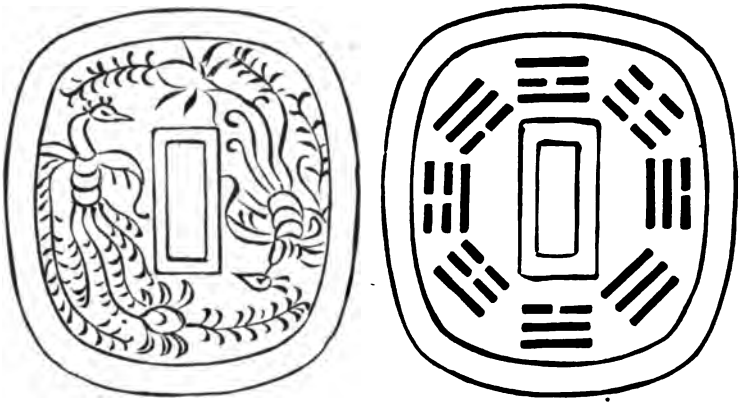
Face. No. 116. Back.



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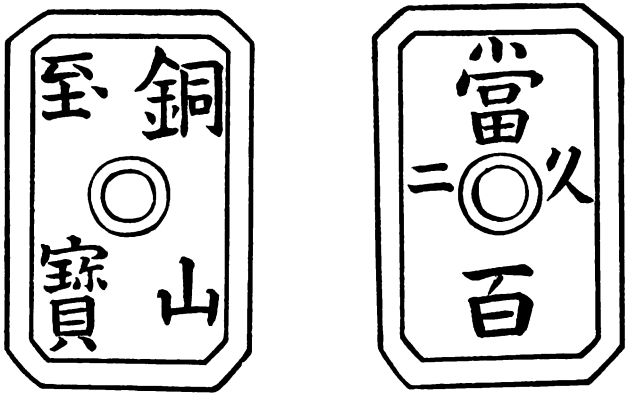

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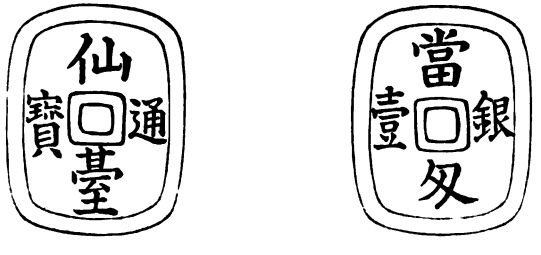

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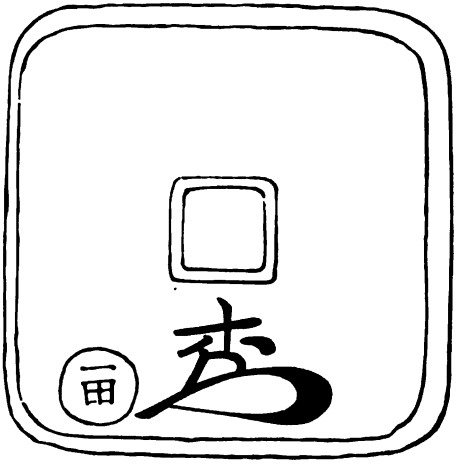
Face.

No. 120.

Back.

No. 120.



Face. Back.

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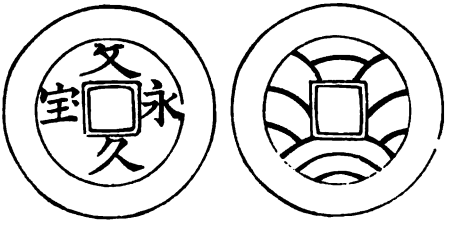

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Face. Back.

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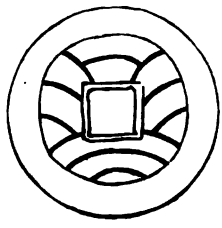

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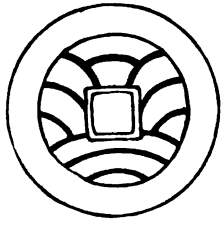

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APPENDIX.

1 a.

Silver. 708 A.D.

43 a.

1648-51 A.D.

56 a.

1716 A.D.

32 a.

1457-59 A.D.

A.

760 A.D.

B.

1444-48 A.D.

C.

1460-65 A.D.

The above are coins not mentioned in the *Dainihon-Kwaheishi*, and must have been found since the publication of that work. These are, however, given in the work *Meiji-shinsen-senfu*.

NOTE ON THE EIRAKU-SEN.

BY

J. H. WIGMORE.

(Read 17th March, 1891.)

The *eirakusen* was a coin of particular importance because of its connection with prices. Its full weight caused it to be taken as a special measure of equivalence, and this merits a few words on the subject of its origin and history, in addition to the facts which the learned author of to-day's paper has adduced.

First, as to the introduction of this coin. Mr. van de Polder speaks of it as having occurred in the Kwantō, in 1403-24, a shipment having probably been unloaded by mistake in Sagami. This surmise finds confirmation in a story which I found in *Denyen Jikata-Kigen*, "History of Land in the Provinces," quoted from *Chūko Chiranki*, "History of Peace and War in the Middle Ages." In the 10th year of Ōyei (1403), says the story, the greatest typhoon ever known in Japan drove a Chinese ship to Misaki village in Izu, now Sōshū. Ashikaga Mitsukane, in command of the Kwantō, sent three high officers to Misaki to see the ship. The people of the ship told the story of how they were driven out of their course, and requested a harbour. Five or six *kwan* of *eirakusen* were found on board; and on hearing of this, Mitsukane sent word to Kyōto to Yoshimitsu, the *inkyo* Shōgun, and

Yoshimochi, his son, the Shōgun, to ask what should be done, Mitsukane was told to decide for himself. So he confiscated the ship's cargo, and after provisioning the crew with *miso*, salt, fuel, and rice, sent them back to China. The author of *Denyen* does not credit this story; for he says (1) the 10th year of Ōyei, when this incident is said to have happened, was only the first year of Eiraku in China, and the *eirakusen* was not coined until the 9th of Eiraku, or about 1413, the 19th of Ōyei; (2) the ex-Shōgun Yoshimitsu died in the 15th of Ōyei; (3) Mitsukane died in the 17th of Ōyei; so that neither of them could have ever seen an *eirakusen*, nor could one have been imported in the 10th of Ōyei. This may all be, and yet the story may have a framework of truth. It corroborates very aptly the supposition of Mr. van de Polder.

Secondly, as to the subsequent history of the *eirakusen*. From the above authority I glean the following. Towards the latter half of the 16th century the *eirakusen* had begun to displace the ordinary money (*akusen*, bad money) in the Kwantō. In 1573, Hōjō Ujiyasu conquered that region, and soon afterwards he called a meeting of some of the chief lords of the region and submitted a proposition prohibiting the use of any money except *eirakusen*. His reasons were: (1) the *eirakusen* was of much better quality; (2) disputes about media of payment must be stopped; (3) such a measure would stimulate trade. His views met with favour, and the law was passed. (Incidentally this method of passing it raises questions of great interest.) Thereafter, says the chronicler, all the bad money in every *machi*, *gun*, *shō*, *gō*, *mura*, and *sato* was collected and sent to the Kamigata (or Kyōto region); from this time bad money was called *kyōtosen*. In 1590 Tokugawa gained the mastery in the Kwantō, and (in some unexplained manner) the *kyōsen* came partly into use again, and its ratio to the *eirakusen* was fixed at 4 to 1. But disputes again arose, and a law was passed more than once prohibiting the use of *eirakusen*

except for the payment of taxes. The reason for this law was said to be a dream of Iyeyasu; for one night in his castle at Sumpu (now Shizuoka) he dreamed that he was changing his castle, and on telling this to Honda, an official, the latter interpreted it as meaning that the money should be changed. Perhaps Honda had a stock of *kyōsen* which he was anxious to put upon the market. This account differs slightly from that of the authorities cited by the learned author, (1) in regard to the time when the rate 4 to 1 was fixed; (2) in regard to the time when the term *kyōsen* came into use. But my purpose in mentioning it is to call attention to the important connection between the *eirakusen* and the history of land-tenure. Under Yoritomo there came the final step in the process of commuting the old labour and commodity taxes into money. From his time (the middle of the 12th century) until Iyeyasu, the principal taxes (*ta* and *hata*) were paid in money. *Kwan* being the unit of coinage, the amount due from a given piece of land was called the *kwandaka*. It is probable that the amount of *kwandaka* was determined in the beginning by the amount of land producing sufficient to support one horseman for the lord's service. Now when the *eirakusen* came into use, the value of the *kwandaka* came to be often expressed in the terms of the *eirakusen*. When so expressed, the term *eidaka* was used. The income of the *samurai* was paid in *eirakusen*, and the term *eidaka* was thus forced into being. Ordinary taxes were *sennō*; taxes paid in *eirakusen* were *einō*. The use of *eidaka* apparently began about the time that Hōjō Ujiyasu made *eirakusen* the sole lawful medium.

The important consequence of this double reckoning is that for a period of two or three decades, we are without the means, in many cases, of knowing whether the assessed value of land is to be taken as named in terms of *eidaka* or of the ordinary *kwandaka*. In the deeds of the time the land is usually described as having such and such an income, and it is impossible to base any

conclusions on such ambiguous data. This ambiguity is the more deplorable as it was about the same period (1590) that Hideyoshi altered the area of the *tan* and made it consist of 300 *tsubo*; for thus another kind of data is rendered ambiguous. Such is one of the interesting questions on which Mr. van de Polder's history of the coinage throws light.

NOTE IN REPLY

TO

MR. E. H. PARKER.

BY

W. G. ASTON, C.M.G.

(Read 10th June, 1891.)

I observe that in a note to his paper on 'Race Struggles in Corea,' contributed to the October part of the Transactions, Mr. E. H. Parker says:—"Mr. Aston makes a mistake in blaming the Japanese for using the word *Kao-li* too soon: as shown above, it is proved to have originated in China as a corrupted form of *Kao-Keu-li* about A.D. 500."

Mr. Parker can hardly have paid much attention to the passage in my paper on Early Japanese History* to which he refers, or he would have seen that there is no question as to the time when the author of the *Nihongi* used this word. What I did was to point out the anachronism committed by him in attributing to a Corean king the use of the word *Koryŏ* (or *Kao-li*) in a document which, if genuine, 'would have to be placed somewhere near the beginning of the fifth century.' I really cannot see how the use of the word in Chinese literature a hundred years *later* is inconsistent with this view. But even if it were shown that *Koryŏ* was in use in China before the fifth century, it would not follow that I had made a mistake. For it is the official and not the literary designation of the country that would be used in a formal letter from the King to a foreign Sovereign, and the term used by Chinese in their books is quite beside the question.

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* Published in Vol. XVI, Part I, of these "Transactions."

Mr. Parker states in a note to p. 192 that the posthumous name of Wusüh was Jimmu, and I have no doubt he has quoted correctly from his Chinese authorities. The standard Corean history, however, gives Tè-mu-sin (大武神), i.e. the same characters reversed, with 大, 'great,' prefixed, as the posthumous name of this monarch. There was a King of Silla whose posthumous name was really Jimmu. He came to the throne A.D. 889.

With reference to Mr. Parker's note on p. 193 as to the introduction of Buddhism into Corea, the required information will be found at p. 46 of my paper on Early Japanese History.

JAPANESE FUNERAL RITES.

BY

ARTHUR HYDE LAY.

(Read 8th April, 1891.)

Some Japanese archæologists affirm that in the earliest period of Japanese history no burial system obtained, but that the dead were merely conveyed away from the haunts of men into some desert place and there left to the mercy of the elements. In proof of their assertion they adduce the fact that no graves dating from a period prior to 700 B. C. have been discovered.

Be that as it may, the most ancient mode of disposing of the dead was, as far as we know, by burial. The ordinary Japanese word for "to bury" is *hōmuru*. It is a modified form of one of the oldest words in the language, being derived from the archaic verb *papuru*, "to bury," and stands as a proof of the antiquity of the custom of interment.

Various ceremonies were observed on the occasion of a death. The body was deposited in a *moya* 喪屋, or mourning-house, and left there until the preparations for permanent inhumation were completed. The obsequies of the deceased were performed for the space of seven days and seven nights, or eight days and eight nights, and during that period food and drink, fruit and any dainties which had been dear to the heart of the departed during his lifetime, were placed as oblations in the *moya*, and a fire, *niwabi* 庭火, was kindled and kept alight in

front of the building. Music also was played (the musical instruments consisting of a *shaku-byōshi*, a rudely constructed flute of bamboo, and a *koto* roughly put together, bowstrings being used as strings), and to the sound of melody the survivors trod slow measures, at the same time weeping and wailing and chanting the praises of the dead. The statements of Japanese history on this subject are to some extent corroborated by an old Chinese manuscript, entitled *Kanjo* 漢書, in which it is related that the Japanese observe the custom of leaving their dead in the mourning-house for fourteen days; that the surviving relatives give themselves up to sorrow, lamentation, and fasting till the time appointed for permanent burial arrives; and that they pay frequent visits to the *moya*, where they sing songs and go through slow and rhythmical dances.

Whether the mourning-house was at first simply the hut of the dead man, or a special structure erected for the reception of the body, is not explicitly known. The habit of abandoning the hut visited by death, prevalent among many of the native races of America and elsewhere, is said to have existed at one time in Japan. In such a case the natural conclusion is that the deserted house became the mourning-house. This hypothesis seems also to be borne out by the fact that the word *miya* signifies both 'palace' and 'temple.' The palace—in ancient times a mere hovel—would naturally acquire a sacred character when tenanted only by the dead, partly on account of the awe with which death is everywhere regarded, but more especially by reason of the deification of the Chief immediately after his decease. It was, however, customary from an early period to raise a special house to serve as a *moya*, for we read in Volume I of the *Kojiki* that when Amewaka Hiṭo perished by his own arrow, his father, wife, and children at once built a mourning-house in the place where he was slain. The edifice was built of wood. Its pillars were merely planted in the ground and had no firm foundation, and the style of architecture resembled

closely that of the modern Shintō temple, which is but an adaptation of the old Japanese house. The exterior was hung with curtains of a white material, made from the paper mulberry. The body also was, shortly after death, clothed in garments of the same stuff, and identical in hue.

The musical performances referred to doubtless arose from the feeling, common to nations in a rude state, that the departed spirit might be induced by the charm of melody to return to its former tenement of clay. According to Japanese history, however, the custom dates from the time of Amaterasu no Kami. That goddess, so the legend runs, was so enchanted with the strains produced by Usume and other musicians that she opened the door of the cave into whose recesses she had retired in a pet, and allowed herself to be drawn forth into the presence of the other deities. Seeing, therefore, that music was so efficacious, its use in burial rites was established.

The head of the family superintended personally all the burial ceremonies of members of his household. He fixed the spot for the grave, settled the period of mourning, and conducted in person all the dances. The term *jisōsai* 自葬祭 was applied to such ancient burials.

The feelings of bereavement on the part of the survivors found expression in funeral laudations, called *shinobigoto* 誄. The lineage and deeds of the dead were sung and the songs of loss experienced set forth in words by a relative, generally the next of kin. An instance of the *shinobigoto*, in a somewhat developed form, may not be out of place here. In the 43rd year of the Emperor Keikō (A.D. 113) Yamatodake no Mikoto died. His wife and children in their sorrow composed four songs which were chanted at his funeral in Kawachi, and which for some time after were uttered at Imperial burials. Two of these dirges, the first of them composed by the widow, and the other by one of the sons, run as follows:—

(1) *Nazuki no* *Ta no inagara ni*
Inagara ni *Hahi motorofu*

Tokorozura.

In this form the August Lady likens her position of distress to the aimless convolutions of the tendrils of a vine growing in the midst of rice-stubble.

(2) *Asajinu hara* *Koshi nazumu*
Sora wa yukazu *Ashi yu yukuna.*

This song is an expression of the helplessness of the mourners, unable to follow the spirit in its flight through the sky, and compelled to remain on the ground.

The length of time during which the corpse was kept in the *moya* was gradually extended as preparations for burial became more elaborate, and, in the case of persons of very high rank, years sometimes elapsed before all was ready. The *Nihongi* 日本紀 tells us that the body of the Emperor Jimmu was detained in the mourning-house for the space of nineteen months; that of Emperor Suiko for eighteen months; those of the Emperors Ankō and Buretsu for three years; and so on. There is no recorded instance of a deceased Emperor having been actually buried within three months after death. The body seems to have been deposited in the earth enclosed by the *moya*, until the time for permanent interment arrived, when the remains were removed to the appointed place. During the interval between the temporary and final burial, varied and unceasing offerings of fruit and food were made, and music discoursed. Labourers were in the interim employed in constructing the coffin and funeral pile. The cortége, which accompanied the remains from their provisional shelter to their last resting-place, consisted of:—

A *kisarimochi*, (one bearing on his head the food to be presented), *hōkimochi*, (broom bearers), *mikebito* (cooks), *usume* (pounders of rice), *nakime* (hired mourners, generally of the female sex), *monomasa* (Superintendent of the funeral ceremonies) lantern bearers (it is imagined by some scholars that funerals used of old to take place during the night-time, as the idea of death was so repugnant to

the Japanese mind that as much secrecy as possible was observed in burying the dead), *watatsukuri*, (functionaries whose duty it was to assist at the ceremony); besides of course the bereaved relatives. The mourners carried with them to the grave *tamake* 玉笥, (bowls containing rice) and *gyoku-wan* 玉椀 (bowls holding water); and the rear-guard of the procession was formed by attendants waving aloft flags of blue, of red, and of white colours, and by musicians playing solemn music.

The use of wood in the construction of the coffin dates from a very early period. The story runs that Sosanoo no Mikoto, while making a progress through the country, arrived at a spot within the borders of the present province of Kii. Struck by the fertility of the locality, he gave orders that a quantity of *maki* trees (*Podocarpus macrophylla*) should be planted and that, when grown, they should be employed in the manufacture of coffins. Both the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* mention this circumstance, and relate that wood was then for the first time used for such a purpose.

The use of stone as a material for the formation of coffins probably sprang up about the beginning of the Christian Era. In A.D. 3, at the demise of the Empress, her sorrowing spouse resolved to honor her remains by encasing them in a sarcophagus. In the same year the office of *Ishitsukuribe* 石作部, Stone Coffin Maker, was instituted, and a high official, entitled *Ishitsukuribe no Muraji*, appointed to superintend the work of the Imperial Stone-Carvers. It seems to have been the practice in some cases to first place the body within a wooden casket (*uchi-gwan* 內棺), which was then closed and laid in a larger receptacle of stone (*soto-gwan*).

In the *Goryōki* 御陵記 a description is given of the sarcophagi of several of the former Emperors, which have recently been exhumed. They were composed of plates of hard stone, and were of a considerable size. That of Chūai Tennō (A.D. 162-200), fashioned of large stone blocks, was nine feet long and three feet five inches in

breadth; while that of Kensō Tennō (A.D. 485-487) was fifteen feet long and four feet eight inches broad.

Anciently the formation of a grave was a very simple matter. A shallow hole was dug in the earth, the remains placed inside, and a small mound of earth thrown up on the top to mark the spot. This simple grave-heap developed by degrees into the earthen tumulus, which increased in size with the dignity of the deceased. Such tumuli were finally evolved into mounds partly of earth and partly of stone. Until the reign of the Emperor Kōgen (B.C. 214-158) funeral piles were thrown up on mountain sides. The Emperor Jimmu's burial place, for instance, is to be found on the North-West side of Mount Unebi, in Yamato. The tumulus erected in his honour is fifteen feet in height and three hundred and sixty in circumference. In the case of Emperor Kaika (B.C. 157-98), the custom of selecting a commanding position for the mound was departed from, and from his time tumuli were constructed either upon level ground or on an elevation. The last named Monarch is said to have introduced certain rules to be observed in forming Imperial tumuli.

The practice of constructing the memorial pile partly of stone arose about the same time that that material displaced wood in the manufacture of coffins. The idea, it is believed, originated with the Emperor Sujin, who about the year 70 B.C. caused stone to be brought from Ōsakayama in order to build a fitting mausoleum for his son. During the reign of the succeeding Sovereign the art of building cairns was much studied.

As regards the materials used and the manner in which they were put together, we gather from the *Shoryōshiki* 諸陵式 that a foundation was laid of small stones which were rendered cohesive by lime and then beaten into a compact mass and allowed to dry. Upon this basis was placed the stone receptacle, care being taken to lay the coffin in such a position that the head of the corpse should be towards the North; and above were laid three

or four large stone slabs. To complete the pile, gravel, sand, and earth were heaped up, until it had assumed the desired proportions, when the summit was rounded off symetrically. The tumuli were originally built in three tiers, and in circular form. Some of them, however, were not quite round, the portion facing the North—the quarter from which reverence was shown to the departed by friends visiting the spot—being cut square. Round the bases of the mounds, moats, from fifteen to twenty-five feet wide, were dug, and their summits were occasionally surmounted by trees. No rule existed to determine the size of and area covered by the tumuli, and they are consequently to be found of all sizes. As regards the objects buried along with the dead, earthenware alone has been discovered in mounds of the earliest period. With the gradual elaboration of the funeral piles, however, there arose the custom of placing within the cairns articles of value; which were either put inside the sarcophagus or covered by the earth at the side of it. *Kudatama* and *magatama* (stone ornaments curved and cylindrical in shape), *kingwan* and *ginkwan* (rings of gold and silver), pottery, coins, &c. have at various times been dug out of old mounds. In the time of Emperor Yūryaku (A.D. 459-479) no expense was spared in constructing sepulchres and much poverty was the result among the people, who, imitating the example of the Court, spent their money too freely upon tombs and on articles to deposit therein. This we learn from notifications issued in later times to check lavish expenditure of that sort.

The custom of immolating human beings to supply attendants for service in the future life was, according to the *Nihongi*, of ancient date. The wretched victims were buried up to the neck in the earth, and formed what was called *hitogaki* 人垣, that is to say, a human hedge, round the mausoleum. In the year 1, B.C. on the occasion of the interment of Prince Yamato Hiko, the number of persons sacrificed was larger than usual, and their shrieks and cries, while slowly dying a painful death, a prey to

hunger and at the mercy of birds of prey, reached the Emperor's ears and touched his heart. His pity for the miserable sufferers was excited to such a degree that he summoned all his high officers, expressed in their presence his gracious opinion as to the enormity of hurrying the living into the spirit world as attendants upon the dead, and concluded by soliciting their advice upon the matter. Thereupon, a courtier, Nome no Sukune by name, advanced and humbly requested leave to propound a scheme whereby the cruel and wanton sacrifice of human life might be abolished. He proposed to substitute for living men figures of clay and to set them up at sepulchres. His Majesty, delighted with the humane idea, immediately approved his plan, and proclaimed that earthen images were in future to be used, and that on no account must human life be taken on the occasion of a funeral. Nomi no Sukune was appointed Hanishi no Muraji 土師連, Chief of the Sculptors, and, during the remainder of his lifetime, acted as Superintendent of the skilled carvers whom he brought from his native province of Izumo. The office of Director of the Imperial funeral ceremonies was also filled by his descendants. The clay images of men, placed around graves, were styled *tsuchi-ningyō* 土偶. They were of all sizes. An image nine inches in height and two inches in breadth was, some time ago, discovered at Kakinuma, Hataragōri, Musashi; one dug up at Hiraiso-mura, Naragōri, Hitachi, was two feet long; and so on. Shortly after the introduction of Buddhism, the practice of arranging statues round a grave fell into disuse.

Festivals (*tamamatsuri* 霊祭), were held at fixed times for the dead, when all the people laid offerings of flowers, fruit, various other edibles, and wine, upon the graves of their deceased relatives and friends. These oblations were presented upon shallow dishes of red earthenware, called *hiraka* 平瓮. Accounts of the *tamamatsuri* are given in various old books. To cite an instance from the *Kojiki*:—after the death of Izanami no Kami, all the natives of Arima, in Kii, assembled and marched in a band, with flags

and music, to her tomb, where they presented fruit and flowers and sang dirges in her honour.

The custom of showing respect to the spirits of the departed by offerings of flowers and food developed into a permanent annual observance. In the twelfth month the husbandmen paid into the Imperial Treasury their dues of rice. The first-fruits of this tribute were dedicated to the Imperial Ancestors, and presented before their tombs with much pomp and ceremony. The common people also observed a similar festival on the ingathering of the rice crop, and set apart the first-fruits as an oblation to their ancestral manes. This practice, but in a much modified form, continues till this day.

The *ujigamisai* 氏神祭 was a festival designed to show honour to a particular ancestor. All the *ujibito*, those tracing descent from the *ujigami* or tutelary family god, assembled at the house of the head of the family. In a recess in one of the rooms a circle was formed of *sakaki* trees 榊, (*Cleyera Japonica*), from whose boughs were suspended strips of cloth. These sacred trees formed a *himorogi* 神籬 and the invoked deity was thought to descend upon the spot enclosed by them. Gifts were offered, accompained by laudatory addresses.

The introduction of a new religion cannot fail to exercise considerable influence upon the ceremonial institutions of a country. In the beginning of the sixth century Buddhism, which had some time previously been brought from China by way of Corea, found favour in the eyes of the reigning powers. At first it advanced slowly in popular esteem, and for several centuries its effect upon funeral ceremonies was not very marked; but from the ninth century onwards it may be looked upon as the chief religion of Japan, though it never entirely superseded Shintō.

The lavish expenditure upon tumuli and valuable articles buried with the dead, which began about the end of the fourth century, has been noticed before. Mausolea were erected at the cost of much money and labour, and precious

stones, swords, &c., were placed within, alongside of the dead. Into such an evil did the desire to show honour to the dead develop that, in many cases, death in a family meant the reduction of the family to poverty. This state of affairs reached a crisis about the time of the Emperor Jomei (A.D. 629-641). His Majesty set an example of extravagance to his subjects by directing that his exequies should be conducted on a scale of unprecedented magnificence. His *moya* was of such an imposing size that it acquired the designation of *taihin* 大殯. As a matter of course this pernicious example was followed by nobles and people alike, and widespread destitution was the result.

Emperor Kōtoku, grandson of the above mentioned Monarch, perceived the baneful effects of such useless and excessive expenditure, and directed his energies towards the eradication of the practice. The first step taken was to issue a notification forbidding the erection of a *moya* to persons other than those of Imperial rank. His Majesty then showed his determination to check with a high hand such uncalled for waste. He promulgated edicts, proclaiming that no man, be he prince or peasant, must exceed in the matter of expensive burials, but that each one must celebrate the obsequies of his dead in a manner proportionate to his rank and means. These stern measures had a certain, though not quite the desired effect. Ruin no longer followed upon the steps of death; but although the whole system of burial by degrees became more simple, notifications had again and again in later times to be directed against excessive outlay upon funerals.

About the year 670 A.D. stone coffins fell into disuse and the old wooden caskets were reverted to. This return to traditional custom was effected by the Emperor Tenchi. He considered that the construction of sarcophagi entailed too much loss of time, money, and labour, and so decreed that wood should be the material used in future.

The new coffins were on an average six feet by four feet and about two feet in height. They were more ornate

than the ancient wooden receptacles. Great care was bestowed upon their manufacture, and in some cases they were covered with a coating of lacquer. The interior was lined with cushions stuffed with vermilion and powdered charcoal, in order to prevent putrefaction and retain the body in a fixed position. Swords and other objects were placed within the casket.

The mausolea of that period were composed of large rough blocks of hard stone. In the centre a special chamber lined with lime was made for the coffin, and after the completion of the structure, the coffin was introduced through an aperture left in the side for that purpose. The hole was closed up by a large stone slab. Stone steps usually led up to this part of the pile. No rule fixing the location, shape, or size of cairns existed up till 695 A.D., in which year certain sepulchre regulations were issued. The tombs of persons of Imperial blood were alone to be fashioned of stone; while the tumuli of individuals, not of "the blood," but possessing titles not inferior to that of *Shōchi* 小智 were to be made of gravel. The common people were forbidden to construct a mausoleum of any kind. The plebeian dead were to be interred in the ground, and the earth thrown on the top of the grave was not to rise above the level of the ground. The spot was to be marked by a simple headstone (*sekihi* 石碑). It was decreed also that cemeteries (*maisōchi* 埋葬地), should be provided throughout the country, and that burial must be effected within the limits prescribed. The size of the grave and tombstone was to be regulated by the status of the deceased.

The following table shows the dimensions fixed for the sepulchres of persons of a certain social position :—

Dimensions of mausolea in the early part of the eighth century.

	Persons of Imperial Blood.	Jōshin 上臣	Kashin 下臣	Daijin 大仁 Shōjin 小仁	Dairei 大禮 Shōrei 小禮 Daichi 大智 Shōchi 小智
Internal length.	9 feet	9 feet	9 feet	9 feet	9 feet
Internal breadth.	5 feet	5 feet	5 feet	5 feet	5 feet
External dimensions.	Sq. of 9 *jin* 尋 i. e. about 39ft. by 36ft.	Sq. of 7 *jin* 尋 i. e. about 28ft. by 28ft.	Sq. of 5 *jin* 尋 i. e. about 20ft. by 20ft.	9 feet by 4 feet	9 feet by 4 feet
External height.	25 feet	15 feet	12ft. 6 in.	4 feet	4 feet
Number of Workmen employed.	1,000	500	250	100	50

In 702 A.D. the notification, forbidding the construction of a tumulus and enjoining burial in the ground and the raising of a simple memorial stone, was extended so as to include all persons below the rank of *Sammi* 三位 with a few specified exceptions. It was thus only with the beginning of the eighth century that headstones came into general use, though they had been employed some time previously in isolated cases. A gravestone had, as early as the year 460 A.D., been set up over the last resting-place of one Shōshibe no Sugaru, a mighty man of valour at the Court of Emperor Yūryaku. This warrior performed many wonderful feats, but the crowning action of his life, it is related, was to catch and make prisoner the thunder at the command of his Sovereign. For this marvellous deed the Emperor ordered that, on Sugaru's death, a

tombstone should be erected over his grave with the inscription, "*Kaminari wo toru Sugaru no haka nari*," 'this is the tomb of Sugaru, the thunder-catcher!' Several headstones of very old date remain until this day, among which may be cited those of the Funauji in Kawachi.

An Imperial Rescript was published A.D. 722, urging upon the people the advisability of having clear inscriptions put upon their family tombstones.

A great difference is observable between the ceremonies in vogue in connection with a funeral in high life during the latter part of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century. Further changes having been effected in the orders of nobility in the fourth year of the Emperor Temmu (686 A.D.), fresh rules were promulgated to regulate the funeral ceremonies of persons belonging to the old and new orders. To give an illustration:—the body of a Prince was not to be actually inhumed till two or three months had elapsed from the time of death, and the order observed in the funeral procession was to be as follows:—

Four men, styled *ai-kami-tachi* 共上立 formed the vanguard. They were immediately followed by twelve *sakinami* 先波, advance guard, four attendants, two abreast, all bearing flags (*tsuribata* 系旗), two hired mourners (*kanashimi-otoko* 悲夫), two more attendants with lanterns (*tōro* 燈籠), and two broom-bearers (*hōkimochi* 帚持). The cortége was brought up by the family and other relatives and friends. The best authorities differ as to what office the *ai-kami-tachi* filled, but it is probable that they bore the oblations to be presented at the tomb. As regards the flags, the front two were inscribed with the genealogical table of the mother and father of the deceased respectively, and upon the remaining two were written characters expressive of the virtues and heroic deeds of the dead.

Emperor Mommu in the year 700 A.D. created a new bureau in the Department of Etiquette and Ceremonies, (*Jibushō* 治部省), called the *Sōgishi* 葬儀司. This new office was entrusted with the supervision of the funerals of all who had attained to the rank of *Sammi* 三位 and

upwards. Strict rules were laid down regarding funereal matters, and a system of burial, which differed with the station of the deceased, elaborated. The following table taken from the *Mosō-ryō* 喪葬令 shows what observances were prescribed in the case of persons of certain ranks. Table giving the number and description of the articles used at certain funerals.

Name of Articles.	For persons of the rank of						
	Ippon 一品	Nihon 二品	Sambon 三品 Shihon 四品	Dajō-daijin 大政大臣	Sadaijin 左大臣 Udaijin 右大臣 Ichi-i 一位	Dai-nagon 大納言 Ni-i 二位	Sammi 三位
Hōshō 方相	one	one	one	one	one	one	none
Jusha 輜車	one	one	one	one	one	one	none
Drums Tsuzumi 鼓	100	80	60	140	80	60	40
Daikaku 大角	50	40	30	70	40	30	20
Shōkaku 小角	100	80	60	140	80	60	40
Hata 幡	400	350	300	500	350	300	200
Kinshō 金鉦	3	3	3	4	3	3	1
Gyōko 鐃鼓	3	3	3	4	3	3	1
Tate 楯	7	7	7	9	7	none	none
Hatsumo 發喪	3 days	3 days	3 days	5 days	3 days	3 days	1 day

By the above table is clearly shown the influence already exercised by Chinese usages at the Court, and we find the continental innovations side by side with the remnants of the customs "handed down from time immemorial." The new articles introduced demand explanation.

The *hōshō* or *hōshō-uji* was an attendant, arrayed in grotesque fashion, who led the way to the sepulchre, and was credited with the power to scare away evil spirits by his garb and gestures. He was clad in a black robe with red border, over which was thrown the skin of a bear. His face was concealed by a mask, square in shape, upon the front of which were fastened four large eyes of gold, two above and two below. In one hand he carried a shield; in the other he brandished a spear. Mention is made in an old Chinese Book, *Shūrai* 周禮, of the *hōshō-uji*, and it appears to have been an old custom in China to set this fantastic personage in the van of a funeral procession.

The *daikaku* was a sort of flute, while the *shōkaku* was a species of flageolette. *Kinshō* were gongs, and *gyōko* cymbals. The musicians were termed *asobibe* 遊部.

Hatsumo was the period of mourning.

The *Jusha* was an ornamental car, drawn by men, and used as the bier upon which the remains were conveyed to the tomb. The number of men employed in pulling this funeral car varied. A great many attendants seem at first to have been pressed into this service. Emperor Saga, who died A.D. 823, left behind him a writing in which he enjoined the practice of simplicity and economy in the observance of his funeral rites, and especially desired that his *jusha* should be drawn by only twelve men. In later times cattle were employed instead of human beings. A similar vehicle, which served the same purpose and was introduced from the mainland about the same time as the *jusha*, was the *koshi* 輿. The latter carriage was, however, not drawn, but borne upon the shoulders.

A regulation was also issued by the newly created Bureau (*Sōgishi*) determining the material of which the

cerements and the covering of the coffin were to be made. They were to be of white linen, in accordance with traditional custom.

A curious ceremony, in connection with the burial rites, which made its way to Japan about the beginning of the eighth century, was *monomasa* 尸者. The *monomasa* was in the old days an attendant who assisted at the clothing and placing of the body in its casket, but the term was in Mommu Tennō's reign applied to an observance, imported presumably from China, in which the heir or nearest relative assumed for a short time the character and acted the part of the deceased. He arrayed himself in the discarded garments of the dead, and meeting the relatives and guests, on their return from the funeral, at the threshold of the house owned or rented formerly by the departed, ushered them into the best room, set food and drink before them; and acted in all respects as if he were the being for whom the last sad offices had just been performed.

But the effect of Buddhistic influence was most apparent in the mode of disposing of the human clay. The old method of burial in the earth (*dosō* 土葬), was supplanted by the newer institutions of *kwasō* 火葬, cremation, *suisō* 水葬, casting the dead into the water, and *yasō* 野葬, burying in the wilds. Up till the year A.D. 701 the ancient system of disposing of the body by burial had obtained. In that year, however, cremation was first practised in Japan in the case of a Buddhist priest, one Dosho, whose body was, in accordance with his own expressed desire, burned at Kuribara, in Yamato. Two years later the Empress Jitō departed this life, and the Imperial body was cremated, owing to the influence of the priests at Court. From 703 A.D. till the year 1644 it was the invariable rule to cremate the remains of the Emperors; but in the last mentioned year, the popular outcry against the practice was sufficiently powerful to cause its abolition. After the custom of cremation had become fixed in the case of Imperial corpses, a Mikama-

tsukuri no Muraji 造御竈連 was appointed to superintend the erection of Imperial crematoria. His duty was also to be present when the body was placed in the furnace and to watch carefully the process of consumption, and finally to collect the august ashes and place them within the urn. Some Emperors, among whom may be mentioned Their Majesties Saga and Junna, were so zealous for Buddhism, and so eager to show their contempt for all that should remain of them after the extinction of life, that they gave orders that the very dust which should be left after their bodies had passed through the fire, should not be kept, but be scattered to the winds. The most notable instance of Imperial zeal for Buddhism was, however, exhibited by Emperor Shōmu, chiefly known to posterity as the builder of the Nara *Daibutsu*, who died A.D. 748. His last words were, "let me be carried to the tomb with such pomp and ceremony that the procession shall resemble a pageant in honor of Buddha;" and accordingly the people treated his body as if it had been a representation of Buddha himself; and most of the articlse used in the service of Shaka were borne along with it on its last journey.

It was not until the beginning of the ninth century that cremation was practised throughout the whole land. Previous to that time Buddhism had been almost exclusively the religion of the rich and well-born; Shintō had kept its place in the hearts of the people. In the year A.D. 800 a device, of a most politic nature, was adopted by the Buddhist priests, which bore great fruit in the vast increase of the adherents of Buddhism and the consequent decrease in the number of upholders of pure Shintō. Kūkai and others accepted and promulgated the doctrine that Shintō deities were merely transmigrations of Buddha, and thus succeeded in bringing into their fold many who, though regarding the new faith with favor, were unwilling to abandon *in toto* their old religion.

We now come to the other methods of disposing of the dead, namely *suisō* 水葬 and *yasō* 野葬, which were also

much followed in the eighth century. Those who cast their dead into the water placed them first in slight coffins, weighted with stone, which were dropped into the sea or river. When *ya-sō* was practised, the dead were sometimes placed in rude boxes, sometimes left without any covering other than their ordinary garments, and in that condition carried out to unfrequented places, and there laid upon the ground and abandoned. This neglect to provide decent burial is attributable to the teaching of the priests, who instilled into the minds of their converts contempt for the human clay after life had departed. The body was only worthy of honor, said they, while animated by the spirit. Out of this conception of the human body there sprang a tendency to treat with scant care those upon whom death had set his seal, but who were still in the land of the living. Sometimes, when a man was near his end, his kindred perceiving his hopeless condition, conveyed him from the domicile to a spot outside the town, and there gave him over to a death in solitude. In A.D. 809 a fierce epidemic visited Kyōto and the surrounding district, and claimed as its victims many thousands of men and woman. No attempt seems to have been made to cover up the plague stricken bodies; they lay piled up by the roadside, putrifying and transmitting the germs of disease to the survivors. An Imperial edict was consequently issued calling attention to the demands of decency and propriety in such matters, and incidentally giving expression to the opinion that the dead should be dealt with in a fitting manner, and put away out of sight. It was also decreed that public officers should travel from place to place throughout the country, seeing that the sick were properly cared for, and the dead treated with respect, as ancient custom demanded. A supplementary notification was promulgated by the *Dajōkwan* early in A.D. 814, forbidding farmers and others,—specially mentioning those of the *Gokinai*,—to cast forth the feeble and infirm and leave them alone to perish. This decree had the salutary effect of arresting the barbarous practice referred to above.

In addition to the change in the manner of disposing of the body,—which was not, however, universal,—another sign of the influence of Buddhism is to be found in the fashion which arose of keeping wooden memorial tablets, called *ihai* 位牌, upon which were inscribed the posthumous title conferred by the priests upon the believer immediately after death. The new name was called *okurina* 諡 in the case of persons of high rank; in other cases, *hōmyō* 法名 or *kaimyō* 戒名. For instance, Ō Yamato Neko Ame no Hiro no Hime no Mikoto became, after his demise, Jitō Tennō. With the bringing in of the *ihai*, Buddhist prayers took the place of the old *shinobigoto*.

From the eighth century it became the almost universal custom to set up *boshi* 墓誌, or monuments, to mark the position of the grave. These were of all shapes and sizes, and constructed of stone, copper, or other durable material. They bore inscriptions setting forth the name and rank of the deceased; and in some cases words were engraved upon the tablets, eulogistic of the dead. It was also usual to bury similar tablets of smaller size in the grave. When cremation took place, the lid of the urn containing the ashes had traced upon it characters of a like purport. The term *sekitō* 石塔 was originally applied only to memorial stones in the shape of a pagoda; the old word *sekihi* was used to designate all other gravestones. The *sotoba* 卒塔婆, a long narrow tablet of wood, bearing the name of the dead, and covered with passages from the Buddhist scriptures in the Sanscrit language, came into use also in the eighth century, and was set up near the graves of the faithful. It was supposed to be efficacious in expediting the passage of the spirit to its destination.

It had always been held by expounders of Shintō that sickness and death were defiling, and that whoever touched a corpse was rendered unclean. To this doctrine of the defilement engendered by contact with a dead body was added the belief that the mere presence of the dead in a house produced contamination. Certain ceremonies had

to be gone through before purification could be reached. Although these tenets had been entertained in a general way by good Shintōists, no fixed rule seems to have existed till the tenth century as regards the *kibuku* 忌服 or period of mourning, during which the relatives were considered unclean. It was only then that a regular system of mourning was instituted, according to which the period of impurity was determined in proportion to the degree of relationship existing between the mourner and the deceased. For periods varying from ten to fifty days after the demise, the near relatives, from the members of the family down to the nephews, nieces, and cousins were obliged to abstain from animal food and from sweet and savoury dishes, as if to show that grief had robbed them of all desire for dainties and even of their appetite for food. Mourning clothes of a dull colour were worn for about a year. Officials were supposed to absent themselves from their offices, and indeed originally kept pretty strictly to their duty in this respect, but in course of time so much inconvenience was caused by their absence that it became usual for a special order to be issued in each case, exempting the officer, on the plea of urgent public business. These mourning customs—or at least a modified form of them—still remain in force.

That an idea may be formed of the funeral processions in the early part of the middle ages, it is proposed to furnish two examples; one of a cortege conducting the Imperial remains to the crematorium, and the other of a *samurai's* funeral train. The account of the former is taken from the *Gosōsōki* 御葬送記. Clothed in royal apparel, a head dress, *kammuri*, upon the head, and cinctured by a favorite sword, the august corpse of His Majesty the Emperor Shijō was placed in the coffin (A.D. 1243). When the receptacle, with its contents, was being carried to the place of dissolution, soldiers in armour led the way, followed by attendants, shod in straw sandals, and bearing torches. The car upon which the Imperial coffin rested was drawn by bulls and

occupied the centre of the train; and directly behind it marched the *Gonyūkwanyaku* (Director of a portion of the ceremonies), 御入棺役. The *kuge* and *denjōbito*, nobles and courtiers, with the Imperial guard, brought up the rear.

A soldier (*samurai*) was clad in his armour, had his sword girt about his waist, and was then laid in his casket. The coffin was transported to the grave upon shoulders of bearers, and escorted by numbers of former comrades of the deceased, and by attendants with torches and flags.

Feudalism, which inculcated the sacred nature of the obligations under which a servant lay to his master, and surrounded with much romance that relationship, was responsible for the revival of the custom of *junshi* 殉死, following one's lord into the next world. This, however, differed very much from the ancient cruel practice. While in the latter case it consisted in the wholesale and brutal destruction of human beings, without their consent, in the former it was a voluntary act, performed out of a desire to exhibit fealty in the highest degree. From the time when the abolition of *junshi* was brought about by the philanthropical courtier, Nomi no Sukune, till Hōjō Takatoki's day, that is to say for a space of nearly one thousand three hundred years, no single instance of *junshi* is recorded. On the death of the Shōgunate Minister just mentioned, a large number of retainers performed *otomobara*, i. e. committed *harakiri* in order to show their fidelity to their late Master. During the Ashikaga period isolated cases occurred of suicide on the part of faithful followers, deeply grieved by the departure of their lord. For instance, on the demise, in 1384, of Hosokawa Yoriyuki, the adviser of the young Shōgun, Yoshimitsu, Mishima Nyūdō Jōton, a retainer, took his own life. In the sixteenth century, however, it came more and more to be considered an honor for a man of rank to be accompanied in death by numbers of devoted followers, and such a form of suicide was looked upon by romantic individuals as the highest

exhibition of self-sacrifice. The practice, therefore, became somewhat common and many *daimyō* and others were followed to the land of the hereafter by their servants. On such occasions the number of retainers who commited *seppuku* ranged from fifteen to twenty two. Iyeyasu exerted his personal influence in order to put a stop to this infatuated self-destruction. He pointed out to his own immediate followers the folly of such acts, and sternly forbade them to descend to such foolishness on his death. This action on the part of the Conqueror of Sekigahara had the desired effect among his own following, but the evil did not diminish to any appreciable extent throughout the country. The *Bakufu*, therefore, found it necessary in 1664 to promulgate an edict denouncing *junshi* in the strongest terms and forbidding it under severe penalties. There were still found men, however, who clung fondly to the old institution and refused to abandon its practice. Such an one was Uemon no Hyōe, an officer in the service of Okudaira Tadamasa, who, when he heard of his master's death, defied the expressed wishes of the Shōgunate, and seizing his trusty sword, plunged it into his bowels, and so put an end to his existence. But the ruling powers were determined to effectually prevent future transgressions of a like nature, and showed their rigid determination by the measures taken in dealing with Uemon's nearest of kin. His family were deprived of their allowance, and removed from Utsunomiya to Yamagata, while two of his sons suffered the extreme penalty of death.

Another, but less violent manner of expressing grief at the loss of a loved Superior was by becoming a priest. On the death of the Emperor Nimmyō, one Yoshimine no Munesada gave up the world and took the sacerdotal vows. Some men merely shaved the head to show that, for the time being, they meant to refrain from the pleasures of life. According to the *Taikōki* 太閤記, Hideyoshi, when he heard of the murder of his Master, Nobunaga, before proceeding to vengeance, encamped

at Amagasaki, and there shaved his head, and in the *Toyotomi-kafu* 豊臣家譜 it is stated that on Hideyoshi's death, his followers, Nagamasa and Mitsunari, performed a similar act of respect. Widowed women also adopted the same outward signs of sorrow to show their sense of bereavement.

In the time of the early Tokugawa Shōguns the country was divided for religious purposes into parochial districts over each of which a *dannadera* 壇那寺, or parish Buddhist temple, presided. The priests had power in spiritual matters over their *danke* 壇家 or parishioners, and were entrusted with the funeral ceremonies in their respective charges. When a death occurred the fact was notified to the priest of the parish Church. On receipt of the tidings he, accompanied by one or two acolytes, repaired to the bereaved house and completed the necessary arrangements for the religious services. He also saw that the *ihai* was properly made, and decided what inscription should be written upon it.

The arrangements of a secular nature were carried out by the *Kōgumi* 講組 of the place. This *Kōgumi* was a Corporation, formed by the householders of a town or village, for mutual help. When any member of the Corporation, or the tenant of a house owned by a member of the Corporation, died, his family were required to inform the Society at once. On receipt of the intelligence, an officer was forthwith sent to the spot to examine the body, and report upon its condition. Kaempfer tells us that when Christianity had become an object of the deepest hatred to those who for the time being held the chief power, the officers appointed "sat on the body and viewed it narrowly to see whether there were any external signs of violence or marks of the Christian religion." The *Kōgumi* after satisfying themselves that death had resulted from natural causes, issued a certificate to that effect, and forwarded it to the Mayor of the place.

Twenty four hours after death the body was washed with warm water and the head shaved. The corpse was then

either dressed in a white cloth or wrapped in a paper shroud covered with Pali characters. This done, it was introduced into the coffin, a heavy chest of white wood, either square or round in shape, and placed in a sitting posture, the head between the knees. Such a position may be traced to the habit, practised by devout believers, of sitting rapt in religious meditation,—the object of the erect posture and shaven head thus being to impart a saintly appearance. The sides of the receptacle were lined with bags containing vermilion; poor people substituted tea for the more costly article. Over the top was spread a linen cloth, and the lid fastened down. A good deal of superstition prevailed as to lucky or unlucky days for cremation and interment, and geomancers were often employed to choose a propitious time. The day having been satisfactorily fixed, the coffin was conveyed to the best room in the house, where the relatives, friends, and priests were assembled. The officiating priest began the service by turning to the box enclosing the dead and proceeding to read portions of the Buddhistic sacred scriptures. After that he burnt incense, and the relatives in turn advanced to the side of the casket, burnt a small quantity of incense, made a low bow, and retired. Thus ended the service in the house. The procession was then formed and winded its way slowly to the temple or crematorium, (in some cases a special service was gone through in a temple, at other times the remains were taken direct to the crematorium). In the front were attendants, in double file, bearing the floral offerings of friends. More attendants, some of whom carried lanterns, others flags of paper or silk, followed. Upon one of the flags was inscribed the posthumous title, upon another verses from the writings held most in esteem by the sect to which deceased belonged; the remaining flags were the gifts of friends and, differing as to their inscriptions, formed, as it were, a catalogue of the dead man's virtues. The car which supported the coffin was shaded by an ornamental canopy, called the *tengai* 天蓋, and took its place

after the flagbearers. Directly behined the hearse walked the *moshu* 喪主, or chief mourner, apparelled in rough hempen garments, in his hand a bamboo staff meant to support him, as he was supposed to be so crushed by affliction as to be unable to walk without assistance. On his feet were straw sandals covered with white cloth. Near by was an attendant bearing the *ihai*. Four or five priests, each with an attendant, along with the relatives and friends followed. Last of all came servants bringing *dango* 團子, dumplings, impaled on spits, and cakes, which were afterwards distributed among the bystanders. Arrived at the cremation ground, the coffin with its contents was handed over to the official in charge, and a receipt taken, which had to be presented on the next day at the same time that the ashes were asked for. The guests and some of the priests returned to the house, where the latter again read selections from their sacred writings. The following morning they all proceeded once more to the crematorium, and having received the urn in which lay the ashes, betook themselves to the neighboring cemetery, where, after the sacred scriptures had again been recited, dust was returned to dust.

The *ihai* was carried back to the house and placed in the *butsudan* 佛壇, and flowers, &c., were presented in the morning and evening for some time after the death, and on anniversary days. The days specially set apart for offerings to the dead, and for the repetition of mass for their souls, began with the seventh day after death, and afterwards occurred at regular intervals of ten days, up till the seventy-seventh day. Further commemoration services were held on the hundredth day. The first anniversary of the death was a time for special services. Beyond that the third, seventh, thirteenth, seventeenth, twenty-third, twenty-seventh, thirty-third, thirty-seventh, and fiftieth anniversaries were selected upon which to call the departed to remembrance by offerings and prayers. It may be mentioned that the *ihai* or *reihai* took the place of the *himorogi* in 734 A.D.

The *bon* or *urabon* 于蘭盆 is a festival held for the souls of the dead, which was first observed in the year in which the *ihai* was introduced, although it was not till the time of the Shogunate that it was kept throughout the country. The word *ura* is from the Sanscrit, and being transliterated into Chinese characters reads 救倒懸, *kyū-tō-ken*, which means to care for and rescue the fallen. *Bon* is a Chinese word and signifies a tray for holding eatables; hence its meaning, in composition with *ura*, is "to give the hungry spirits food." The *urabon* is merely a Buddhistic adaptation of the old *tamamatsuri*. It is still one of the great annual festivals of the Japanese religious calendar, and is held on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of August (that is, according to the old style of reckoning in the 7th month from the 13th to the 15th days, inclusive). During that time the souls of the dead are supposed to return to their families. The rites are observed both in the house and at the grave, and are as follows:—

At home each family gets ready its best room for the ceremony. A clean rush mat is laid down in the alcove, and the *ihai* placed upon it. In front of the ancestral tablets are set up, along with vases of flowers, two bamboo vases—about a foot apart—each containing a section of bamboo. The pieces of bamboo are fastened together by a straw rope, and from this connecting strand depend various sorts of vegetables and fruit. Other articles of food are laid upon the *butsudan*.

These preparations are completed by the evening of the 28th, and that evening before supper the family approach the sacred shelf, light the *bombori* 雪洞, or lamps, which are hanging above the alcove, and go through their devotions.

The priests present themselves on the 29th, and 30th, burn incense before the *butsudan*, and read the lessons.

As regards the outdoor observances, the tombs are swept and cleared of moss on the 28th and vases of bamboo stuck in the ground in front of the memorial stone. A pole transversed near the top by a small piece of wood is

planted beside the grave. On the 28th the family repair to the cemetery after the evening meal, carrying with them flowers and water in a small hand-pail. They insert the flowers into the vases, fasten lanterns to the transverse piece of wood near the top of the pole, and light them. For three consecutive nights this routine is kept up. On the last night, that is the 30th, *okuribi* 送火, or fires whose light is supposed to illuminate the pathway of the "revenants" on their return to the spirit land, are lit among the tombs and upon neighboring hills.

In some parts of the country it was usual, in connection with the "feast of lanterns," for the townspeople or villagers to assemble in an open and convenient place, and there engage in dancing and singing. The dances were of a semi-religious character, and are said to have originated in the solemn dances which were in ancient times performed in the *moya*. The object was to give pleasure to the spirits revisiting their old haunts. The dances did not commence till well on in the evening, in order that the participants might have abundance of time to accomplish their *hakamairi* 墓參, i. e., pay their visit to the ancestral tombs. Men, women, and children, without distinction of sex or age, met, and joining hands, formed a circle, in the centre of which were the musicians. Many of the dancers tied up their heads with napkins and appeared in grotesque costume. Various dances were gone through and the proceedings kept up till a late hour. These dances (*bon-odori* 盆踊) were, however, put a stop to at the Restoration, they being deemed productive of immorality, and injurious to the public health.

A few remarks concerning the tombstones of the Tokugawa period are necessary before passing on to consider the results of the decay of the Shogunate power and the rise of Imperialism. The tombstones were of various shapes and sizes. In some cases a simple slab was used; in others an imposing structure formed, the base consisting of three layers of stone. Often the headstone rested upon

a foundation in the form of a tortoise. The gravestone was not, at the very soonest, put up before the forty-seventh day after burial, and it was usual to postpone its erection for a year. In the meantime a rude shed supported by four posts was run up over the last resting-place, and other offerings placed under this sheltering structure and renewed from time to time.

The movement in favour of the revival of pure Shintō, which in the course of time effected the disestablishment of Buddhism, took its rise about the end of the seventeenth century. During the peace which followed upon the establishment of the Tokugawa Government, men had plenty of leisure to engage in literary pursuits. Ancient Japanese literature was carefully studied, and as a result a desire sprang up to revert to the old ways and to the old-time religion. According to the teaching of the ancient sages the body of a man was one of "the most reverend phenomena under the sun," and, as the "temple where the hero-soul had once dwelt," was to be treated with respect and regarded even with awe. Moto-ori, Hirata, and others, expressed the opinion that if it were a crime to mutilate and commit to the flames the human body before life had become extinct, it was likewise and in the same degree wrong to burn the dead. Moreover, these learned men all advocated the advisability of a return to the old Japanese custom of *jisō*, holding that the head of each family should, without sacerdotal intervention, manage the funereal affairs of his own people.

The opposition thus excited against the leading religion of the country and its ceremonials, gradually gained strength until it swelled into a popular cry for the re-installment of Shintō in its former honourable position. The public feeling in favour of the old national religion contributed not a little to the revolution which led to the Emperor being re-invested with supreme power. When the Restoration was an accomplished fact, and Shintō in the ascendant, the first step taken was to disunite the Buddhist religion from the "Way of the Gods." As a natural result the

disestablishment of Buddhism followed in 1871, and Shintō was re-installed as the only State religion. The funeral ceremonies of the Imperial family and of the upper classes have therefore, from the beginning of the Meiji period, been conducted with Shintō rites. The bulk of the nation, —and in particular the country people, have, however, clung tenaciously to their old belief, and most of the burials among the middle and lower classes are still carried out with Buddhist rites.

The Buddhistic ceremonies on the occasion of a death having been already described, it is proposed to give a sketch of a Shintō funeral. The following details of the rites observed in the case of the burial of believers in Shintō are taken from the *Sōgishiki* 葬儀式, a book from the pen of the well-known Japanese archæologist, Kondō Naosuke. The ceremonies described,—and this remark applies equally to the Buddhistic rites of which a description has been furnished above—are such as would be performed on the death of a man of some position.

On the occasion of the death of a Shintō believer, the body is looked after by attendants whose first act is to clothe it in a new, or at any rate a clean robe, and cover it with a quilt. They place long narrow tables in the same room with the body, and upon them arrange bowls, filled with vegetables, salt, &c., cups of wine, and vases containing *sakaki* trees and flowers, besides various articles of which the deceased used to be fond. Near by stand sword racks, on which are hung *mamorigatana* 守刀, charmed swords, to keep away devils.

The members of the family, accompained sometimes by friends, visit the chamber of death every day until the funeral, and see that the flowers and edibles are continually replaced by fresh ones. On the day appointed for the last rites the relations assemble. The body, of which only a small portion is exposed at a time, is washed with hot water brought in a new pail, and applied with a new linen cloth. A difference, worthy of notice, exists between the

Shintō and Buddhistic modes of washing the dead. According to the former, the corpse is simply wiped with a moist napkin, the same gentleness being exhibited, as would be shown to a living man; while in the latter method, hot water is poured over and the corpse handled without overmuch ceremony. Moreover, as Shintō teaches reverence for the human clay, those employed in the cleansing do not divest themselves of their apparel. In some Buddhist sects on the other hand, the servants strip off their clothes before engaging in the work.

After these ablutions the body is gently lifted and transferred to another part of the room, where it is laid upon the top of a new suit of raiment spread out on a quilt. A pillow is placed under the head, and the face again washed tenderly with hot water, and covered with a clean linen napkin. The clothes previously worn are exchanged for these underneath, and straw sandals are placed on the feet.

The coffin, a *negwan* 寝棺, that is one in which the body reclines at full length, is then brought in, and shortly afterwards four of the relatives rise, and each raising a corner of the quilt, place it and its burden within the receptacle prepared. Clothes of a style suited to the social position once occupied by the departed are deposited along with him in the coffin. These garments often consist of *hō* 袍 and *hitatare* 直垂, both long loose gowns with wide sleeves, fastened at the waist by a girdle (they were formerly worn on state occasions); *kariginu* 狩衣 hunting-coat at one time used by nobles; *kammuri* 冠 and *eboshi* 烏帽子, black caps bound round the head with broad white fillets. Besides clothing, other articles are inserted, such as the *shaku* 笏, wooden tablets in ancient times employed as note-blocks, *chūkei* 中啓, fans, swords, *himo-gatana* 紐刀 and *wakizashi*, stilettos and daggers. In the case of women *hi-ōgi* 檜扇, fans, and looking-glasses are put in instead of swords. Over all is spread a clean quilt. The above articles may of course be varied, or any of them omitted, at will, but a general idea may be formed from

those enumerated of the things most generally introduced into the coffin.

The corners and other empty spaces in the coffin are filled up with cotton-wool, after which the lid is fastened on. The receptacle is raised and placed upon two small benches, one end resting upon each; and other benches, upon which rest wine, biscuits, salt, and water, are arranged in front.

The material at one time most generally used in the construction of wooden coffins was *maki* 槙, (*Podocarpus macrophylla*). This species of wood, however, not being so common as it once was, its place has been taken by wood of the pine (*matsu* 松), and *momi* 樅, (*Abies firma*). Stone is also occasionally employed even at the present day, and copper too has recently been made use of in one or two instances.

After the coffin has been closed up, the *senreishiki* 遷霊式, ceremony for the soul of the dead, is performed. Special preparations are made for this rite, which has for its object the detention of the spirit in the house. A stand about a foot and a half in height, covered with new straw matting and white silk, is set up near the coffin. This is called the *mitamadoko* 霊床, and serves as a platform for the *mitamaya* 霊屋, (abode of the spirit),—a wooden house roofed with shingles, and with folding doors,—to rest upon. Close by are the usual *sakaki* trees, supported in bamboo vases, with strips of white silk or paper depending from them, and inside the *mitamaya* is a smaller wooden structure, called the *mitamashiro* or *funashiro* 霊代, specially designed as a resting place for the soul. A bowl containing salt dissolved in water is placed on the right side of the *mitamaya*, and on the left is laid a board, called the *kamiyori-ita* 神託板, upon which the spirit is supposed to descend ere it enters the house prepared for its reception.

At the right side of the spirit-house is an erection similar in shape to the *mitamadoko*, called the *haraidokoro* 祓所, or place for exorcising evil spirits. It is likewise

surrounded by *sakaki* trees, adorned with pendent silk ribbons.

The religious service is commenced by the officiating priest, who occupies the position of *harainushi* 祓主 or exorciser. He draws near to the *haraidokoro* and pronounces certain words adjuring evil spirits to depart. The onlookers all listen, and make humble obeisance at the close of his exorcism. Another priest then steps up and, seizing one of the branches of *sakaki*, waves it over the heads of people to purify the chamber and its inmates. This done, the *Saishu* 斎主, Director of the Ceremonies, opens the door of the spirit-house, takes out the *funashiro*, and deposits it upon an unoccupied bench in front of the coffin. One of sacerdotal assistants lifts up the bowl of saltwater and another the *kamiyori-ita*, and together they place their burdens upon the same bench with, and on either side of, the *funashiro*. The Shintō rituals appointed for such occasions are gone through, and in the meantime the spirit is supposed to have taken up its abode in the coffer prepared for it. The *funashiro* is replaced in the *mitamaya*, while solemn music is being played.

The *tamashizume no matsuri* 鎮霊祭, for the repose of the soul, is the next ceremony. The usual prayers, *tamashizume no norito*, are uttered, slow music is again discoursed, and fresh flowers and food are set before the *mitamaya*. The chief officiating priest goes up to the sacred erection, claps his hands four times, and with a bow, withdraws, and all present, from the master of the house, down to the guests, follow his example.

Still another rite, *shūsaishiki* 終祭式 remains to be observed before the funeral cortége sets out. The offerings of vegetables &c., are again renewed, and fresh *sakaki* trees up. The funeral oration is pronounced by the Director of Ceremonies, and more prayers are recited. Finally each mourner lays a branch of *sakaki*, with *tamagushi* 玉串, slips of paper attached, upon a small table, and, making a last bow, retires.

The ceremonies just described sometimes all take place in the same apartment, but at times the several rites occur in different chambers, when the coffin is carried from room to room.

After the procession has been formed outside, the coffin is carried out by attendants dressed in white. It may be mentioned that all the servants assisting at the funeral should be clothed in white garments. The *moshu* 喪主, chief male mourner and *mome* 喪婦, chief female mourner follow. A fire, *niwabi*, is lighted in the courtyard, and the train starts.

The order observed in the cortége is:—

Saki-oi 先追, men who go in front to clear the way; in certain cases the *saki-oi* are soldiers.

Two torch-bearers.

Two broom-bearers.

Zenyei 前衛, i. e., relatives or friends who march near the front to keep order.

Two servants, carrying between them a large *sakaki* tree.

Two *Yosoishi* 装束師, secular assistants at the various ceremonies.

Two flagbearers (a red flag at the right and a white one at the left).

Two more flagbearers (this time the red flag being at the left and the white at the right).

Karahitsu 辛櫃, a wooden box, with four legs, containing fruit, flowers, &c., with two bearers.

Chōsenshi 調膳師, attendants whose duty it is to look ofter the offerings, &c.

Musicians, two abreast.

Two flagbearers, with red and white flags at right and left.

Two other flagbearers, with flags in reversed position.

Imibe 斎部, priests next to the *fukusaishu* in rank.

Two relatives dressed in *kariginu*.

The *Fukusaishu* 副斎主, Vice-Director of Ceremonies, in ceremonial dress, with an attendant.

Two priests.

Two torchbearers.

One flagbearer, with *tsurihata* 釣旗.

Relatives carrying artificial flowers.

Attendant bearing a small *sakaki* tree.

Mourners carrying bows, arrows, and swords, the women among them with halberts.

The coffin borne by four men on a bier, over which is a canopy; two mourners at each side.

The benches upon which the coffin rested while in the house.

Two priests.

The *Saishu* (Director of Ceremonies), with two servants.

Two priests.

Two relatives entrusted with the execution of certain necessary arrangements.

A servant carrying the temporary wooden *hakajirushi* 墓標, to mark the grave.

Two attendants with torches.

Four attendants with flags.

The *Moshu*
The *Mome* } with male and female attendants.

Relatives and friends.

Two *ato-osae* 後押, men to bring up the rear; the *ato-osae* are in certain cases soldiers.

The procession slowly winds its way to the cemetery within whose precincts a shed, called *karimoya*, 假喪屋, has been erected for the temporary reception of the coffin. Here the advent of the cortége is awaited by attendants, who, on perceiving its approach, kindle a fire outside the temporary mourning-house.

The Director and Vice-Director of Ceremonies and principal mourners enter the *moya*, and cause the coffin to be laid on a table in the centre and the oblations, *hakajirushi*, *karahitsu*, &c. to be placed beside it. After the *sōshiki no matsuri* 葬祭式, which is identical with the *shūsaishiki* above described, has been concluded, burial is effected.

The coffin is carefully lowered into the open grave by eight men; sometimes *boshi* and *hakajirushi* are placed on the top, and earth is then thrown on. Great care is taken lest the mould should be cast roughly in and resound upon the chest. The mourners retire, and the grave-diggers fill up the hole afterwards, and place sward on the top. The *hakajirushi* inscribed with the name of deceased is put up to mark the spots pro tempore, and the small benches upon which are the various articles, such as *sakaki*, fruit, &c., brought from the house, are arraanged beside it. Round about a paling of bamboo with a small wooden gate is constructed. The flags are stuck up outside the fence, while inside, near the *hakajirushi*, are also lanterns which are lit every evening.

The relatives and priests who remained at home have, in the meantime, purified the house by prayers and other observances, among which is the scattering of salt and water upon the floor and at the entrance. When the mourners return, they are presented with water to wash their hands and rinse out their mouths, and salt is cast over them as a purifier. More prayers are uttered, and the company disperses. On the following morning the Chief mourner and others, accompanied by the Director or Vice-Director of Ceremonies, proceed to the grave and offer flowers and pay their respects. Certain dates are fixed upon which homage should be paid to the ancestral *Manes*. During the first year after death the tenth, twentieth, thirtieth, fortieth, fiftieth, sixtieth, ninetieth, and hundredth days are set apart for that purpose. The first anniversary is an important memorial day and after that the appointed days are the third, fifth, tenth, twentieth, thirtieth, fortieth, fiftieth, and hundredth anniversaries. Besides twice a year, in Spring and Autumn, there are festivals for the general worship of ancestors. These festivals are also observed by the Court in honour of the Imperial ancestors, and are called *Shunki-kōreisai* 春季皇霊祭, and *Shūki-kōreisai* 秋季皇霊祭.

The scale upon which a Shintō funeral is conducted

differs of course with the rank of the deceased. In the case of a believer among the lowest classes the rites observed are naturally of a very meagre description.

The memorial stone (*sekihi*) is generally put up before the hundredth day festival. On the front of it are engraved the official rank and name of the dead, and on the back the name of father and mother, and date of death. In some cases instead of the ordinary tombstone, a *hokora* 祠, or small shrine of stone is set up.

During the past thirty years Christianity has made considerable progress in Japan, and all the restrictions under which it formerly laboured have been withdrawn. At present the number of its adherents is comparatively small, but it is an ever-increasing power in the country. It is interesting to examine the latest obtainable statistics of the deaths occurring throughout Japan during the space of a year, and discover how the dead are apportioned between the three Communions, Shintō, Buddhism, and Christianity. The whole number of deaths annually amount to 754,000. Of these Shintoists contribute about 224,500 souls, Buddhists about 526,500; while about 3,000 Christians of all denominations die each year in Japan. From these figures we can learn how many funerals are annually conducted according to the rites of the three rival religions.

The burial grounds, which are generally some distance out of town, are public property and persons are buried irrespective of religious tenets. Up till 1875 many burials were effected in the immediate vicinity of dwelling-houses, a state of affairs productive of much danger to health. In that year, therefore, intramural interment was forbidden by law, unless cremation had first taken place, and burial within several hundred yards of human habitations strictly prohibited.

Cremation was abolished by proclamation in July 1873, as those administering the Government objected to it on the score of its barbarity, and regarded it with disfavour as being neither an ancient custom, nor a practice common among Western Nations. An outcry arose in some

quarters against this peremptory measure. Influenced by the feeling in favor of the repeal of this enactment, and also actuated by a consideration of the benefits of cremation in the case of persons dying of infectious diseases, the Government withdrew the prohibition in 1875. Cremation is now to a great extent conducted upon the most improved European methods. The process is simple. The body having been delivered over to the crematorium authorities, is taken charge of by the *ombō* 御坊, the officer whose duty it is to burn the dead, and placed by him in a furnace surrounded by lighted wood and charcoal. In about two hours nothing is left but ashes and a few bones. The remains, which weigh about four pounds, are placed in a cinerary and handed over to the proper person on production of the check issued when the body was brought. The charges for cremation vary in different places. The usual fees are, 1st class style, from $ 1.75 to $ 7; 2nd class, from $ 1.50 to $ 4.50; 3rd class, from 75 cents to $ 3. The crematoria are substantial buildings, and are as a rule situated in outlying districts. In Tōkyō there are five large crematoria, at Higurashi, Kameido, Kirigaya, Kami-ochiai, and Ogi-shinden.

The arrangements for funerals are entrusted to *Sōgiya* 葬儀屋 or Undertakers, who contract to provide for a small fee all the articles required both in the case of Buddhist and Shintō burials. Their sign-boards bear the advertisement "*Shinbutsu Sōgu Chōshindokoro*" 神佛葬具調進所, "articles necessary for Buddhist and Shintō funerals furnished."

"*Kairyō*" is the order of the day in Japan; and in Tōkyō and other large cities there are *Sōgi Kairyō Kaisha* 葬儀改良會社, which among other things aim at uniformity, and strive to provide dresses and other articles necessary on such occasions, all of the latest and most convenient style. They perform the business of undertakers, and furnish everything required to carry out a funeral properly. The probability is that in the course of time funerals will be executed on the same general plan.

As to the funeral ceremonies of the future, they will of course depend upon the respective places taken by the three religions at present striving for mastery in the country. Everything, however, seems to point unmistakably to the conclusion that Christianity, or at least a form of it, influenced perhaps to some extent by Shintō and Buddhism, will be the future faith of Japan.

HANA-AWASE.

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL H. SPENCER PALMER, R.E.

(Read 13th May, 1891.)

Card-playing seems to have prevailed in Japan for about 300 years, and to have been introduced by the Spaniards or the Portuguese. The very name of cards, "*Karuta*," is not a true Japanese word, but one adopted from abroad, probably from the Spanish or Portuguese *cartas*. But, though card-playing is of foreign origin, neither the games now played nor the cards themselves are of distinctly foreign complexion. As with art, religion, and other cults, derived originally from alien sources, the Japanese have stamped their own individuality on their cards and card-games, which, indeed, in their present forms differ from those of all other peoples. The earliest form of game was played, it is said, with cards much like modern foreign cards, and was called *Unsui-karuta*. From this was developed a very different form of cards and play, called *Mekuri-karuta*, the former being now extinct, and the *Mekuri-karuta* surviving only among the lowest classes. Griffis, in his *The Mikado's Empire*, mentions six Japanese card-games, namely, *Tōkaidō Gojū-san Tsugi*, *Iroha-garuta*, *Hyakunin-Isshu-garuta*, *Kokin-garuta*, *Genji-garuta*, and *Shi-garuta;* and briefly describes the first three. *Genji-garuta* was till lately the popular game among the upper classes, especially

the ladies, and it still survives in some conservative quarters. But it is a dull game, occupying a position in card-playing comparable to that of the *Nō* among dances. The other two, namely, the *Kokin-garuta* and *Shi-garuta*, are of a similar type, and are almost extinct. Griffis, however, makes no mention of the really fine game, called *Hana-awase*, *i. e.*, "Pairing or Matching of Flowers," which, though nearly always played for money, is the fashion of to-day. The cause of his omission is obvious: the game at that time was so little known.* Gambling, always, as now, forbidden by law, was till quite lately discountenanced by the upper classes. The public sale of cards for *Hana-awase* was prohibited, and, except perhaps at the New Year, the game itself was rarely played by respectable people, being only indulged in, secretly, by the lower orders. Since Griffis wrote, however—in fact, within the last ten years—a great change has taken place. *Hana-awase*, no longer confined to dark corners, has come to circulate in decent company. The restrictions on the sale of the cards have been gradually relaxed; and, though gambling is still as illicit as ever, the game has grown so steadily and quickly in popularity that it is now the universal rage, and is played in all circles of society wherever a few Japanese are gathered together with nothing particular to do.† Most of

* Of the origin of *Hana-awase* little more is known than that it came in between 150 and 200 years ago. Its development is obscure, from the fact that, as a gambling game, it was prohibited. *Unsui-karuta* and *Mekuri-karuta*, also played for money, were interdicted games. Then, it is said, some ingenious person devised the game of *Hana-awase*, and sought to cloak its real character by the pretence that it was a game for children, aimed at combining with amusement some instruction in flower-lore, &c.—a flimsy stratagem which of course was soon detected.

† There is a diversity of opinion as to the cause of the modern spread of the game. Some hold that with the advent of foreigners, among whom card-playing for money is so fashionable, an example was set to which the better classes of the Japanese took kindly enough. Ano-

those of us who have mixed at all freely with our Japanese friends, on their travels or in their houses and clubs, have looked on with wondering interest at the game. And I think I may venture to say that no spectator who has ever thus looked on has succeeded, without special instruction or study, in gathering any but the faintest clue to its mysteries, or to the extraordinary fascination it exercises over its devotees. Convinced for my own part, by eyewitness and by the assurances of players, that *Hana-awase* was entitled to a high place among games of cards, I lately ventured to attempt a mastery of its details. In this effort I should, of course, have been helpless without the assistance of Japanese friends. And I have specially to point out to the Society that whatever success may be claimed for the exposition of *Hana-awase* in this paper must stand mainly to the credit of my friends Messrs. M. Yokoyama and Tsuneta Mori, the former one of the finest players in Japan, and the author of the best existing handbook of the game.

Hana-awase is played with 48 cards, composed of 12 suits of 4 cards each. These suits are named and decorated after the several kinds of flowers and other vegetation which, except in the last two cases, are usually associated by the Japanese with the months of the year—as follows:

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ther view, recently propounded by a vernacular journal, is that many men who have now come to hold leading positions in official and business life, having been educated in the immoral school of the unquiet times of the Restoration, and being unable to conceal their original character, yield in consequence to their inconquerable passion for the pastimes of their youth, and are followed and encouraged by swarms of heedless young disciples. Some authorities, again, believe that, while both of these influences may, perhaps, have contributed in some degree to the present prevalence of the game, the truer and greater causes are the abolition of caste, along with the freer intermixture of the better classes with persons of inferior grade, which have come in the train of the new order of things.

Matsu .....Pine (January).
Ume .....Plum (February).
Sakura .....Cherry (March).
Fuji .....Wistaria (April).
Ayame[1] .....Iris (May).
Botan .....Tree-Peony (June).
Hagi .....Lespedeza (July).
Susuki[2] .....Eularia Japonica (August).
Kiku .....Chrysanthemum (September).
Momiji .....Maple (October).
Yanagi[3] .....Willow (November).
Kiri .....Pawlonia (December).

Like their pipes, tea-pots, and many other things, the playing-cards of the Japanese are of small dimensions, being, in fact, barely 2 inches (1.85 in.) long, and slightly over an inch (1.10 in.) wide. They are made of a thin mill-board, about as thick as the modern Western playing-card. This is covered at the back with plain paper, usually black or of some shade of red or brown, folded over the edges so as to form a narrow border to the face of the card, which is decorated in colours on a white ground. The decorations are, as aforesaid, representative of the twelve names. Common cards, printed in colours, may be bought at from a few *sen* to a *yen* per pack. The illustration at the end of this paper shows the standard styles of decoration. But the finest kinds are painted by

1 Sometimes called *Kakitsubata* (a larger species of Iris than the *Ayame*), but more often, for brevity, *Negi* (onion), to which the conventional decoration bears some resemblance.

2 Commonly called, for simplicity, either *Bōzu* (priest), or *No* (field), both of them names suggested by the decoration.

3 Commonly called *Ame* (rain), or *Shigure* (dull or drizzling autumn weather). There is no special connection between November and the willow. The decoration, however, refers to the story of the poet Ono no Tōfū, watching, on a rainy day, a frog's patient and ultimately successful efforts to jump up on to a willow branch; the moral of the story being, like that of Bruce's climbing spider, that "patience and perseverance gain the day."

hand, and may be of any price up to several *yen*. In these, though the recognised colours and styles must be adhered to, the details are left to the artist's taste, often with the happiest effect. As a rule, the greater the face-value of any card the more highly it is decorated, as by deer under the trees, birds on the branches, flying wild-geese, and so on.

I now proceed to give the names and values of the several cards, observing that henceforward in this paper the popular names as indicated in the foregoing foot-notes, namely, *Negi*, *Bōzu*, and *Shigure*, will be adopted for the *Ayame*, *Susuki*, and *Yanagi* suits, respectively.

The Shikō-mono. First in value are the four *Hikari*, or "Brilliants," called collectively *Shikō-mono* (group of four), namely, the commanding cards of the *Matsu*, *Sakura*, *Bōzu*, and *Kiri* suits. These are more highly decorated than the rest, the Rising Sun and Crane (*Hinode-ni-tsuru*), the Cherry Blossoms in a Palace garden* (*Goten-zakura*), the Field with the Rising Moon (*Ōno-ni-tsuki*), and the Phœnix (*Kiri-ni-hōwō*) being added, respectively, to the decorations proper to the suits, and thus bearing out the designation Brilliant.

The Shigure. After the Brilliants comes the commanding card of the *Shigure* suit, which is commonly called *Ō-Ame*. This, though equal in value to a Brilliant (namely, 20 points, or chips of value 1 each) for counting up the cards in hand at the end of a round, has no other property of a Brilliant, and has only the value of 1 for

* A *Maku* (curtain, or screen) figures conspicuously in the decoration of the *Sakura* Brilliant, and its employment as a Brilliant symbol is referred by some to a feature of feudal times. When the nobles and barons, on their hunting excursions, paused for refreshment or rest, the attendants would enclose a space for the purpose by a *Maku*, commonly of bright hues, contrasting so gaily with the more sombre tints of the forest as to form a brilliant spot of colour in the landscape. Another view is that it is derived from the habit of using the *Maku* at spring picnics, when people go to see the cherry-blossoms, the two—*Maku* and flowers—producing together a very brilliant effect. Gorgeous *Maku* were also used in one at least of the old Court dances.

combination with other cards in the *Teyaku*, or "value of hand," to be presently described.

The Tō-mono. To the *Ō-Ame* succeed the commanding cards of the *Ume*, *Fuji*, *Negi*, *Botan*, *Hagi*, *Kiku*, and *Momiji* suits, and the second cards of the *Bōzu* and *Shigure* suits—nine in all, each having the value 10 points, except that for the *Teyaku* the *Shigure* second card counts as 1 only. These nine cards are called, collectively, the *Tō-mono*, or otherwise the *Iki-mono* (living creatures), birds or other creatures figuring in their decorations.

The Tanzaku-mono. Next, ten cards, called *Tanzaku* (collectively, the *Tanzaku-mono*), distinguished by their having across the decoration a wide band representing a strip of the thick paper (*tanzaku*) on which poetry is usually written. They are the second cards of the first seven and the ninth and tenth suits, and the third card of the *Shigure* suit. Their value is 5 points each, except that for the *Teyaku* the *Shigure Tanzaku* counts as 1 only. In the *Botan*, *Kiku*, and *Momiji* suits, the *Tanzaku* is coloured blue. In the other seven suits it is red.

The Kasu-mono. The 24 remaining cards, namely, the last two of the first ten suits, the fourth of the *Shigure*, and the second, third and fourth of the *Kiri*, have the value 1 each, and are called *Kasu-mono*.*

It will be observed from the above that the peculiarity of the *Shigure* suit is that, while its four cards have the face-values, respectively, of 20, 10, 5 and 1 for the ordinary count-up of players' cards in hand at the end of a round, all of them count only as *Kasu-mono* for the *Teyaku*. In the other eleven suits there is no such distinction, though, as will appear farther on, certain *combinations* of Brilliants and *Tanzaku*, called *Dekiyaku*, have special values in the play. The face-values of the 48 cards may be seen at a glance in the following Table, in which the *Shikō-mono* are distinguished by asterisks.

* "Trash" or "refuse."

TABLE I.

Suit.	Values of cards, in points.				Total.
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	
Matsu	20*	5	1	1	27
Ume	10	5	1	1	17
Sakura	20*	5	1	1	27
Fuji	10	5	1	1	17
Negi	10	5	1	1	17
Botan	10	5	1	1	17
Hagi	10	5	1	1	17
Bōzu	20*	10	1	1	32
Kiku	10	5	1	1	17
Momiji	10	5	1	1	17
Shigure	20	10	5	1	36
Kiri	20*	1	1	1	23
				Gross Total	264

As many as seven persons may sit down to the game, but of these only three may actually come into the play on any one deal, the rest sitting out, under arrangements to be presently described. Each *player* plays against the other players, *i. e.*, plays his own game. To place the deal at beginning, two cards are dealt to each sitter, and he whose pair has the highest value (reckoned as by the Table above) deals. The dealer shuffles, the sitter on his right cuts, and the deal goes round from the right towards the left—the wrong way as we should say—*i. e.*, it begins with the sitter on the dealer's right. The sitter on the dealer's left acts as "pony," and shuffles the spare pack for the

next deal. If there are not more than six sitters, four consecutive cards are given (face down) to each person, and the next three cards are turned up on the middle of the table: then three more to each person, and three more turned up on the table, making a total of 7 in each hand, and 6, called *Bafuda*, on the table, which serve as pool-cards. Then, each person in turn, until three have come in, has to declare whether he will play or pay forfeit. Declaration begins with the dealer, and the system of forfeits is rather complicated, depending in amount on the quality of the *Bafuda*, as well as on the order of the sitter's seat in the game taken in conjunction with the number of sitters. For the former there are three classes, namely, (1) *Koba*, *i.e.*, a *Bafuda* without a Brilliant; (2) *Ōba*, *i.e.*, a *Bafuda* containing one or more of the first three Brilliants; and (3) *Zettai*, *i.e.*, a *Bafuda* containing the *Ō-Ame* or the *Kiri* Brilliant, or both. The latter is progressive according to the sitter's distance from the dealer, who, as aforesaid, is the first to declare. When, for example, there are three sitters only, with a *Koba* turned up in the *Bafuda*, the dealer, if he decline to play, has to put up 2 chips or points into the pool. If No. 2 decline to play, he must put up 4 chips, no matter whether the dealer has come in or not. If No. 3 decline to play, either or both of the others having come in, he puts up 6 chips. If all three, or any two, come in, the game proceeds; but, if two refuse, the third takes their forfeits, and the deal passes to him. With an *Ōba* turned up, the forfeits, in order as above, are 8, 10, and 12 chips. With *Zettai* turned up, they are 12, 18, and 24 chips. For four sitters, the forfeits, in the three cases of *Koba*, *Ōba*, and *Zettai*, are, respectively, in the order of seats (beginning as before with the dealer), 3, 4, 5, 6; 6, 8, 10, 12; and 10, 15, 20, 25 chips. For five sitters they are 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; 4, 6, 8, 10, 12; and 5, 10, 15, 20, 25 chips. For six sitters they are 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12; and 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30 chips.

It is necessary to diverge here for a moment, to explain

the special rules that prevail when there are seven sitters. In this case, the seventh man is not dealt to in the ordinary deal,* but has to wait till the six before him have declared. The hands abandoned by any three or more of these are then gathered and shuffled, and from them the dealer gives seven cards to No. 7. (Hands abandoned are not exposed). With seven sitters, the dealer is exempt from forfeits for renouncing. These begin with No. 2, and proceed at the rates indicated above for six sitters. No. 2, in fact, becomes for the moment the dealer for a table of six sitters, as far as forfeits for renouncing are concerned.

When there are more than three sitters, another complication comes in, three only being allowed to play. Suppose, for example, that, of 5 sitters, the dealer and No. 2 declare to play, so that only one more can come in. No. 3 may not do this without negotiating with Nos. 4 and 5. If he wish to play, he enquires from them the values of their hands, *i. e.*, the number of points that each will accept as a condition of not coming in. The price thus claimed depends on the system of counting for the *Teyaku* and *Dekiyaku*, to be presently described.† If No. 4, for instance, declares his hand to be worth 9 chips, and No. 5 claims 12 chips, No. 3 has to consider whether it is better for him to pay his forfeit, whatever it may be, and go out of the game, or to pay up 21 chips (or such less number as he may beat them down to) to Nos. 4 and 5 for going out and letting him come in. If he adopt the latter course, the dealer and No. 2 have each to pay a similar number of chips to Nos. 4 and 5. If the former, No. 4 is at liberty to negotiate with No. 5, subject to the same conditions as above.

From the foregoing explanations it is easy to see what takes place for all other ordinary cases of players coming into or staying out of the game. Broadly, the rule is that, until three players have come in, any one renouncing

* Because six sitters, with the pool, exhaust the pack of 48 cards.

† It is, half the value in points of any *Teyaku* in the hand, *plus* 3 points for each *Dekiyaku* card in the hand.

must pay his due forfeit; and that, with more than three sitters, if there be any one or more sitting after the one who wishes to become third player, negotiation must be resorted to for that third place, in the manner above described, any person (or persons) that may be bought off receiving his price from each of the three who stay in. The exceptional case is when there are seven sitters. Then, if three of the first six (No. 6 not being one of them) have come into the game before No. 7 receives his cards, No. 7, though he cannot in this case come in after getting his cards, has, nevertheless, to be treated with for staying out (if his hand be of any value), in the manner already explained, and to receive the value of his hand from each of the three players. If, however, No. 6 be the last of three who have entered, No. 7 may enter in his place if No. 6 prefers paying forfeit to giving No. 7 his price.

Any bought-out person is exempt from paying forfeit; and of course any person who elects to pay forfeit may go out. If all but one of the sitters go out, the remaining one takes all the forfeits and the next deal. But, whenever any two, or three, hands are played, the player who has the highest card-score at the end of the play—reckoned as by the values in Table I, except in certain special cases (*Dekiyaku*) hereinafter mentioned— takes all the forfeits. The *Teyaku* and *Dekiyaku* of bought-out hands must be shown after the bargain is made.

We now come to the *Teyaku*, or "value of hand," already referred to, which, as will be seen, is a complicated business. Before the play begins, each player has to declare whether he holds a *Teyaku*—*i. e.*, any one of twelve particular classes of hands—or a combination of any two *Teyaku*. The names, descriptions, and values in *Kwanki* (*i. e.*, chips of 12 points each) of the ordinary *Teyaku* are given in Table II hereafter. It is to be borne in mind that, for every case of *Teyaku*, the four cards of the *Shigure* suit are regarded as *Kasu-mono* only.

TABLE II.

Name.	Description.	Value in *Kwanki*.
Aka	Any two or more *Tanzaku*, and the rest *Kasu-mono*.	1
Tan-ichi	One *Tanzaku* and six *Kasu-mono*.	2
Tō-ichi	One of the *Tō-mono* and six *Kasu-mono*.	2
Karasu	Seven *Kasu-mono*.	3
Sam-bon	Any three cards of any suit.	1
Hikari-ichi	One *Brilliant* and six *Kasu-mono*.	2
Kuttsuki	Three pairs (*i. e.*, any two cards of any the same suit) of three different suits, and any card of any other suit.	3
Hane-ken	Any three cards of any suit, and any two cards of each of two other suits.	5
Futa-sambon	Any three cards of each of two suits, and any card of a different suit.	5
Te-shi	Any four cards of any suit, and any other three cards.	5
Ichi-ni-shi	Any four cards of any suit, with any two of another suit, and any card of a different suit.	7
Shisō	Any four cards of any suit, with any three of any other suit.	10

The first four of the above *Teyaku* are called *Nukeyaku* (from *nukeru*, to exceed), as, under circumstances to be explained farther on, the holders receive certain chips by way of bonus.

The following are the possible combinations of *Teyaku*, with their values in *Kwanki*, the latter being the sums of the aforesaid values of the various components:

DOUBLE TEYAKU.

Aka and *Sam-bon*	Value 2	*Kwanki*
Tan-ichi and *Sam-bon*	3	,,
Hikari-ichi and *Sam-bon*	3	,,
Tō-ichi and *Sam-bon*.....	3	,,
Karasu and *Sam-bon*	4	,,
Aka and *Kuttsuki*.....	4	,,
Tan-ichi and *Kuttsuki*	5	,,
Hikari-ichi and *Kuttsuki*.....	5	,,
Tō-ichi and *Kuttsuki*	5	,,
Karasu and *Kuttsuki*	6	,,
Aka and *Hane-ken*	6	,,
Tan-ichi and *Hane-ken*	7	,,
Hikari-ichi and *Hane-ken*	7	,,
Tō-ichi and *Hane-ken*	7	,,
Karasu and *Hane-ken*	8	,,
Aka and *Te-shi*	6	,,
Tan-ichi and *Te-shi*	7	,,
Hikari-ichi and *Te-shi*.....	7	,,
Tō-ichi and *Te-shi*.....	7	,,
Karasu and *Te-shi*	8	,,
Aka and *Ichi-ni-shi*	8	,,
Tan-ichi and *Ichi-ni-shi*	9	,,
Hikari-ichi and *Ichi-ni-shi*	9	,,
Tō-ichi and *Ichi-ni-shi*.....	9	,,
Karasu and *Ichi-ni-shi*.....	10	,,
Tan-ichi and *Shisō*	12	,,
Hikari-ichi and *Shisō*	12	,,
Tō-ichi and *Shisō*	12	,,
Karasu and *Shisō*...	13	,,

It will be seen that for each of the last four hands it is necessary* to hold the whole *Shigure* suit; that there can be only 9 cases of *Tan-ichi* and *Shisō;* only 4 of *Hikari-ichi* and *Shisō;* 8 cases of *Tō-ichi* and *Shisō;* and but a single case of *Karasu* and *Shisō*, namely, the four *Shigure* cards, along with the last three *Kiri* cards.

If a player hold either *Aka*, *Tan-ichi*, *Tō-ichi*, *Hikari-ichi*, or *Sam-bon*, or any combination of these, he is not required to expose them on declaring, but he must call out, as he plays them, the cards which compose his *Teyaku*, so that his original declaration may be checked by his opponents. He also marks his *Teyaku* on declaring, by placing chips before him on the table, in the following forms:

For *Aka* .....One chip..... o
„ *Tan-ichi* .....two chips, thus ..... oo
„ *Tō-ichi* .....two „ „ ..... o o
„ *Hikari-ichi* .....four „ „ ..... o o o o
„ *Sam-bon* .....three „ „ .....ooo

Similarly for any combinations of the above.

For all other *Teyaku*, single or double, all of the cards composing them have to be exposed, face upwards, before the declarant, except in the case of a double *Teyaku* containing one of the above five, when the cards composing that one need not be exposed.

To return to the play. This, after all the *Teyaku* have been declared, and marked or exposed as above, begins with the player who came in first, called the *Oya* (father), passing next to the second, the *Dōni*, or middle player, and from him to the *Biki*, or last; and so on to the *Oya* again. Before beginning, any undealt cards are shuffled up with those of the renounced hands by the *Biki*, then cut by the *Dōni*,

* Except in one case of *Hikari-ichi* and *Shisō*, which is satisfied by holding the whole *Kiri* suit and any three cards of the *Shigure* suit.

and placed in the middle of the table. In playing, the object is to use some card in your own hand to pair with another in the *Bafuda*, selecting from the latter, of course, the card of the greatest value to yourself. A pair for the purpose means any two cards of the same suit; and any pair thus made becomes the player's property. If any card in the *Bafuda*, or pool, belongs to a suit of which you hold the other three (or one only if the other pair be already made), obviously that card must fall to you eventually, and it is a waste of opportunity to capture it as long as you can make any other pair. If unable to make a pair when his turn comes to play, the player discards to the pool-cards, from his hand, the card which he considers of the least use to him. After making one pair, or discarding as above, he turns up the top card from the pack on the table; and, if he can pair again with that, the pair so made also becomes his property. If he cannot pair with it, it is left face-up in the pool. The turn then passes to the next player, and so on till all the 48 cards have been paired and captured.* Obviously, each player's object is to capture the cards which will give him the highest score (always remembering that the values for this part of the game are those given in Table I), and also to aim at securing any one of the following four series, termed, collectively, *Dekiyaku* (which may be rendered "realized value"), namely,

(1) The four Brilliants and the *Ō-Ame*.
(2) The four Brilliants.
(3) The *Tanzaku* of the *Matsu*, *Ume* and *Sakura* suits.
(4) The three Blue *Tanzaku*, *i. e.*, those of the *Botan*, *Kiku*, and *Momiji* suits.

* Except when only two players have come into the game. In this case, 14 cards of the pack will remain unturned, and there will nearly always be some left in the pool which the players have not been able to pair before the exhaustion of their hands.

If any player secure any of these combinations, further play of the hand ceases, and a fresh deal is begun, each of the other players meanwhile paying to the lucky gainer of the *Dekiyaku* 10 *Kwanki* for the first case given above, 8 for the second, and 5 for either of the other two cases; and all other counting, the *Teyaku* excepted, being abolished. The winner also takes the forfeits for renunciation. When no *Dekiyaku* is secured, each player counts up the value of all the cards in his possession at the end, according to the numerical values shown in Table I. Every point over 88 (*i. e.*, $\frac{264}{3}$) is to his credit; every point under 88 to his debit. Thus, if players A, B, C, score respectively 47, 80, and 137, A loses 41, B loses 8, and C wins 49 (*i. e.*, 137—88). The settlement for *Teyaku* is made at the same time. For this, the player, if any, who had the most valuable *Teyaku* (single or double) in his original hand receives from each of his opponents the difference of value between their *Teyaku* and his own, or the whole value of the latter from any player who had no original *Teyaku*. The holder, if any, of the second-best *Teyaku* receives similarly from the worst hand. Thus, in the example already given, if A had *Sam-bon* (1 *Kwanki*, or "*Kwan*"), B *Kuttsuki* (3 *Kwan*), and C *Te-shi* (5 *Kwan*), C would receive 4 *Kwan* for his *Teyaku* from A, and 2 *Kwan* from B, and B would receive 2 *Kwan* from A, the final figures thus becoming, A—113, B—8, C+121. But, if any player, having had originally any one of the *Nukeyaku*, make more than 88 in his ordinary score, thus exceeding the average, he receives 1 extra *Kwan* from each of the other players. For example, let A have had *Sam-bon* (1 *Kwan*), B *Aka* (1 *Kwan*), and C *Karasu* (3 *Kwan*), A making 100 points in the ordinary score, B 80 points, and C 84 points. Then, A, having exceeded 88, receives 1 extra *Kwan* from each of the others, and the final scores become,

Player.	*Teyaku* settlement.	Ordinary score.	For A's exceeding 88.	Total.
A	−24 to C	+12	From B+12 ,, C+12	+12
B	−24 to C	− 8	To A−12	−44
C	+24 from A +24 ,, B	− 4	To A−12	+32

Should two holders of *Nukeyaku* each score more than 88, each receives 1 extra *Kwan* from the third player.

On the other hand, if both of two players, having held *Nukeyaku*, fail to reach 88 in their ordinary scores, the third having held no *Nukeyaku*, they forfeit 2 *Kwan* each to the latter player. Points thus forfeited are called *Fukkeshi-no-hōbi*. For example, if A, having held *Aka* (1 *Kwan*), make 64 in his ordinary score, while B, having held *Tō-ichi* (2 *Kwan*), makes 77 in his ordinary score, and C, having held no *Nukeyaku* (nor even any *Teyaku* in the example given), makes 123, the net scores are,

Player.	*Teyaku* account.	*Fukkeshi-no-hōbi.*	Ordinary score.	Total.
A	+12 from C −12 to B	−24 to C	−24	−48
B	+12 from A +24 ,, C	−24 to C	−11	+ 1
C	−12 to A −24 ,, B	+24 from A +24 ,, B	+35	+47

Should it happen, however, that one of the two holders of *Nukeyaku* scores exactly 88, he pays no *Fukkeshi-no-hōbi*. If there are only two players, each holding *Nukeyaku*, he who makes the higher score, whatever its amount, receives 1 extra *Kwan* from the other. Or if, of two players, one holding *Nukeyaku* make a higher score than his opponent not having *Nukeyaku*, he also receives 1 extra *Kwan*.

There are, further, three extraordinary cases which affect the payments, namely,

(1) The *Sō-ippai*, when each player of three has an ordinary score of 88 ($=\frac{264}{3}$), in which rare case the *Oya* receives 8 *Kwan* from each of the other two.

(2) The *Hachijū-hachi-no-kachi*, when one player of three makes 176 ($=2\times88$), or more, in his ordinary score, in which case also each opponent pays him 8 *Kwan*.

(3) The *Su-jū-roku*, when one player of three has 16 or more *Kasu-mono*, in which case also he receives 8 *Kwan* from each opponent. The first three cards of the *Shigure* suit, however, are not allowed to count as *Kasu-mono* for the *Su-jū-roku*.

In these three cases, the winner receives, besides, from each of his opponents the full value of any *Teyaku* he may have held in his hand, without crediting them with the values of any *Teyaku* they may have held. The two losers, however, settle their *Teyaku* account *vis-à-vis* one another. The winner takes also the forfeits of any sitters who have renounced.

After the whole settlement on any deal, the deal passes to the player, if any, who made *Dekiyaku*; or, otherwise, to him who made the greatest score by cards, calculated according to the values in Table I. Twelve deals constitute a game.

Counters are of two kinds, namely, *Kwanki* (briefly, *Kwan*), which, as already explained, have the value 12 points each, and others, called "chips" herein, of the value 1 point each. *Go-ishi* are commonly used, the black

as *Kwanki*. Each deal in the game is marked up with a white chip before the actual play on that deal begins, *i. e.*, when it has been decided who are coming in to the play. If there be any forfeits, the chip is taken therefrom. If, there be only three sitters, all of whom come in, the chip is contributed by the *Oya*. If there be more than three sitters, but no forfeits, the last incomer, *i. e.*, he who buys the third entry, contributes the chip. There being 12 deals in a game, the 12 chips thus used, called collectively *Banko*, make just one *Kwan*, and become the property of the highest winner at the end of the game. At starting, each sitter receives 7 *Kwan*, usually 5 black counters and 24 white, but is *responsible* for 10 *Kwan*, the additional 3 *Kwan*, being in the nature of game points, and going to swell the winner's gains. The money settlement is made thus: at the end of the game, each sitter having less than 10 *Kwan* has to buy from the winner or winners as many *Kwan* as, with the number in his possession, will make up 10 *Kwan*. Some curious results come out of this system. Take the case of four sitters, for example, only one of whom has more than 10 *Kwan*, and is, therefore, the chief and only winner. There are 28 *Kwan* on the table, the *Banko*, which belongs to the winner, included. But 30 *Kwan* have to be produced by the other three, as a result of which, the winner after selling all of his counters, is entitled to sell two *imaginary Kwan* in addition. Similarly, it will be seen that, with five sitters of whom only one wins, the winner sells 5 imaginary *Kwan;* with six sitters he sells 8 *Kwan*, and with seven sitters 11 *Kwan*. With only three sitters, on the other hand, the *Banko* has no value to the winner, because, out of the 21 *Kwan* on the table, only 20 have to be produced by the remaining sitters to settle their account. The winner's gain, in fact, in this case is exactly the number of *Kwan* in his possession, the *Banko* not included. There

may of course, in any of the above cases, be more than one winner. Then, though the minor winner or winners sell all surplus *Kwan* above 10 to the losers, the chief winner only has the right to sell the imaginary *Kwan*. It may also happen that there are two chief winners of equal amounts. In that case, the *Banko* and the sale of imaginary *Kwan* are divided between them.

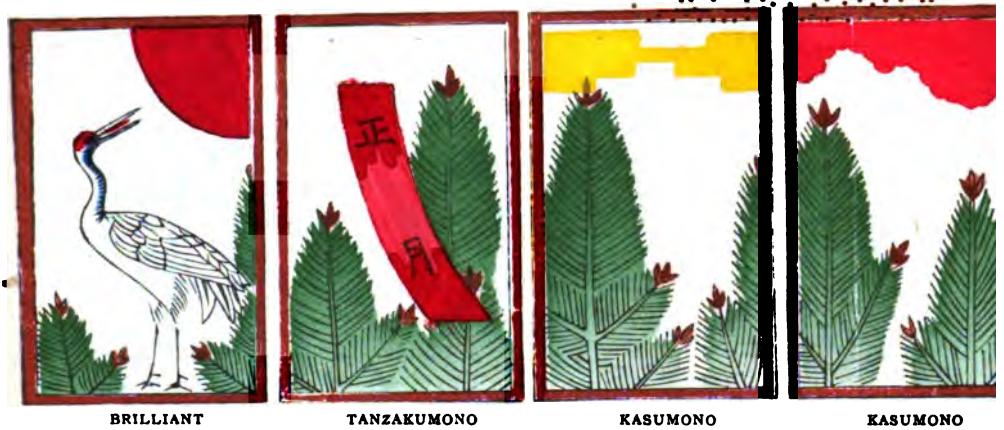
Players running short of counters during the game may buy from others or have a fresh issue, an acknowledgment being given in either case. Such purchases are always to the extent of 10 *Kwan*, and called *Kai-kwan*, and are duly dealt with in the final settlement.

From the foregoing description it will be seen that *Hana-awase* is a fine game, bristling with difficulties, and full of interest. Evidently it embodies the features of all first-class games of cards, demanding from the player long training, a good memory, good judgment, skill in calculating chances, and great readiness in counting; and is affected by the element of luck to about the same extent as the best of Western card-games. Japanese as familiar with Poker as with *Hana-awase* declare that the latter surpasses the former as a game of chance and skill combined. Certainly, the remarkable fascination it exercises over its adherents gives striking evidence of its quality, and that evidence will hardly be shaken by the particulars collected here. Lastly, those who may have attended to this paper can scarcely have failed to notice the prevalence of the number 12 and its multiples in the system of counting. Every value of the *Teyaku* and its combinations is divisible by 12, as also are the values of the *Dekiyaku*, and of the payments in extraordinary cases. The number of cards is 48, the number of deals in a game is 12, and the sum of the values in Table I is 22 times 12. This prevalence of dozens, though supposed by some to be suggestive of a foreign source, would rather seem to result merely from the fact that the basis of the

whole game is a dozen, namely, the twelve months of the year. The Japanese year was divided into twelve months long. before the introduction of *Hana-awase*, and there does not seem to be any *primâ facie* reason why the game should not be of purely Japanese invention. Possibly some antiquarian versed in card-lore may know enough of the games played by Spaniards and Portuguese two centuries ago to throw light upon this part of the subject.

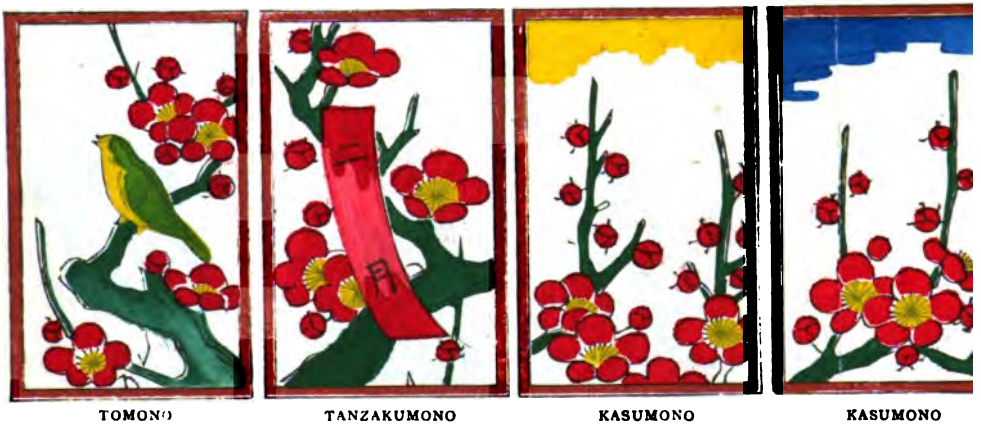
UNIV. OF

MATSU (JANUARY).



BRILLIANT TANZAKUMONO KASUMONO KASUMONO

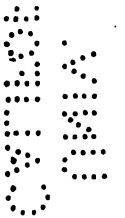
UME (FEBRUARY).



TOMONO TANZAKUMONO KASUMONO KASUMONO

SAKURA (MARCH).

BRILLIANT TANZAKUMONO KASUMONO KASUMONO



UNIV. OF

FUJI (APRIL).

TOMONO | TANZAKUMONO | KASUMONO | KASUMONO

AYAME, or NEGI (MAY).

TOMONO | TANZAKUMONO | KASUMONO | KASUMONO

BOTAN (JUNE).

TOMONO | TANZAKUMONO | KASUMONO | KASUMONO

UNIV OF
ARIZONA

UNIV. OF

HAGI (JULY).

TOMONO | TANZAKUMONO | KASUMONO | KASUMONO

SUSUKI, or BOZU (AUGUST).

BRILLIANT | TOMONO | KASUMONO | KASUMONO

KIKU (SEPTEMBER).

TOMONO | TANZAKUMONO | KASUMONO | KASUMONO

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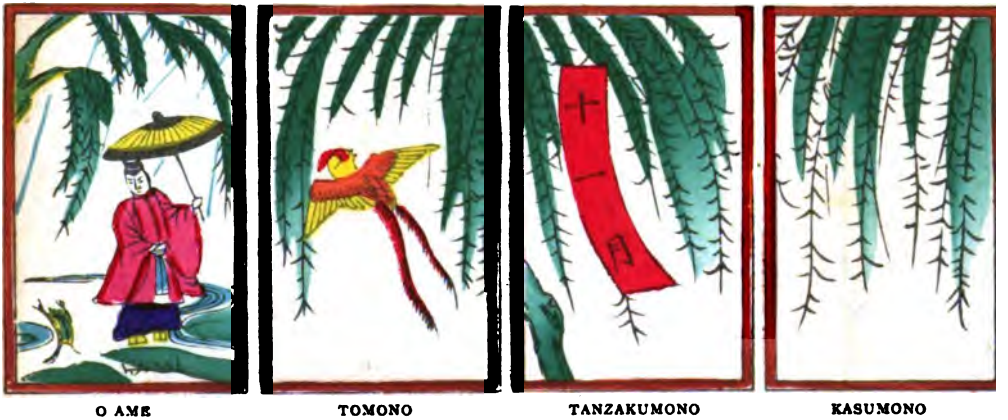

O AME | TOMONO | TANZAKUMONO | KASUMONO

KIRI (DECEMBER).

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NOTES ON THE SUMMER CLIMATE OF KARUIZAWA.

BY

CARGILL G. KNOTT, D.Sc., F.R.S.E.

(Read, 10th June, 1891.)

Karuizawa, at the head of the Usui Pass, is now recognised as one of the principal summer resorts of the foreign residents of Tôkyô. As such, its history dates from the year 1886, when the Venerable Archdeacon Shaw and Professor J.M. Dixon discovered its peculiar merits. Since then it has rapidly grown in favour. House after house has been built; and the neighbouring village has entered upon what is practically a new lease of life. The decay of feudalism after the restoration and the construction of the new road over the lower *tôge* had diminished the importance of the little hamlet, which gradually sank to insignificance and poverty. Now, however, thanks mainly to foreigners seeking pure air, Karuizawa has recovered much, if not all, of its former prosperity. Its vicinity to the railway terminus has also no doubt had a good effect in sustaining its reawakened energies. It may not be amiss then to put on record the results obtained from a regular and systematic series of meteorological observations carried out during the summer months of 1889.

Karuizawa lies ensconced in a pretty nook of wooded and grassy hills. Southwards it looks across an undulating plain, through which flow numerous rivulets that finally find their way westwards and northwards to the Japan Sea. The ridges that bound this plain on the east form the watershed between the easterly and westerly river systems of Japan. On the eastward side the ridges drop abruptly

by steep escarpments and deep-cut valleys. Dense foliage and fantastically weathered rocks combine in shaping some of the most wonderful scenery of Japan. On the westward side, however, the contour of the country is much smoother. The land gently dips to westward; and so long as Karuizawa is in sight it is difficult to realise that the region is fully 3000 feet above the sea level.

To its position on the "great divide" many of the climatic peculiarities of Karuizawa can readily be referred. Let us suppose ourselves standing, some clear summer afternoon, on the summit of the hill close to the old pass, that is, some 700 feet above and half a mile to the east of the village. We have an uninterrupted view to the south-east far away to the plain of Musashi. The sky is clear; but the cool of the day is coming on. A thin streak of cloud suddenly appears across the sky blue or the earth green. It seems to grow and draw near; and before we are well aware of it, we are enveloped in a sea of fog, and the exquisite scene is hid from view. The fog cloud drifts over the ridges, and through the passes, and tumbles over upon the Karuizawa plain. Where a cold marshy spot lurks between the hamlet and the new road, it pushes out spectral vanguards; so that even though Karuizawa itself may be pretty clear this mist threatens it on all sides. Only a steady westerly breeze blowing up the great valley that skirts the southern slopes of Asama-yama can withstand this inroad of drifting cloud. Once it has established itself on the surrounding crests late of an afternoon, there it will remain till the returning heat of day dissolves it into transparency. Such a constant visitant is apt at times to be disagreeable; but it certainly is not unhealthy.

Thus not only is Karuizawa exposed to all the cloudiness that may characterise such lofty regions, but it is so situated that it cannot escape the condensation that is a natural result of the cooling off of the currents of warm moist air as they blow up the steep escarpments of the Usui basin.

It was out on the plain already spoken of that I put up

a rough shed to serve as a meteorological observatory. The site was chosen by Professor Dixon; and was in every respect suitable. The grove to the north of it was too far away to have any appreciable influence upon the indications of the instruments. So also the nearest ridge to the east was too distant to afford any real shelter. The shed was simply a roof set on six upright posts. The eaves dipped low all round so that it was impossible for any direct skylight to shine upon the thermometer bulbs. The thermometers, four in all, were attached to boards in the centre of the shed.

The maximum and minimum thermometers were Centigrade thermometers and were set with their tubes horizontal. The minimum contained spirits of wine and registered by means of a small index immersed in the fluid. The maximum was mercurial with a constriction in the bore close to the bulb, so that the column of mercury in the bore could not of itself retract, on cooling, into the bulb. The other two thermometers formed the well-known wet and dry bulb combination. They were Fahrenheit thermometers; and the indications of the dry bulb were taken as the true measures of the temperature of the air. The wet and dry bulbs were fixed at a height of four feet from the ground. The maximum and minimum thermometers lay one above the other at a height of from 4 to 4½ feet. These thermometers, kindly supplied me by Mr. Arai, Director of the Central Meteorological Observatory, had been carefully compared for several months with the Tōkyō standards. In the reduced observations, all corrections are applied; and to make the Karuizawa records at once comparable with the Tōkyō records, the measured dry bulb temperatures are reduced from Fahrenheit to Centigrade. For the same reason the vapour tensions, calculated in the first instance by means of English Tables, are finally reduced from inches to millimetres.

The rain-gauge was set at some little distance from the shed and was fenced round by a low paling, high enough to warn off any passer-by or keep out stray dogs, but not

near enough to afford any shelter to the instrument. The external case of the rain-gauge was more than half buried in the earth; and the collecting funnel was 10 centimetres above the surface of the ground.

The barometer was a mountain barometer of Fortin's construction. It was hung in the house occupied by me, from which the observatory was distant about 3 minutes' walk. It was customary to read the barometer a few minutes before the time appointed, so that the principal thermometer in the shed could be read accurately to the minute.

Rain-gauge and barometer were also kindly supplied by the Director of the Meteorological Office.

In the work of observation I was assisted by Mr. Ōmori, a second year student in the Imperial University, Tōkyō. The hours of observation were 6 a.m., 10 a.m., 2 p.m., 6 p.m., and 10 p.m. Standard Time.* It was not felt necessary to go to the inconvenience of making the 2 a.m. observations.

Since what is wanted is a general comparison of Karuizawa weather with, for example, Tōkyō weather, a complete reproduction of all the individual observations made is uncalled for. I propose to epitomise the results in a form convenient for the general reader. All the quantities will be given according to the metric and centigrade system, which is the authorised system in Japan. The more important quantities will, however, also be given in terms of the usual English units, to which English-speaking peoples all over the globe are accustomed. To particularise, the barometric pressure is measured in millimetres of mercury, the temperature in degrees centigrade, the vapour pressure in millimetres of mercury, the rainfall in millimetres of water. The principal means and totals are also given in inches, in degrees Fahrenheit, and in inches respectively. The humidity is in percentages. The barometer readings are all reduced to the freezing point of water.

* Standard time for Japan is the local time of the 135th longitude east of Greenwich. Local time for Karuizawa is got by adding 15 minutes.

In the Table at the end will be found a direct comparison of Five Day means or totals for Tōkyō and for Karuizawa, beginning with July 15th and ending with September 2nd, 1889. The Tōkyō numbers are taken from the Annual Report of the Meteorological office. A study of this Table will show that the difference between the barometer readings is very steady; but that there is considerable fluctuation in the differences of temperature. With the distinctly lower temperature the vapour pressure is less at Karuizawa than at Tōkyō. The humidity, however, tends to be greater; while the rainfall is much more excessive at the high level station.

To bring out the daily variation in the meteorological conditions at the two stations, means and totals for the month of August are arranged in the subjoined table, each column of numbers containing the means or totals corresponding to the hours marked at the head. The letter T is prefixed to the rows of numbers referring to Tōkyō, and K to the rows of numbers referring to Karuizawa.

GENERAL COMPARISON OF THE METEOROLOGICAL CONDITIONS AT TŌKYŌ AND KARUIZAWA DURING AUGUST, 1889.

		2 a.m.	6 a.m.	10a.m.	2 p.m.	6 p.m.	10p.m.	Mean
Barometer	T	756.5	753.8	757.0	755.9	755.8	756.9	756.5
	K		679.5	679.2	678.7	678.8	679.5	679.1
Temperature	T	23°.4	23°.1	27°.7	29°.1	26°.5	24°.6	25°.7
	K		18°.3	23°.3	24°.5	21°.2	19°.2	21°.3
Vapour Pressure	T	20.1	19.9	20.3	20.3	20.5	20.2	20.2
	K		14.8	16.1	17.0	16.4	15.8	16.0
Humidity	T	93	94	74	68	79	87	83
	K		94	77	77	88	94	86
Rainfall	T	47.2		13.6	9.1	11.2	15.1	96.2
	K	51.7		24.8	25.9	66.4	43.2	212.0

The rainfall numbers under the heading "Mean" in the last column are really totals.

In addition to the general facts embodied in the table the following particulars are of special importance.

1. Barometer Readings in August.

Highest in Tōkyō=761.7 (29.99 in.) on 16th at 10 p.m.
,, Karuizawa=683.34 (26.90 in.) on 16th at 10 p.m.
Lowest in Tōkyō =749.3 (29.50 in.) on 27th at 2 p.m.
,, Karuizawa=672.79 (26.49 in.) on 26th at 2 p.m.

2. Thermometer Readings in August.

Highest in Tōkyō =33°.3 (91°.9 F.) on 2nd and 3rd
,, ,, Karuizawa=31°.3 (88°.3 F.) on 3rd
Lowest in Tōkyō =16°.3 (61°.3 F.) on 28-29th
,, ,, Karuizawa=13°.1 (55°.6 F.) on 28-29th
Highest daily range in Tōkyō =10°.4 (18°.5 F.) on 16th
,, ,, ,, ,, Karuizawa=18°.1 (32°.6 F.) on 5th
Lowest ,, ,, ,, Tōkyō = 3°.0 (5°.4 F.) on 20th
,, ,, ,, ,, Karuizawa= 2°.3 (4°.1 F.) on 29th
Mean ,, ,, ,, Tōkyō = 7°.7 (13°.9 F.)
,, ,, ,, ,, Karuizawa=11°.1 (20°.0 F.)

3. Vapour Pressure in August.

Highest in Tōkyō =24.9 (.980 in.) on 25th at 2 p.m.
,, ,, Karuizawa=25.3 (.996 in.) ,, 9th ,, ,,
Lowest ,, Tōkyō =12.4 (.488 in.) ,, 31st ,, 10 a.m.
,, ,, Karuizawa= 9.2 (.362 in.) ,, 31st ,, 6 a.m.

4. Rainfall in August.

Heaviest 4 hrs.' in Tōkyō =11.2 (0.45 in.) on 19th at 6 a.m.
,, 8 ,, ,, ,, =15.6 (0.61 in.) ,, ,, ,, ,,
,, 8 ,, ,, Karuizawa =21.2 (0.83 in.) ,, ,, ,, ,,
,, day's ,, Tōkyō =35.2 (1.39 in.) ,, 28th
,, ,, ,, Karuizawa=61.5 (2.42 in.) ,, 19th
2nd ,, ,, ,, ,, =42.5 (1.67 in.) ,, 28th
,, ,, ,, ,, Tōkyō =18.1 (0.71 in.) ,, 19th

In the following Table a more general comparison is made between Karuizawa and four of the regular meteorological stations, chosen so as to enclose Karuizawa as an approximately mean point. These stations are Tōkyō, Niigata, Fushiki, and Gifu. The latitudes and longitudes and heights above the sea-level are as follows:—

	N. Lat.	E. Long.	Level
Tōkyō	35°41′	139°45′	20.1 m. (66.0 ft.)
Niigata	37°55′	139° 3′	9.8 m. (32.2 ft.)
Fushiki	36°47′	137° 3′	4.3 m. (14.1 ft.)
Gifu	35°27′	136°46′	15.0 m. (49.2 ft.)
Karuizawa	36°21′	138°38′	962.0 m. (3156.2 ft.)

Thus Tōkyō and Niigata lie to the east of Karuizawa; Fushiki and Gifu to the west. Also Niigata and Fushiki lie to the north of Karuizawa, and Tōkyō and Gifu to the south. All except Karuizawa lie near the coast.

The means, average ranges and totals for the month of August, 1891, are tabulated below, each station being represented by its initial letter.

COMPARISON OF THE AVERAGE CLIMATIC CONDITIONS AT THE FIVE STATIONS DURING AUGUST 1891.

Station	Bar.	Range	Temp.	Range	Vap.	Hum.	Rain	Rainy Days.
T	756.5	12.4	25.7	7.7	20.2	83	96.2	15
N	757.0	15.1	25.6	7.5	19.4	80	54.3	14
F	757.4	17.5	25.6	6.6	22.6	92	53.2	11
G	756.9	13.8	27.1	8.1	20.7	79	184.0	16
K	679.13	10.5	21.3	11.1	16.0	86	212.0	17

The columns headed 'Range' give the total range of barometer during the month and the mean daily range of the thermometer respectively; the last column gives the mumber of days in August on which rain fell. In this sense a single shower suffices to make a rainy day.

The first use to which this table may be applied is the

calculation of the height of Karuizawa above the sea-level. The barometer readings for the four regular stations were reduced to sea-level, and by a suitable averaging it was found that 758.0 mm. was the measure of the atmospheric pressure at a place having the latitude and longitude of Karuizawa.

Reducing to English units we get 26.738 and 29.843 inches as the barometer heights at Karuizawa and the hypothetical sea-level station at the same latitude and longitude. The temperatures are 70°.3 F. and 78°.1 F. respectively, giving a mean temperature of 74°.2 F. Referring now to Dr. Buchan's Table published in the Appendix to his Report on the Challenger Observations (Chemistry and Physics, Vol. II., 1889) we find that a difference of pressure of 3.105 inches at an average temperature of 74°.2 F. gives a height of 3097 feet. This is equivalent to 944 metres. The height of the neighbouring pass, as given in the Reconnaisance Map of the Ordnance Survey, is 966 metres or 3169 feet.

In the general discussion that follows I shall express all the quantities in the usual English measures as being more familiar to the majority of English readers.

The mean barometric pressure at Karuizawa for the month of August has just been given. The difference between the highest and lowest readings during the month was 41 hundredths of an inch, considerably smaller, as was to be expected, than the corresponding fluctuation at the sea-level.

The mean daily fluctuation in the pressure is shown in the following short table, which contains deviations from the Mean calculated in thousandths of an inch :—

MEAN DAILY VARIATION OF PRESSURE DURING AUGUST.

Hour	6 a.m.	10 a.m.	2 p.m.	6 p.m.	10 p.m.
Deviation	+13	+6	−18	−14	+15

There is the well-marked minimum in the afternoon due

to the ascending current of heated air. There is, however, no evidence of the usual forenoon maximum. It is possible that a slight maximum may exist a little after 6 a.m; and doubtless the inland and elevated position of Karuizawa has its own influence upon the daily oscillation.

The mean August temperature is 70°.3 F., or almost exactly 8° F. lower than the mean August temperature for Tōkyō. This difference of 8° F. is one of the chief factors that make Karuizawa such a pleasant summer resort. Conjoined to this, however, there is the greater relative coolness of the nights. There is a mean oscillation of 20° F. in the daily temperature, as compared with 14° F. at Tōkyō. The greatest daily oscillation observed was 32°.6 F. at Karuizawa; while at Tōkyō the greatest oscillation was only 18°.5 F.

The humidity is practically the same at both places. The lower temperature at the hill station robs this humidity of most of its relaxing tendency.

The rainfall at Karuizawa was 8.35 inches during the month of August; while at Tōkyō it was only 3.8. This excess is due to the heavier character of the showers at the high level station, a necessary consequence of the presence of hills around a region exposed to moisture-laden winds. It will be noticed that Gifu, likewise situated in the vicinity of hills, has also a relatively large rainfall, At Niigata and Fushiki, both situated on the west coast, the precipitation is not much more than half that for Tōkyō. That it is the heaviness of the showers that makes the difference is seen at once by comparing the number of rainy days at the various stations. Fushiki is characterised by the greatest humidity and smallest number of rainy days; while Gifu with the lowest humidity is second only to Karuizawa in the number of its rainy days. This is a very good illustration of the effect of the configuration of the country upon the rainfall.

It will be seen from the Table at the end that the heaviest rainfall occurred towards the end of August. Between August 18th and August 31st, two storms swept

over the country. These were, however, in no way remarkable either for high wind or very excessive rain, and could not be compared with the storms that did so much damage in August of 1890.

In addition to the heavier rainfall at Karuizawa there are the morning and evening mists already spoken of. Nevertheless in spite of this appearance of greater wet there is not the least doubt as to the healthiness of the place in summer. It is probable that the improved drainage of the plain that stretches in front of the village has diminished this tendency to fog; and the more completely the drainage is carried out the more thoroughly will the fog clouds be confined to the surrounding peaks and ridges.

The porous character of the volcanic soil prevents the surface accumulation of water even after heavy rain, if we except of course the marshy depressions that have not yet been drained. Finally, with its comparatively cool summer weather, its cold refreshing nights, its heavy air-clearing showers, its southern aspect, and its position close to some of the most picturesque mountain scenery of Japan, Karuizawa leaves little to be desired as a summer retreat. It is much cooler and so far as my own experience goes, drier than Nikkō, although I am not aware that any systematic observations have been made at this most popular of summer resorts. To note the number of rainy days during the season would be a simple matter and would in itself have some significance; but in the lack of even that amount of definite information, we can only judge from general impressions gained in different seasons. It is, I believe, the general opinion of all who have tried both that Karuizawa is, all round, the more satisfactory as a summer residence and as a "place for rational enjoyment."

Some general remarks on summer climate in Japan may not be out of place. The humidity of the atmosphere in this country is probably the most objectionable feature; and it may safely be said that, on the main island, a small rainfall means simply that the moisture remains in the air as vapour instead of separating out in the liquid form.

For example Fushiki, notwithstanding its small rainfall, could not be thought of for a moment as a summer resort for a foreigner seeking pure and bracing air. On the other hand Nikkō and Karuizawa with their comparatively heavy rains fulfil many of the conditions of a good summer retreat. Then again, although a large daily range of temperature is a disadvantage from some points of view, here in Japan it is such a general characteristic of open airy places that we are virtually compelled to put up with it wherever we go. Now at Karuizawa this daily range though comparatively large is pretty steady in fine weather. It can in fact be depended upon and provided against. Only on wet drizzly days does this range become small and then the mean temperature is low. A warm sunny day is always succeeded by a cool but not necessarily cold night. It is the presence of these cool nights in all the mountain resorts of Japan which makes the day heat tolerable to the foreigner.

APPENDIX.

It will be interesting to compare the Karuizawa observations with the observations taken simultaneously on the Top of Fuji and at Yamanaka, a place in the Hakone district. These observations, carried out by the Meteorological Office were made during August and a part of September 1889. The means for August for these stations and for Numazu, the nearest regular meteorological station, are as follows :—

	Bar.	Range	Temp.	Range	Vap.	Hum.	Rainfall	Rainy Days
Fuji Top..	490.7	13.1	7°.7	11.6	5.5	71.2	888.1	18
Yamanaka.	677.5	11.8	20.6	9.6	16.0	88.7	580.4	18
Numazu ..	757.6	12.7	25.8	7.2	20.5	83	187.2	23

Comparing with the similar table previously given we

see that Yamanaka is slightly higher than Karuizawa. Using Delcros' Tables and assuming that Numazu is at the base of Fuji, we easily calculate for the height of Japan's Peerless Monutain 12,238 feet.

The highest temperature recorded on the summit of Fuji was 70°.5 F. and the lowest 31°.1. The mean daily range of tenperature is a little higher (20°.9 F.) than at Karuizawa.

The excessive rainfall (36 inches) is worthy of special notice. Nearly three quarters of the whole quantity fell during the 18th, 19th, and 20th, when the first storm of the month passed over Japan. The influence of Fuji-yama in encouraging precipitation is clearly shown in the other two instances, Numazu almost rivalling Karuizawa in the amount of its rainfall. As regards the number of days on which rain fell, Numazu is distinctly in advance of all other places that have been noticed in this paper.

The mean pressure on the top of Fuji in English miles was 19.319 inches; and the mean daily variation in hundredths of an inch was as follows:—

MEAN DAILY VARIATION OF PRESSURE ON THE TOP OF FUJI DURING AUGUST.

Hour	2 a.m.	6 a.m.	10 a.m.	2 p.m.	6 p.m.	10 p.m.
Variation ..	−11	−6	+11	−1	−2	+4

A glance will show that this differs appreciably from what was observed at Karuizawa. Here, indeed, the forenoon maximum is very evident. A similar law governs the daily oscillation at Yamanaka; so that the absence of a marked forenoon maximum at Karuizawa and other inland and elevated places cannot be explained simply in terms of their elevation but must depend upon the broad characteristics of the surface configuration.

TABLE

OF FIVE DAY MEANS OF METEOROLOGICAL ELEMENTS FOR TŌKYŌ (T) AND KARUIZAWA (K).

Date: 1889 July to September.	Barometer in millimetres.		Temperature Centigrade.		Vapour Pressure in millimeties.		Humidity %.		Rainfall in millimetres.	
	T.	K.	T.	K.	T.	K.	T.	K.	T.	K.
15—19	758.3	680.80	25.8	20.5	20.3	15.9	83	88.7	0.1	12.6
20—24	751.9	975.03	23.3	19.7	19.6	16.0	93	91.6	11.9	84.1
25—29	757.4	679.78	24.1	20.6	19.4	16.2	87	95.6	30.3	23.4
30— 3	758.1	681.65	27.6	23.9	22.4	16.6	82	78.6	0.1	43.2
4— 8	756.3	679.30	27.0	23.0	20.3	15.5	77	77.8	none.	
9—13	757.0	679.90	26.4	22.8	20.9	17.7	83	85.3	3.7	10.4
14—18	759.4	681.61	25.8	20.9	19.5	15.6	80	86.4	1.7	15.1
19—23	754.9	677.48	26.5	22.1	22.4	17.4	87	90.0	28.6	118.1
24—28	752.5	675.57	25.1	20.0	20.8	16.4	88	93.1	49.0	60.2
29— 2	757.6	678.84	20.8	15.5	15.2	11.8	84	90.7	16.1	26.9

THE HABITS OF THE BLIND IN JAPAN.

BY

J. M. DIXON, M.A., F.R.S.E.

(Read, 10th June, 1891.)

Until about 1000 years ago the condition of blind folk in Japan seems to have been pitiable. A burden to relations, shut out from any calling or social rank, and looked upon as unlucky and uncanny, those who became blind entered into a state of almost unqualified misery. Providence, in the shape of a blind prince, stepped in to aid them. The emperor Kokan Tennō, who succeeded his father Ninmei in 885 A.D., had a son named Amago-no-mikoto who was born blind. Finding that the ordinary courtiers could not amuse the lad, he summoned to his palace eight hundred blind men of learning and fame, some of whose names—Myōkan, Myōmon, Shido, Sakurai,—have come down to us. The young prince having shaved his head, all these men followed his example; and a shaven head is to this day a distinctive mark of a blind man. It was thought the proper thing to confer some rank upon his blind companions, and the high title of *Kōtō* was assigned to them. The title of *Kengyō*, however, happened to be already borne by one of their number, a monk of the monastery of Hiyeizan near Kyōto, and this being a still higher title than *Kōtō*, he preferred to retain it. Henceforth, therefore, it was enacted that *Kengyō* should be reckoned a higher grade for blind men, *Kōtō* standing next, and that all who wished to gain these titles should present themselves for examination at the monastery of Hiyeizan.

The great monastery of Hiyeizan is situated in the eastern part of Yamashiro province, adjacent to Ōmi, and a few miles distant from Kyōto. It occupies a commanding position from which fine views may be got of the city and of Lake Biwa. Hither, then, to the slopes of Hiyeizan, did the blind men who aspired to high rank wend their way, and it was here that their learning and manual skill were tested. By a curious irony, one of the most beautiful scenes in Japan thus became intimately connected with those who could never enjoy its beanty.

At the age of thirty, Amago-no-mikoto having been appointed governor of the three provinces of Hyūga, Ōsumi, and Satsumi, was accompanied thither by a retinue of blind courtiers who carried out his wishes and helped him in the duties of govefnment. When, growing old, he retired to Kyōto, he entrusted these men with the duties of the governorship—a practice which was repeated until it grew into a precedent. Blind men ruled these three provinces until the reign of Go-shirakawa Tennō, a period reckoned the happiest in the annals of Japanese blind folk.

About 1180 A.D. civil war broke out in the empire, and, in the fierce contest for suprome power waged between the rival houses of Taira and Minamoto, the weak had everywhere to give way before the strong. The peaceful and happy state of affairs that had allowed blind governors to rule a province ceased for ever, giving place to war and bloodshed. At the close of the XIIIth century the poor blind officials were everywhere dispossessed and reduced to a state of poverty and destitution. The attention of the government having been called to their condition, it gave orders to the governor of each province to succour them, but after the reign of Go-tsuchimikado, 1467 A.D., even this small boon was taken away. When the Tokugawa family came into power, a complaint was made regarding the wretched state of the blind throughout the realm, and permission was granted them to travel from province to province, their pocket-money to be provided by the head

of each township. Thus matters continued until the great Revolution twenty-three years ago. This event again proved disastrons to most of the blind people, and efforts have since been made to relieve them by establishing asylums, where they learn amongst other accomplishments to read from raised characters. Several foreign missionaries have been and are bestowing labour on the advancement of education for the blind, and Japanese beneficence built a school, to be the nucleus of a larger building, near the great Tsukiji temple of Tōkyō. This school has been recently removed to Koishikawa and joined to the Deaf and Dumb Institute. At Kyōto there is another of these institutions.

In a country of minute distinctions of social grade like Japan, it is not to be supposed that, during the centuries in which the imperial guild or brotherhood of the blind was a strong and influential body, the ranks *Kengyō* and *Kōtō* remained intact, without minuter subdivisions. Each of these ranks included ten sub-ranks called *Ro*, and these again were subdivided into seventy-six others. Different sects or schools also were formed, eight noted blind men founding eight different schools. During the sway of the Tokugawa *Shōguns* the Shido sect was the most powerful of these.

The members of the blind guild followed two occupations,—music or chanting, and shampooing or massage. The songs they used to sing mostly celebrated the glories of the house of Taira, and were composed by a poetess of note, Murasaki Shikibu. Their favourite instruments for accompaniment were the *biwa*, the *samisen*, and the *koto*. Those of lower grade were shampooers (*amma*), or needle-doctors who cured by the counter-irritant system (*shinjutsu*). To this day these blind shampooers fill the strects with their cry; *Amma kami shimo go-hyaku-mon* (5 *sen* for shampooing the body from head to foot).

The musicians who played on the *biwa* were called *biwa-hōshi*, and were highly thought of by all the people. Occasionally they had the honour of receiving invitations

to perform from emperors and *Shōguns*. Others who had become blind, unable to compete with the blind musicians —for the most skilful musicians were those born blind— took to story-telling as a profession, or made poems in Japanese and Chinese. Seminaru, a blind prince, was one of the most accomplished of Japanese poets. A shrine, occupying the site of his summer house, is still pointed out in the vicinity of Ōzakayama Tunnel at Ōtsu near Kyōto. Others again practised the art of divining.

The higher official grades open to blind men came in time to be eagerly sought after and were often purchased with a large sum af money, even as much as 500 *ryō* being paid for the coveted distinctions. In consideration of this fee the ministers at the emperor's court let those who paid go free from examination. The holders of official rank had many privileges, some of them monetary, which enabled those who paid fees to reimburse themselves later on. They were allowed to use a special *kago* reserved for men of high rank only, and on entering the inner gate of a castle they were not compelled, like common people, to quit their *kago* and make the required obeisance. The sign of their dignity was a staff, of red lacquer in the case of a first-class official, of black in that of the second-class. The privilege was also granted them of conferring the petty ranks on inferior members of the brotherhood—a considerable source of revenue.

These blind officials were frequently put to questionable uses in the stormy period between 1400 and 1600 A.D. Generals and barons took blind musicians into their pay and employed them as spies, and many a castle was taken and many an army ruined by this device.

It takes nine years for an *amma* to learn his calling. During his first three years of apprenticeship he practices on the limbs and body of his master. Then for the next three years he is taught the art of acupuncture (*shinjutsu*). For the three years that still remain he is, so to speak, on trial, and receives only half the usual fee (6 *sen*), and even this moiety goes to his master. Even after the nine years'

apprenticeship he is expected to make some presents to his master before he becomes free to practice for himself. Those who set up for any reputation as shampooers practice the art at home; the others wander through the streets offering their services at a cheap rate, or crying *Amma hari*—shampooing and acupuncture!

Some blind men have distinguished themselves outside of the usual professions. It was not uncommon for blind men to be skilful players at *go*, and one blind *go* player is said to have gained a victory over a prince. The prince, in a fit of jealous anger, is said to have killed him, an act for which he afterwards suffered death. This event is said to have happened about 250 years ago; but for the truth of the story I cannot vouch.

The famous author Hanawa (1762-1786 A.D.) was blind. His work, Gunsho-rui-jū, a valuable repertory of information consisting of 635 volumes, containing 1273 parts, is still referred to as an authority; it is a unique and excellent performance.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. Chamberlain mentioned the fact that blind men also followed the occupation of money-lenders, and showed themselves usually somewhat harsh creditors, thereby incurring odium.

A COMPARISON OF THE JAPANESE AND BURMESE LANGUAGES.

BY

PERCIVAL LOWELL.

(Read 23rd June, 1891.)

The gentleman who derived Middletown from Moses by dropping oses and adding iddletown would have found his caricature sadly out-faced by fact had he tried it on an Altaic tongue. Nowhere are words permanent, but nowhere is the shift so facile as among the folk of the Far-East. Names here refuse to keep so much as their initials, and Middletown might very well be related to Adam for anything its syllables say.

Even in the western world changes come fast. Poets may talk of leaving behind them monuments more lasting than brass, but literary composition too corrodes in time. Only the soul of letters lives; better bodies than the most biting of satires at last lose their teeth and mumble unintelligibly to all but archaeologists. Still more quickly are word coins effaced. Service is steadily rubbing them smooth. The bright bit of imagery tossed into use by a happy hit in one age, wears a current expression in the next and becomes the merest figure of speech by the third. Who thinks now of god-be-with-you in the word goodbye, or sees himself slipping to his ends when he talks of his inclinations?

By us to-day Chaucer in the conning is more guessed at than read. Yet his tongue was the forefather of our own and for centuries now has stood embalmed in print. Now

if decay be so swift in languages where writing has stereotyped speech, how complete must be the ruin where not even parchment protects. For nature is ever making for the opposite. Phonetic permanence means race stagnation. If a race is to develop, its expressions, with its thoughts, are bound to change. Differences of climate, of surroundings, of conditions of life will all leave words other than what they found them. Indeed the surprising thing in philology is not that languages are not more alike but that any relationship at all be still decipherable between them. Nothing can stop verbal variation. In the very nature of things it must go on till all earthly change shall cease to be and our world rolls one vast tomb through the silences of space.

But the inevitable evolution is to a certain extent checked when the stage of writing phonetically is reached. For the phonetic characters furnish a constant criterion to which there is some tendency to conform. Now most of the Altaic races learnt to read and write recently; the Japanese some twelve centuries ago, and the Burmese about the same time, and both had travelled a far journey before the love of letters came upon them. With the Chinese the case, though different, was yet the same. For though the Middle Kingdom had at that time a long literary career behind it, its characters were symbols of ideas not sounds and therefore quite powerless to check phonetic change. Out of these characters the Japanese made their *kana*. As for the Burmese they borrowed the Pali script, a singularly mathematical looking set of symbols in which one may mark zeros and infinities in charming incongruity and the base of the Napierian system of logarithms side by side with the ith root of i. To have chosen of their own instance such an alphabet would seem self-satire for a people who go into a brown study over the simplest of sums.

The good Burman sees in these alphabetic signs forms less abstract than imaginaries or inconceivables, and has named them to suit his simplicity as: curled *hka*, dipper *da*, abdominous *ta*, elephant fetters *hra* and humpbacked

ba. So that Burmese schoolchildren must find something congenial on the very threshold of learning.

Prior to this foreign importation Altaic words were as free to wander from the parent form as the speakers themselves from their ancestral homes, with the result that the course of the one is now as hard to trace as that of the other. In words the nearest relatives betray no kinship. Comparisons, fruitful when applied to Aryan tongues, here prove void. So slight is verbal resemblance among Altaic languages that it would seem actually to have fallen below the limits of accidental coincidence.

If any relationship is to be found other tests must be sought. As in the discovery of the distances of the so-called fixed stars our previous base line is too short. We must take some measure less subject to change than sounds. We must enlarge our scope from words to thoughts. When we take thus a radius of orbit in place of a radius of globe all at once a likeness shows itself. In some instances indeed the resemblance is very striking, as for example between Japanese and Korean; quite as close as the root-resemblance between Aryan tongues. The concepts are kin, though the clothing seem so different. In this manner must be compared Burmese and Japanese.

To start with, then, both languages recognize but two parts of speech. In place of that long grammatical list through which every western schoolboy plods beginning with articles and ending with interjections, his Far-Eastern counterpart cuts the whole matter into halves. The division indeed is of the simplest. Facts and acts are his two only categories. What is not a fact is *ipso facto* an act. The Japanese call the two classes respectively names and workwords. There are a few particles that come under no head.

The distinction is as patent in Burmese speech. It forms the only etymology with which the language is troubled, just as the position of words in the sentence constitutes its only syntax. This sounds invitingly simple, and it is not, as we all know, until after you have been well introduced to this simple family of languages that you begin

to appreciate what confusing complexity sweet simplicity can cause.

These facts include all parts of speech except what we should call verbs, adjectives and adverbs; at times even parts of these three, and are incapable of alteration. To tamper with facts in the way of grammatical form is for these people as impossible as it is for them not to do so in every-day intercourse. Separate particles may follow the noun but are not so much as added to it. Acts alone can be modified grammatically, and, although a fact may never become an act, an act may be converted into a fact by a suitable affix. All this is as good Burmese as Japanese.

How completely and primitively nouns denote facts, the Far-Eastern treatment of negation shows. To the Burman, as to the Japanese, a noun can never be negative. Negation is invariably introduced by the verb. The noun simply mirrors Nature; it is the reflection of a fact. Now to the early unimaginative mind a fact can not possibly be negative. There is no negation in matter, any more than there is an actual minus quantity in things. A quantity to be subtracted implies another from which to subtract it. Before such terms can have a meaning the abstract ideas of algebra have first to be grasped. So with negative nouns. They are essentially abstractions. To conceive of nothing we must first conceive of something and then conceive that something removed. We now do this so habitually that we forget how much we live in a realm of thought peopled with abstract impossibilities, of most convenient intercourse notwithstanding. When brought face to face with one of them, the Burmese mind can only come to an interrogation point. To him "nobody" becomes "there is not so much as who," an individual evidently first cousin to the Japanese "who even is not."

What in an inflected speech are called cases are expressed in Burmese by the above mentioned particles following the noun. As in Japanese the particles are at times omitted, only with somewhat greater unconcern, the possessive case as well as the objective being occasionally

left to inference. Position permits both tongues to take grammar largely for granted.

Of gender both are as innocent as Adam and Eve of sex in the garden of Eden; a blissful innocence to which some highly advanced languages might happily revert. This absence of personification shows itself again in names.

The Far-Oriental apologizes for the use of his proper names. Not content with thus explaining away any possible personification of natural objects, he even apologizes for speaking so personally of people. He does this in one or other or both of two ways; first by appending to the individual name the generic term for objects of the class. This occurs in the case of natural phenomena, rivers for example. A Japanese river may change its name many times in the course of a short existence, but it bears the generic word "river" along with it throughout its flow. It cannot properly be mentioned otherwise. To speak of the Tone instead of the Tonegawa, for instance, would be as impossible as it would be pedantic with us not to speak of the Danube or the Amazon. The same mental attitude holds with regard to mountains with one salient exception to point the rule, the preeminent Fuji, an Aino name at that. Sentiment through poetry is responsible for this the first step in the path of personification. The Burmese are like-minded. In some respects they go farther, for even towns take handles to their names. Rangoon is spoken of as Rangoon city. In poetry again sentiment has emancipated Mandalay.

The second method is by the use of an explanatory phrase following the word. In Japanese this phrase is *to iu* "of which it is said that it is" as *Matsuyama to iu hito*, a man called Matsuyama. In the analogous phrase *Naraya to iu yadoya*, we have both methods at once, a double-barrelled blunderbuss of an explanation. Indeed in this case we have the word *ya*, house, mentioned thrice; a three-storied expression for a two-storied affair. The Burmese *htso*, speak, introduces people in the same circumlocutory manner as, for example, *Maung Ban htso thū*,

a person called Maung Ban. This is a pity. Personification would seem here to have actually a practical side to it. For what is the sense in giving a thing a name if you must inform your public afresh of the fact every time you would use it. Every reality has a saving touch of the ideal in it after all.

An incipient plural may be said to exist in Burmese much after the fashion of the so-called plural in Japanese, either, that is, as a doubled singular or through the use of the word *do* similar to the *do* of *Kodomo;* and *Kodomo* itself shows the value of the plural to such minds that after all the trouble to coin it, the word has reverted again to its undifferentiated singular form.

The subject of pronouns, again, betrays an impersonality of regard in the Burman akin to that of the Japanese. In both tongues there exists but one direct pronoun, and that much tempered by disuse, the simplest form of the first person. For though there are a host of pronouns in polite fiction there is but one in fact. At first blush the presence of this pronoun might seem to imply the reverse of impersonality. But let us consider animals. Some dull sense of separation from the rest of the world we cannot suppose unknown to the simple mollusk. From the dawn of life individuality has existed, and any organism of separate existence and endowed with even the dimmest form of consciousness must be aware of that fundamental fact—that it is, whatever else may be. It feels for example that it eats. But this entails no high recognition of personality. The real birth of self-consciousness dates from the realization that it eats what another might.

So with the beginnings of speech. Quite a lively appreciation of the *meum* precedes much recognition of the *tuum*. The true test of individuality in a tongue consists, not in the appearance of the first personal pronoun, but in the presence of those bystanders, the second and third. When you address others as honorable corners and such like estimable spots you disclose, to say the least, a somewhat vacuous sense of their personalities. Nor is their identity

much more definitely established by speaking of them all as "excellencies" regardless of individual distinctions. The short step in which Burmese precedes Japanese in this line lies merely in the use of a state of being for a place of temporary repose. Instead of locality the Burmese talk of rank. Slave and ruler are the two keys upon which various respectful variations are played, I of course being the humble slave and you the august sovereignty. Besides secular consideration there is ecclesiastical respect. For Burma is a deeply religious land. Where every man enters the church as a matter of course though it be but to stay in it overnight, it is not surprising that priests and people should address one another from a pious point of view. The only oddity to our subjective thought is that each should speak of himself in the third person as if he were somebody else. The mode gives a certain far away perspective to one's own actions, like their landscape effects of dwarf trees in a twenty foot garden. It marks the height of contemplative philosophy.

In the speech of both peoples this same primitive impersonality shows itself at every turn. Indeed we find it lurking wherever we choose to look. As a final instance from among the many that might be adduced is the want in both tongues of relative pronouns, and the consequent shifts to express them. Our own relatives are a species of impersonation. In the phrase "the man who came yesterday" *who*, is an imaginary being we have conjured up, the shadow of a past reality. That this is so, will be realized by contrast with the Far-Oriental "yesterday came man," where in simple directness of matter of fact yesterday's action still qualifies the man to-day.

Like Far-Eastern tongues generally, Burmese bristles with auxiliary numerals. The vagueness of its nouns obliges this, as in Chinese or Japanese. In all these languages a noun states of its object, quality not quantity. To express the latter a generic noun, also quite incapable of expressing quality is added to the first. The two together accomplish the result like two intersecting circles cutting out a desired

segment—as for instance "needle two bar." To us this treads on the heel of the tautologous. If a needle be not a bar one wonders what it is. But to the Burmese mind the word needle may mean any or all needles. It states simply the sum of those qualities that constitute a needle. The idea is to the Burman much as that of tape is to us where we have to say two feet of tape to particularize.

The term auxiliary numeral expresses what these words do and the term generic noun what they are. It is interesting to note how by the mutual limitations of two primitive general concepts—not generalized but simply unparticularized concepts—the far oriental gets at his particular idea. The number of these auxiliary numerals is however a refinement of particularity. In pidgin English "piecey" quite adequately does service for all. Among the more common some are of traceable meaning, as *pyā'*, plain, for things that are flat, as one board and others of dubious derivation as *þā'* for any respectable characters and things immaterial generally. Those in use for men are many, but as they all imply an entrance into the Buddhist communion, "Englishmen," so the author of the "Burman" tells us "used to be classed as animals, "foreigners two beasts" or simply two beastly foreigners. This was before the occupation of Mandalay."

In spite of a host of such helpwords the language at times finds itself at a loss for one and is then forced to repeat the noun itself for specification in a sadly poverty stricken way as "village three villages." Here as elsewhere I am indebted for my brute facts to Chase's Handbook.

This is not the end of the complication. For, beside the two Japanese ways of combining the auxiliary numeral with the numerals proper and the noun, there exists in Burmese another due to a difference in grade among the numerals themselves. It seems that ten, hundred and so forth are not mere rank and file numbers but have a sort of substantival brevet about them entitling them to peculiar consideration. In their case the auxiliary is made to precede the noun and takes on by way of full dress uniform the formative *a*.

This brings us to that for which Burmese may be said to be unique, the omnilatent rather than omnipresent formative *a*. This invaluable term has for symbol an incomplete infinity and its uses are very nearly as all embracing as its sign. It is described in Chase's Handbook as chiefly employed in forming nouns, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs, and postpositions, from verbal roots. But it must not be supposed restricted to so narrow a field. What it was, is, as far as I know, unknown. It is now to all intents and purposes nothing; but it does everything. Should the Burman need a noun or an adjective or an adverb or any other part of speech, all he does is to take a verbal root of the desired root-meaning, prefix the formative *a* and he has his word. As all of these, from nouns to adverbs, are formed in precisely the same simple manner, a certain ambiguity of result would seem inevitable. But apparently no confusion is caused to a Burman.

Analogous to the formative *a* is another particle called formative *ta*. Now the times of appearing of both of these are suggestive. When the word to which they would be prefixed stands in immediate connection with other words the *a* withdraws, but when the word stands so to speak by itself, whether in the body of a sentence or not, the *a* appears again. For example the auxiliary numerals when in direct sequence with the numerals proper drop the *a* but when alone take it. So do nouns generally. Now *ta* is known to be the ordinary numeral one. Possibly then we have in formative *a* the embryo of the definite article, with *ta* for the corresponding indefinite one. Etymologically the Burmese *a* should prove as much of a tid-bit as the Japanese *wa*.

After so highly important a particle it is bathetic to descend to so-called adjectives. For in truth, of natives none exist. The only adjectives as we know the word are direct borrowings from the Pali; the rest are all verbs. The state of things is the counterpart of the Japanese, only that it is more archaic—in that, while in Japanese the adjective has inflections peculiar to itself, in Burmese the

procedure for both adjectives and verbs is precisely the same. To the stem of each the same particles are affixed to the same intent. When used either qualifyingly or predicatively the position of this many functioned affair differs from the Japanese in that it follows where the Japanese precedes and precedes where the Japanese follows.

It has one feature of interest. In spite of making shift for the comparative and superlative degrees much like other Far-Eastern tongues, it possesses suggestively enough an imperfect degree analogous to our English termination "ish." It manages this fractional qualification of itself in a truly typical manner, by reduplication. It does, however, in addition either shorten its voyel or prefix *hkât*, "rather" to the unshortened doubled form. Like the Japanese the comparative is merely the particular comparison of the positive, while the superlative is the positive with the word "end" in place of the Japanese "number one" added as: *lū a kaung'*, *zon'*, "the best man" or lit. "good end man," a term suggestive of minstrelsy.

We now come to verbs. Although they constitute one half of all parts of speech in Burmese they are remarkably simple, simple in form and simpler still in essence. For though Far-Eastern verbs represent acts, they are far from representing action. It is symtomatic of the impersonal Far-Eastern mind that deeds are not done; things eventuate. For which reason sentences are subjectless. This is evident enough in Japanese and I am inclined to believe is true in intent of Burman. For though *ngā* "I" and *thū*, "person," for "he," at times are used, in other phrases where we should deem them as obligatory they fail to put in an appearance.

Chase in his Handbook divides all verbs into transitives and intransitives, which is simple and efficient. For whatever befalls a Burman whether by the act of God or of the King's enemies he looks at in the same light. Yet, so close are these happenings to his own acts that, on his tongue, the one passes into the other by simple aspiration; the initial consonant taking the rough breathing. Our distinction

between passive and active is not a Far-Eastern idea and is as unrecognized in Burmese as in Japanese. *Kya thi* means to fall; *hkya thi* to cause to fall or throw down; *pyet thi* to be ruined; *hpyet thi* to ruin; *lot thi* to be free; *hlot thi* to set free. These examples I quote from the "Burman."

Verbs may be simple monosyllables or they may not. For compounds are extremely common. Now it is the habit to class Burmese as a monosyllabic tongue. But this, I think, can be shown to be erroneous.

The classification into monosyllabic and polysyllabic languages is of course empirical. Evolution being continuous any calculus of finite differences is from the start only an approximation to the fact. All speech must have begun in monosyllables. We can hardly suppose an aboriginal Adam and Eve in the garden of the world choosing polysyllables for everyday names of things. Eve at least would have nicknamed them and the nicknames must have stuck. Then the inevitable lengthening set in. Compounds were formed and then gradually fused. Even in conservative Chinese "steamship" is on the highway to unity of idea in spite of its double ideograph.

Now if we must divide tongues into monosyllabic and polysyllabic, the test of the latter would seem to be whether its compounds have passed from the physical stage of combination to the chemical one; whether, that is, the two words still keep, each its orginal meaning, or whether those meanings have become lost in a third distinct from either. In Japanese such chemical union long since took place; in Chinese it has hardly been reached. In Burmese it has already begun, which would seem to put Burmese in that interesting condition of a missing link. As an example, may be instanced *kyā'-pyaw* to hear-speak and so to tell.

These compounds are otherwise suggestive Some are combinations of a noun and a verb as *nā'-htaung* "to erect the ear" is "to hearken." In another set a class of auxiliary verbs enter to make those meanings which we express now by potentials, now by prepositions, and now by a periphrasis.

Among such are *hnaing* to be able, as *lot hnaing thi* can make; *hkyin* to wish, *wè hkyin* to wish to buy; *htā'* to place *hmat-htā'* to note down. These find their counterparts in Japanese in many various ways: in the potential forms of the verb, in the desiderative *tai*, in the verbs *shimau*, *oku*, *miru*, in the adjectives *yasui*, *beki*, and so forth. In Burmese the affected verb appears in the stem form. In Japanese, of course, where agglutination has set in, the forms assumed are more various, but they include, among others, the primitive stem form.

Another type of compound consists of a synthesis of agreements, two verbs of the same meaning coupled in harmony as *pyaw-htso* to speak-say. This combination is said to be by far the most numerous. It would certainly seem the most superfluous.

Verbal accidents are numerous and obligatory; on the other hand the verbal stem remains unaffected. These accidents are still separate particles suffixed to the stem. The present is denoted by *thi* or *i*, the past by *byi*, past indefinite by *bū'*; the future properly speaking not being represented at all. What Europeans have been tempted to call a future, the tense denoted by *mi*, is really the tense of probability, which we find in Japanese. For the Burman's ideas of time are thoroughly oriental, and he does not stand perpetually on a knife-edge of decision between an all possible future and an irrevocable past.

Nor has his subjunctive reached the Japanese cohesion. Conjunctions by courtesy but demonstratives in truth suffice for the relation.

The Burman's interrogatives leave little to be desired. He has them of different kinds to suit occasions. He uses his *la* when he expects in answer a categorical yes or no, and his *lè* when he wishes information in general. Like the Japanese *ka*, both *la* and *lè* are quite competent to ask questions without the help of any verb; but the stranger is not competent to ask any questions without strict attention to his voyel sounds.

Of honorifics of course he is not destitute. Beside these

he possesses many euphonic affixes of which he makes full use because they sound so well—to him.

Negation, as we saw, is confined to acts, that is verbs. Nothing else can be negative in Burmese. The restriction would appear to have produced its usual effect. Debarred expression generally, the desire to deny once let loose knows no bounds. One would think—although nine millions of Burmans apparently do not—that two negatives applied to the same word might possibly prove nugatory. On the contrary, the Burmese theory seems to be that one cannot have too much of so sedative a thing and a verb compounded of two others takes a not before each of them. This would appear superfluous even when they are of different signification as *ma-pyaw-ma-htso* not-hear-not-speak i.e. not inform, but the very negation of negation where the verbs have the same meaning as not-say-not-speak i.e. not speak. This wanton disregard of the value of a negative is not conducive to subtlety of speech. The exceeding mathematical turn of its borrowed alphabet has had no deterrent effect. It is to be hoped that the individual who happens to be addressed definitely understands that nothing is predicated.

We now come to the binding of words together in a sentence. As far as he goes the Burman here resembles the Japanese, but he does not go to anything like the same extent. The Japanese have an artistic passion for phrase fashioning. Just as they hang but one picture at a time upon their walls, so will they frame but one sentence for all they propose to say. Their phrases are like their New Year gifts. They present you with their idea, however complicated, in a single pretty packet, perfumed with honorifics, folded with gerunds and neatly tied up with many bow-knots of the verb to be. Such artists the Burmese are not. Still, with their own well-meant but less finished style, they too lay their bundles at their hearer's ear. The honorifics at least are all there if the wrappings be not so perfectly contrived.

To begin with, a Burmese sentence is as we look at it, inverted. It resembles nothing so much as a conical wedge

with the point first, and the heavy verbs at the butt. It is capable of standing alone from mere force of gravity. But the various parts of it are not mortised, and it comes apart if needed without disruption, as for example; "he says that he did it" in Burmese, can be at once separated, as it stands, into "he did it" and "he says." All cases are not as simple as this, but in the most connected no word has actually to be torn. For the particles, connective, inflectional or otherwise have not produced any change either in the voyels or the consonants of the words they affect.

To the word of the thought is given precedence, whatever relation it bear to the rest. There is however no particle like *wa* to call attention to it. Nor does the verb "to be" round off the sentence with its nirvana-like repose. So much for the two ends. As for the middle the fundamental rule is that qualifying words and clauses precede the words they qualify with but few exceptions. As there is no relative pronoun it will be seen that this involves substantially the Japanese arrangement. A specimen will do. "When the water falls come and tell me," becomes in Burmese *Ye kya thaw hkā lā pyaw bā* or literally "Water fall (connective) time come tell (polite imperative)." To students of Japanese this speaks for itself.

In the matter of clause construction the Burmese holds a middle course between the everlasting Japanese sentence and the choppy Chinese one. It demands nothing like the suspended attention of the former. We have not as in the Japanese book language to listen to a long list of indeterminates till the very last syllable of the sentence shall give the clue. Nor are we kept waiting as in the Japanese spoken speech by a line of gerunds for a conclusive which is eventially omitted; or more than concluded by several *gozarimasu de gozarimasuru* where, good Buddhist like, all action is lost through so many consecutive existences.

Burmese also stands midway between Chinese and Japanese in the matter of tonic sounds. Of such it has three, the light and heavy accent, and the ordinary unaffected tone; this without prejudice to long and short voyels, hard and

soft consonants and consonantal aspirations, the combinations of all of which give a variety of shades to the same sound sufficient to suggest the Middle Kingdom. It has been supposed that originally Japanese too had tonic sounds whose imprints have survived in such subtle distinctions of pronunciation as that between *kaki* a persimmon and *kaki* an oyster. The partial keeping of the tones in Sinico-Japanese hints at the same thing. A race not prone to such pronunciations must have dropped them in the borrowing.

It will thus appear how strong is the likeness in language between the two extreme nations of the Far-East, the Burmese at the one end, the Japanese at the other. The cumulative force of so many structural points of resemblance is certainly great, and would seem to connect Burmese with Manchu, Korean, and Japanese. Why these tongues should all differ in word-roots is a puzzle, to be explained possibly by a long nomadic career in very early times. But that they should agree so in structure implies conformity of thought which is much more likely to be due to kinship than to circumstance.

In more ways than one Burmese faintly suggests Chinese. Perhaps we are about to add another family of languages to the two we know already, the Aryan and the Semitic, the Altaic. For these so-called Altaic tongues may turn out to be sisters, like those Ovid so prettily describes whose faces were not alike nor yet unlike but such as those of sisters ought to be. And Chinese would be their staid conservative aunt.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS AND DISCUSSIONS.

Meeting of October 13th, 1890.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in Yokohama in the Public Hall on Wednesday, October 15th, 1890, at 8.30 p.m., N. J. Hannen, Esq., President, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were taken as read.

The President then introduced Admiral Belknap, U. S. N., who read a paper on "The Depths of the Pacific off the East Coast of Japan with a Comparison of their Oceanic Depths."

After expressing the thanks of the Society for the interesting paper they had heard, the President declared the meeting adjourned.

Meeting of November 12th, 1890.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms, No. 17, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, on Wednesday, November 12th, 1890, at 3 p.m. N. J. Hannen Esq., President, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were taken as read.

The Corresponding Secretary intimated the election of the following gentlemen as members of the Society:— Rev. M. C. Münzinger, Rev. W. E. Griffiths, Frank Deas, Esq., O. C. Flemmich, Esq., Rev. T. S. Tyng, and Rev. J. M. Francis.

The President then called on Mr. Dening to read his paper on the mental characteristics of the Japanese, entitled "A Study in Japanese Psychology."

After the reading of the paper, the President invited remarks from members present.

Dr. KNOTT thought that the more we considered the matter the more difficult it became to lay down clearly the mental traits that distinguish the Japanese from ourselves. In almost every instance of apparent difference we do not need to go far before we find a sufficient explanation in the different lines of historic development. And this historic development ultimately in great measure is a direct outcome of geographical environment and climatic condition. In its isolation for centuries Japan has passed through an experience very different from that through which all the European nations have passed. With these there has been a continual give and take with a correspondingly rapid evolu-

tion of civilisation. During these centuries Japan received practically no stimulus from without. As a consequence her poetry, for example, is really antiquated, and has not had the continuity of development from old through middle to modern which so characterises our English poetry. It is a fact of history that a nation left entirely to itself cannot develope to advantage; and Mr. Nose's idea that Japan should *strive* to preserve her national characteristics and develope along her own lines seems to be a fair illustration of unpractical and speculative theorising. What philosopher ever formulated such a maxim to his race? What need indeed for such a formula? Except possibly as a conservative watch-word, it can have no real influence upon the development of a strong race in the midst of other equally strong races. In a certain sense nations like children do develope along their own lines; but it is never as a result of predetermination so to do. Mr. Dening had made a great deal of the Japanese distaste for money-making pursuits; but he seemed to the speaker to be somewhat too emphatic on the materialistic tendencies of the age. It was after all a question of finding scope for individual energies; and when a full commercial life became possible to the Japanese they would be as eager after wealth as any western peoples. England did not begin her commercial career till after the Wars of the Roses had destroyed the last vestiges of feudalism; and Japan is only a generation removed from her feudal times.

Mr. CLEMENT thought that the precocity and conceit of the Japanese student were largely due to over education and high pressure in the schools. For the same reason their logic was all in a narrow groove. There seemed to be too much of the purely intellectual in their training, leading to a cold intellectuality.

Mr. DENING agreed with the last speaker as to the evil results of the Japanese educational system; and pointed out that one of the defects of the best private school in Tōkyō was pushing the student at too early an age into the study of abstruse subjects. In reply to Dr. Knott's criticism that he had emphasised too strongly the Western desire after money-making he would point out that his paper did not deal with the Western character as a whole, but was intended to draw attention to the differences between the Western and Japanese habits of thought. And there is no doubt the average Japanese has less regard for money than the average European or American. They are not troubled over a loss of money as we are. Also they do not regard their debts in the same serious way as we do. Quite recently a prominent politician was highly lauded by many of the journals because, although he was owing money all round, he still refused to accept a Government post.

Mr. LISCOMB wondered whether the difficulty frequently experienced by foreigners in getting information about places (for instance) from Japanese living in the vicinity was due to a lack of interest in things beyond the usual horizon of their thoughts. He once heard a story of

a Japanese, very worldly-wise in his own estimation, displaying the lack of this quality in a friend by suddenly asking him the price of rice. Yet when he (Mr. Liscomb) asked this worldly-wise gentleman some simple questions about Japanese banks, he got nothing but a shake of the head and an introduction to a banker. This tendency to fall into ruts of every day life, and to see nothing or little beyond, must be a hindrance to progress of every kind.

Mr. DENING thought that the Japanese do not really lack curiosity. They may not take an interest in things that we are more specially interested in; but they certainly take a profound interest in their own affairs and in their own way.

The PRESIDENT drew attention to what he had often noticed among his own servants. They knew the meanings of pictures and artistic designs, and the names of the painters and artists in a way that is very characteristic of Japan. With us the servant class as a whole is absolutely ignorant of like matters.

Mr. DROPPERS, in reference to the question of the logical powers of Japanese students, gave as his experience in the teaching of political economy that they did not reason in the way that we would regard as direct. From our recognised standards the Japanese seem to argue round things and arrive at their conclusions in what is to us an indirect manner.

Rev. CLAY MCCAULAY thought that as regards the radical mental phenomena on which character is based, the Japanese people were to be characterised by emotionalism rather than by intellectuality. They act more upon impulse than from reason. Intellectually they possess intensity of feeling rather than clearness of perception. They have closest affinity with the peoples of the South of Europe.

The meeting then adjourned.

Meeting of December 10th, 1890.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms, No. 17, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, on Wednesday, December 10th, 1890, at 4 p.m., N. J. Hannen, Esq., President, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting having been published in the *Japan Mail* were taken as read.

The PRESIDENT, in opening the meeting, remarked that it was probably beyond the memory of a good many present that the late Dr. Syle had for many years been an officer in the Society. Those who had known him, however, knew with what devotion he served the Society in its earlier days in Japan, and what a constant interest he took in its proceedings after he had left Japan. Quite lately he had offered his services to act as the Society's deputy in important gatherings in England. He was the Society's first Secretary, and subsequent-

ly filled the offices of Vice-President and President. In 1877 he read a paper before the Society "On Primitive Music; especially that of Japan" (see Vol. V. of Society's Transactions). He died in London, October 4th, 1890, a very few weeks after the death of his wife. It must be with sincere regret that the Society chronicles the death of one of its founders.

The PRESIDENT then called on Mr. Wigmore to read the joint paper by himself and the late Dr. Simmons entitled "Notes on Land Tenure and Local Institutions in Old Japan."

The PRESIDENT, after thanking Professor Wigmore in the name of the Society for the great trouble he had taken in editing Dr. Simmons' full and valuable notes, and generally in preparing the paper, portions of which they had just heard read, said there was one point about these notes which made them less valuable than they might otherwise have been. He referred to the fact that Dr. Simmons had often omitted to give authority for his statements. Many of these had been gathered in conversation with his Japanese friends; and a doubt naturally arises in one's mind as to how far these are reliable. All that can be said is that many of the views expressed in Dr. Simmons' notes were entertained by the Japanese themselves. What was desiderated in these notes was a clear reference in every case to the source of information, whether documentary or oral. This, he understood, had not been done by Dr. Simmons. It was interesting to note how in some respects the same thing cropped up no matter where we went. Similar circumstances gave rise to similar facts. For example it had been noted that those who conducted legal affairs in these communities were not supposed to receive any fees. The same rule held in Rome; and in England a barrister's payment is in the eyes of the law an *honorarium* not a fee. Interesting as the extracts read had been, he was sure that members would find in the paper when published a collection of still more interesting facts and opinions.

Dr. AMERMAN said that, although he quite agreed with the remarks made by the President, he thought it well to point out that, however much Dr. Simmons had relied on his conversations with Japanese, he had not relied altogether on such. He had collected quite a library of books both printed and in manuscript. Some of these had been very difficult to obtain, being collections of traditions which had come down for centuries before being put down on paper. It was matter of deep regret that some of the more valuable of these had quite disappeared since Dr. Simmons' death, and could not be traced anywhere.

Mr. WIGMORE said that in the preface (which he had not read to the meeting), he had catalogued all the sources of information used by Dr. Simmons; and that wherever it was possible he had obtained corroborative or contradictory evidence from trustworthy sources. In all such matters there are two distinct sources of information, docu-

mentary and oral. Where a written law exists nothing more is to be done. But there are many traditions and customs for which no written law exists; for these information must be oral. From some old book a written law might be unearthed and translated, which a short conversation with an intelligent Japanese would prove to have fallen into disuse many years ago. In fact information derived from written law was of little value, where information derived from unwritten custom was of supreme importance. In the paper he had indicated where documentary or oral would be best.

Mr. DROPPERS remarked that having come late he had possibly missed portions bearing more particularly upon land tenure, that is upon the relation of tenant and landlord in regard to rent, taxes, and so forth. The portions he had heard dealt rather with village customs than with land tenure. Accordingly he wished to know if Dr. Simmons had collected any information calculated to throw light on a very dark subject indeed.

Mr. WIGMORE replied that as the subject was not one which Dr. Simmons had given close attention to, his notes bearing on it were naturally incomplete. In a part of the paper which had not been read, he had himself tried to draw some conclusions, guided in large measure by what is known to have occurred in Europe. The subject of land tenure in Japan is an exceedingly difficult one. The customs and laws no doubt varied greatly from daimyate to daimyate. A very elaborate study of the numerous records preserved all over the country would be the first step in attacking the problem. Perhaps fifty years hence, the Asiatic Society may be prepared to give the subject a lucid discussion.

The meeting then adjourned.

Meeting of January 14th, 1891.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms, No. 17, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, on Wednesday, January 14th, 1891, at 4 p.m., Rev. Dr. Amerman, Vice-President, in the chair.

The minutes of last meeting were taken as read.

The election was announced of the following gentlemen as resident members of the Society:—Dr. J. Lōnholm, L. van de Polder, Esq., W. B. Mason, Esq., C. Meriwether, Esq.

The CHAIRMAN then called on Mr. Piggott to read his paper on "The Music of the Japanese."

The CHAIRMAN thanked the author in the name of the Society for his valuable and instructive paper. In the early years of the Society, Dr. Syle and a little later Dr. Veeder, had taken up some points in connection with Japanese music; and still earlier Dr. Muller had written in the *Japan Mail* on the subject. Nothing, so far as he knew, had been done lately; and Mr. Piggott's present paper, which

seemed much more technical and complete than any of his predecessors, cannot fail to be an extremely valuable addition to the Society's Transactions. He would also convey the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Yamase for his kindness in illustrating the different tunings of the Koto.

Mr. MILNE said that the President, by his references to the work of Dr. Syle and Prof. Veeder, had given to the meeting the early history of what had been done by the Asiatic Society relating to the Music of Japan. However, one more reference might be made, and that was to the discussion which took place some 15 years ago or thereabouts, respecting some metallic objects which looked like coal scuttles. These, which had been dug up in some parts of the Empire, were too old to allow the supposition that they were really what they looked like. But what were they? Were they ornaments for temples? Were they helmets, or were they bells? The bell theory might be considered as having a distant relationship with the subject now under discussion. Bells were musical instruments, and they had been spoken of as such by the author of the valuable paper the meeting had just heard. Just as Japanese music was difficult to reproduce on European instruments, Mr. Piggott told as that the music of our own bells was difficult to reproduce. This Mr. Milne regarded as being possibly a fault in our bells arising from the difficulties in manufacture—it being an unusually difficult matter to cast a bell free from beats and with the desired note. Referring to the work of Dr. Syle and Prof. Veeder, Mr. Milne was of opinion that this had been too lightly touched upon. If he remembered rightly these gentlemen showed that the number of vibrations per second in any of the notes of the Japanese scale did not correspond with the number of vibrations per second in any of the notes in the European scale. What might this indicate? Possibly certain physiological differences between Eastern and Western organization. In the East and in the West the same emotions existed, but these were satisfied by different quantities. The Westerns for example satisfied these feelings of pleasure by combinations or the rhythmical succession of one set of notes, whilst the Easterns filled a similar gap with the combinations, &c., resulting from another set of notes. Another subject Mr. Milne said he would like to hear about, was the history of Japanese music. If you knew the history of a subject, the better were you able to understand it—music had to do with muses, now who were the muses of Japan?—the Beethovens, Mozarts, and Handels for example? Has Japanese music been developed along the same lines as European music or along different lines? In all nations we first had the recitative, then let us say the *tom-tom*, so that primitive music possibly began with one note. After that came instruments of a higher organization, with 2 or 3 notes, and now we had our pianos with 12 notes. Had Japanese

music had an evolution along similar lines, and if it had, to what stage had it reached? Possibly it had been evolved in a manner totally different. Certainly as it stood, so far as Europeans were concerned, its functions were not the same. Europeans certainly derived pleasure from European music, but as the author of the learned paper had hinted, it could not be said that when the lights were out and the *shōji* drawn Europeans derived pleasure from the twanging of the *samisen*. Japanese liked Japanese music, and Europeans liked European music, so whether the reason was a matter of education or physiological difference it was hard to say.

In reply to Mr. Milne, Mr. PIGGOTT mentioned, as among the great composers of Japan, Yatsuhashi and his pupils. After the first few generations, however, the names were lost. The music that is played at the present day is about 200 years old.

In reply to a question put by Dr. Du Bois, as to the character of the Gekkin scale, Mr. PIGGOTT said that the Gekkin was Chinese, and used fret notes depending on pressure, so that it was impossible to find any definite scale on it.

Captain BRINKLEY asked why, if Japanese and Western music could be represented on the same scale, it was so difficult for Europeans to remember Japanese tunes.

Mr. PIGGOTT said that was due to the prevalence of awkward intervals, to which the Western ear was not accustomed. Some of these intervals were indeed very extraordinary. Nevertheless, when one's attention was given specially to it, it was possible to remember Japanese tunes. He had himself been able to remember six tunes in one year. As Dr. Du Bois suggested, it was possible to play any Japanese tune on the piano.

Dr. DIVERS expressed his sense of the importance of the contribution which Mr. Piggott had made to the Society upon Japanese music. By its fulness of treatment from the artistic aspect of the subject it seemed to afford opportunity of studying the peculiarities and possibilities of Japanese music to an extent not hitherto within the reach of most persons. They were therefore greatly indebted to the author for his paper. He would have seen by the comments already made that he was not to expect general acquiescence in the soundness of all his views, but no doubt that would not disappoint so earnest a student of the subject provided that he saw his work become, as it probably would, the basis of further investigations by others along the same lines. Dr. Divers himself could not admit with the author that to the adoption of the system of equal temperament in instrumental music was due the recognition of the nature of the emotional effects of different music. The emotional effect was due to the nature of successive musical intervals in a piece, not upon the pitch of the notes. Equal temperament was an unnatural deviation from the natural scale, valu-

able only, though most highly so, because of the possibilities it gave to such a simple instrument as the piano of reproducing such elaborate harmonised effects. Now the author, adopting the equal temperament scale as the standard Western scale, and then submitting the Japanese scale to a similar smoothing down or equalising process, could hardly have failed in making the two scales fit in or overlap as it were. But this, it seemed to the speaker, was setting aside the peculiarities distinguishing the systems rather than accounting for them. There yet remained, however, much in this part of his treatment of the subject that made the author's investigations very interesting and important. There was one other part of the paper Dr. Divers would be glad to be allowed to notice, in the hope of having it made clearer, which was that upon the fall of the accent in the bar of Chinese drum music. Mr. Piggott had stated the last note of the bar was the accented note. How could this be? Was not music measured by the recurrence of the accented notes and these notes conventionally made the first of the bars? A reporter of any music whatever which was capable of being taken down would always make the accented notes begin the bars, and therefore would treat Chinese drum music in the same way. Would, therefore, the author kindly explain how he had formed the opinion that the accented notes were last in the bars?

In reply to Dr. Divers' questions, Mr. PIGGOTT said that he laid so much stress on the equal temperament scale simply because it was the scale on which modern music was based. Practically there was no such thing as the diatonic or the Pythagorean scale. As to the accent in Chinese music falling on the last note of the bar, it was certainly so, the preceding notes leading up to the accented note which ended the bar.

The CHAIRMAN, before declaring the meeting adjourned, drew the attention of members to the fact that there were now in Japan complete sets of movable music type, with which it was possible to get very good printing done.

Meeting of February 11th, 1891.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms, No. 17, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, on Wednesday, February 11th, 1891, at 4 p.m., N. J. Hannen, Esq., President, in the chair.

The minutes of last meeting were taken as read.

Mr. Clement read a paper on the "Mito Civil War."

After some discussion, the President conveyed the thanks of the Society to the author for his interesting paper.

The meeting then adjourned.

Meeting of March 11th, 1891.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms, No. 17, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, on Wednesday March 11th, 1891, N. J. Hannen, Esq., President, in the chair.

The minutes of last meeting were read and approved.

The election of G. J. H. Schurr, Esq., as a member of the Society was announced.

The President intimated that, in consequence of the sudden and lamented death of the Honourable J. F. Swift, United States Minister to Japan, the Society would show its respect for his memory by adjourning the present meeting till Tuesday, March 17th, at 4 p.m.

The meeting then adjourned.

Meeting of March 17th, 1891.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms, No. 17, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, on Tuesday, March 17th, 1891, at 4 p.m., Rev. Dr. Amerman, Vice-President, in the chair.

The minutes of last meeting were read and approved.

The CHAIRMAN then introduced Mr. van de Polder who read a paper entitled "An Abridged History of the Copper Coins of Japan."

The SECRETARY read a supplementary communication from Mr. Wigmore, who was unfortunately prevented from attending the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN said they must bear in mind that Mr. van de Polder had not only condensed the work of eight or ten years' investigation of this subject, but he had also, his paper being long and somewhat technical, taken on himself the further labour of preparing an abstract of it, to which they had just had the pleasure of listening. For that, and for his kindness in bringing his large collection of copper coins, the society was much indebted to him, and the Chairman had much pleasure in extending to him the thanks of the members.

Dr. KNOX remarked that in the earlier part of the paper Mr. van de Polder repeatedly spoke of the tribute brought to Japan from Korea, which included Chinese silver and gold coins. Were any of these still in existence?

Mr. VAN DE POLDER said he had spoken simply of silver and gold—not in the form of coins. The first coins made in Japan were of silver and gold brought from China.

Dr. KNOX had been interested by the thought that light might be thrown on the history of that time in Japan, if coins then brought were still in existence. There were many things that people were inclined to doubt, the invasion of Korea and indeed most of the occurrences alleged to have taken place before the 4th century. But of course silver and gold, other than coins, would leave no trace behind.

Mr. VAN DE POLDER said it was stated that the Empress Jingō Kōgō brought back from Korea a coin shaped like a bird, but of that he had found no sign. There was a person in Ōsaka who had a specimen of the first silver coin struck in Japan.

The CHAIRMAN noticed that Mr. van de Polder had several coins in his collection to which were attached images of *Daikoku-fukujin* and *Ebisukō*; were these rare?

Mr. VAN DE POLDER said they were rare. They were called *Miya-sen*, and were Sendai coins. When they were first struck some were made specially as offerings to temples, and hence the gods, and the name *Miya-sen*.

Mr. DIXON said that would furnish the answer to a question that was asked in *Notes and Queries* in December last, whether there were coins struck in Japan bearing the guardian angel of Japan.

The meeting shortly afterwards dispersed.

Meeting of March 18th, 1891.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Public Hall, Yokohama, on March 18th, 1891, at 9 p.m., N. J. Hannen, Esq., President, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were taken as read.

The President introduced Captain Taylor, U. S. N., who gave a lecture on "The Nicaraguan Canal in relation to the Commerce of Japan."

A vote of thanks to the lecturer terminated the meeting.

Meeting of April 8th, 1891.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms, No. 17, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, on Wednesday, April 8th, 1891, at 4 p.m., the Rev. Dr. Amerman, Vice-President in the chair.

The minutes of last meeting were taken as read.

The election of the Rev. G. L. Perrin as an ordinary member was announced.

Mr. A. H. Lay's paper on "The Funeral Rites of Japan" was read by the Recording Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN said he was sure the meeting would accord its thanks to Mr. Lay for his interesting paper, and to the Recording Secretary for reading it.

Mr. CLEMENT said in regard to the abolition of the custom of *junshi*, he believed that Mitsukuni, the second Tokugawa Prince of Mito, might claim the honour of being one of the earliest, if not himself the earliest, to discontinue the practice. At the time of his father's death Mitsukuni, anticipating that the practice would be followed, gave strict orders

against it. It was also singular that the Mito Princes and people, though they had very little sympathy with Buddhism, retained the Buddhist ceremony of burial. There was another custom—he did not know whether it was peculiar to Mito—that of burials taking place at night, which was said to have been ordered by Nariaki, the leader of the *Jōi* party in the present century, the intention being that funerals should be conducted with as little pomp and expense as possible.

In reply to the Chairman,

Mr. CLEMENT said he could give no reason why the Buddhist funeral ceremony had been retained in Mito.

Mr. DIXON pointed out that the custom of burying the dead at night had a parallel in former times in the interment of famous men in England. Addison, for instance, was buried in Westminster Abbey at night.

Mr. CLEMENT said he had somewhere heard a remark about the Japanese being Shintoist in life and Buddhist in death.

Dr. DU BOIS then read a short paper descriptive of the *Gekkin*, and its musical scales.

Dr. KNOTT followed with a longer paper on "Japanese Musical Scales."

At the close votes of thanks were accorded to Dr. Du Bois and Dr. Knott for their interesting papers, and the meeting adjourned.

Meeting of May 13th, 1891.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms, No. 17, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, on Wednesday, May 13th, 1891, at 4 p.m., the Rev. Dr. Amerman, Vice-President, in the chair.

The minutes of last meeting were taken as read.

The Recording Secretary announced that at the next general meeting there would be presented for consideration and final action a Revision of the Society's Constitution and By-Laws. Proof copies of the proposed Revision were at the disposal of the members and would be supplied on application to the Recording Secretary.

Major-General Palmer read a paper on "Hana-awase, a Japanese Game of Cards."

In the discussion that followed, Messrs. Clay MacCaulay, Knott, and Wigmore took part.

The Chairman conveyed the thanks of the meeting to General Palmer for his interesting paper and declared the meeting adjourned.

Meeting of June 10th, 1891.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms, No. 17, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, on Wednesday, June 10th, 1891, at 4 p.m., N. J. Hannen, Esq., President, in the chair.

The Corresponding Secretary announced the election as ordinary members of J. F. Lowder, Esq., Rev. G. T. Smith, and Rev. J. McKim.

A short note by Mr. Aston, in reply to certain criticisms of Mr. Parker, was read by the Corresponding Secretary.

A paper on "The Habits of the Blind in Japan" was read by J. M. DIXON, Esq.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN pointed out an omission in the paper, which had neglected to mention the fact that the practice of usury was common among blind men, and brought them considerable unpopularity from the strict way in which they treated their debtors.

The PRESIDENT in the name of the Society thanked the author for his interesting paper.

Dr. C. G. KNOTT then read a paper "On the Summer Climate of Karuizawa.

The PRESIDENT after conveying the thanks of the Society to the author for his instructive paper, remarked by way of criticism of the Karuizawa climate that the great range of daily temperature at Karuizawa seemed to him likely to be trying on the health. Dr. Knott explained, however, that the rise and fall were not sudden or arbitrary, but marked the difference between cool nights and warm days, the nights being specially cool. Mr. Wigmore expressed surprise that one month's observations only had been placed before them; could these results be looked upon as thoroughly representative? Dr. Knott replied that, considering the nature of the results and the normal weather experienced, he was inclined to be satisfied with their essential trustworthiness. Mr. Lowell expressed a wish that the 2 a.m. readings had been taken, as, in certain tropical countries he had visited, the night colds were simply excessive, and a peculiar danger to health. Dr. Knott however, pointed out that the minimum readings were taken regularly, and seldom registered more than 1° C below the observation at 6 a.m.

The Rev. CLAY MACCAULEY pointed out that the mean temperature during the month was a very unsafe guide in judging of the climate of a place. He thought the most important features of a good climate were an equable temperature with small daily range and a dry atmosphere. It hardly seemed that Karuizawa fulfilled the conditions. Along the west coast the rainfall was very much less according to the statistics just given; could not a pleasanter summer resort be found there?

Dr. KNOTT replied that in drawing general conclusions regarding the climate of a place we must pay attention to all the means and ranges and not merely to the temperature means. A comparatively small rainfall was, however, no advantage if the moisture were present all the same in the form of great humidity. Fushiki with its small rainfall and high humidity was not the place for a foreigner to go to who was seeking fresh air.

The Revision of the Constitution of the Society, as announced at the

last meeting was laid before the meeting. On the motion of Mr. Tison, seconded by Dr. Amerman, the Twenty-four Articles of the Constitution as printed in proof copy were adopted unanimously.

The meeting then adjourned.

Annual Meeting.

The Annual General Meeting of members of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held on Wednesday, 23rd. Juns, 1891, yesterday in the rooms of the Society in Tsukiji, Tōkyō. Rev. Dr. Amerman presided, and there was a large attendance.

The minutes of the last meeting, having been already published, were confirmed.

A paper was then read by Mr. Percival Lowell, entitled "A Comparison of the Japanese and Burmese Languages."

The Chairman thanked Mr Lowell for his interesting paper, and invited discussion.

Mr. J. M. Dixon expressed the great delight with which he had listened to the paper, which he said was full of electricity. It was extremely pleasant to have heard Mr. Lowell merely as a mental gymnastic. Not being a student either of Japanese or of Burmese he could not speak as to the value of Mr. Lowell's conclusions, but in any case they were extremely suggestive.

Rev. G. T. Smith asked whether Mr. Lowell could make any comparison as to mathematics: how far could the Burmese count?

Mr. Lowell could not answer that question. The Burmese derived their numerals from the Palu. Their numerals, so far as he could see, presented no resemblance to the Chinese or Japanese. But such languages could not be taken in the same way as we would our own languages.

The Chairman had expected that a paper upon such a subject would have given rise to a most animated discussion, and in that respect he had been disagreeably disappointed. However, he was sure all had shared in high enjoyment of Mr. Lowell's paper, and if criticism were not passed that must no doubt be referred to the general pleasure the paper had given. He thanked Mr. Lowell in the name of the society.

Mr. Lowell was sorry that Mr. Dixon had spoken of electricity because that meant shocks, and that was just what he did not want to give. He had cut out the best parts, just that he might not do so.

Mr. Dixon suggested that shocks might be of a pleasurable nature.

Mr. Lowell and the Chairman having invited further discussion,

Mr. Droppers said Mr. Lowell seemed to approach the subject of language from a living, human nature point of view. His paper was a very living presentation of the subject, but the question was: Could not

the same thing be done with almost any two languages, for human nature was necessarily very much alike all over the world?

Mr. LOWELL said the question might be answered logically—thus if it could be done with all languages he was not wrong in doing it with two; and next, if it could not be done with all languages and he was wrong in doing it, then he was right.—(Laughter.) It was the combination of all the coincidences that made the thing impressive. It was not a question of verbs, or of adjectives, or of pronouns, or of numerals, or any one of these things separately, but of all them occurring concomitantly. Take our own languages, and see how many of them could be compared on these lines of thoughts. He was of opinion that Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Burmese were all of the same family, though that was not proved yet.

Mr. AGASSIZ, as a visitor, availed himself of the Chairman's invitation, to say that Mr. Lowell's comparison would hold good with any nations in which there was a similarity of original methods of thought, for there were only a few ways in which men could think.

Mr. LOWELL contended that the comparison could not be made verbally, and for it one must go back to the forms of thought.

Rev. G. T. SMITH asked whether in Burmese there was not a word *she*, used as the Japanese used *suru*.

Mr. LOWELL thought there was such a word, but did not know whether it was so used or not, but pointed out that Burmese had not yet reached the agglutinative stage.

Dr. DIVERS asked whether Mr. Lowell meant that the two languages had a common origin, or that in the course of time languages that had a common origin lost their common words but in the most marvellous way preserved their common thoughts.

Mr. LOWELL meant that they were of the same family.

Dr. DIVERS thought Mr. Lowell's paper suggested rather a common racial origin because their language showed a common primitive order of thought.

Rev. CLAY MCCAULEY instanced the case of tribes of North American Indians to show that people closely allied might evolve different languages.

Dr. FLORENZ expressed the opinion that the Burmese and Japanese languages were entirely different, and cited various points to prove his contention.

The meeting then proceeded to general business.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN read the following Report:—

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION OCTOBER, 1890—JUNE, 1891.

The session now brought to a close has been a highly productive one. Two Parts of the volume of "Transactions" for the current year

(Vol. XIX.) have already been published, and a third is in the printer's hands.

Ten General Meetings of the Society have been held in Tōkyō, at which thirteen papers have been read, and two in Yokohama, at one of which a paper was read, while at the other a popular lecture was delivered. A glance at Appendix *A* will suffice to show how great is the variety of subjects that have been treated. The Society has furthermore endeavoured to enlist in the cause of Japanese studies even those who do not belong to its ranks, by issuing in pamphlet form a series of Questions on the subject of Japanese Land Tenure. Copies of this pamphlet, both in English and Japanese, have been distributed throughout the country to missionaries, school teachers, and others whose opportunities may enable them to give assistance in a matter of such interest to the student of early Japanese law and customs.

The list of Exchanges (Appendix *B*) gives the titles of the periodical publications of other learned societies which are at the disposal of the members in the Reading-room, No. 17, Tsukiji, Tōkyō.

The Treasurer's statement (Appendix *C*) bears witness to the satisfactory condition of the Society from a financial point of view. This it is that has permitted of the setting apart of a sum of $300 for the purchase of sundry valuable books on Japan, and for the purpose of enabling Professor J. H. Wigmore to carry out the plan of translating and editing several volumes relating to civil and commercial customs and to judicial matters under the Tokugawa Shogunate.

The Society has sustained the loss of one of its founders and most valued Honorary Members, the Rev. Dr. E. W. Syle, who passed away at an advanced age, respected and regretted by all. The general membership of the Society has slightly increased, bearing witness to the sustained interest felt in the Society's labours both here and beyond seas.

The Council are pleased to be able to announce that they have concleded an arrangement whereby the library has been placed in No. 17, Tsukiji, and a reading room for members opened in connection with it.

Appendix *A*.

List of Papers Read before the Society during the Session 1890-1891.

"The Depth of the Pacific off the East Coast of Japan, with a Comparison of other Oceanic Depths," by Rear-Admiral G. E. Belknap, U. S. N.

"Mental Characteristics of the Japanese," by Walter Dening, Esq.

"Notes on Land Tenure and Local Institutions in Old Japan," by the late Dr. D. B. Simmons and Prof. J. H. Wigmore.

"The Music of the Japanese" by F. T. Piggott, Esq.

"The *Gekkin* Musical Scale," by Dr. F. Du Bois; "Remarks on Japanese Musical Scale," by Dr. C. G. Knott.

"The Mito Civil War" by E. W. Clement, Esq.

"Abridged History of the Copper Coins of Japan" by Leon van de Polder, Esq.

"The Funeral Rites of Japan," by A. H. Lay, Esq.

"*Hana-awase*, a Japanese game of Cards," by Major-General H. S. Palmer, R. E.

"Reply to Dr. Parker," by W. G. Aston, Esq., C. M. G.

"The Habits of the Blind in Japan," by J. M. Dixon, Esq.

"The Summer Climate of Karuizawa," by Dr. C. G. Knott.

"A Comparison of the Japanese and Burmese Languages," by Percival Lowell, Esq.

A Lecture on "The Nicaraguan Canal in relation to the Commerce of Japan" was delivered by Captain Taylor U. S. N.

Appendix *B*.

List of Exchanges.

Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia; Proceedings.
" " Sciences of Finland (Acta Societatis Scientiarum Finnicae).
Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India; Journal.
American Association for the Advancement of Science.
" Geographical Society, New York; Bulletin and Journal.
" Oriental Society, New Haven; Journal.
" Philological Association, Boston; Transactions and Journal.
" Philosophical Society, Philadelphia; Proceedings.
Annalen des K. K. Natur Hist. Hofmuseum, Wien.
Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien; Mittheilungen.
Asiatic Society of Bengal; Journal and Proceedings.
Australian Association for the Advancement of Science.
" Museum, Sydney.
Bataviaasch Genootschap; Notulen. Tidjschrift. Verhandlungen.
Boston Society of Natural History; Proceedings.
Bureau of Ethnology, Annual Reports, Washington.
" " Education, Circulars of Information, Washington.
California Academy of Sciences.
" State Mining Bureau; Report.
China Review; Hongkong.
Chinese Recorder; Shanghai.
Cochinchine Francaise, Excursions et Reconnaisances, Saigon.
Cosmos; di Guido Cora, Turin.

Canadian Institute, Toronto; Proceedings and Reports.
Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde, Ostasiens, Tōkyō: Mittheilungen.
Geological Survey of India; Records.
Geographical and Natural History Survey of Canada.
Handels Museum, Wien.
Harvard University, Museum of Comparative Zoology; Bulletin, Papers etc.
Imperial Observatory, Rio Janeiro.
„ Russian Geographical Society; Bulletin and Reports.
„ Society of the Friends of Natural Science (Moscow), Section of Anthropology and Ethnography; Transactions.
Imperial University of Japan, College of Science; Journal.
Japan Weekly Mail, Yokohoma.
Johns Hopkins University Publications, Baltimore.
Journal Asiatique, Paris.
Kaiserliche Leopoldinische Carolinische Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher; Verhandlungen, Nova Acta.
Musée Guimet, Lyons, Annales et Révue, etc.
Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient.
Observatorio Astronomico Nacional de Tacubaya, Anuario Mexico.
„ Meteorologique, Monte Video.
Ornithologischer Verein in Wein, Mittheilungen.
Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain; Journal, etc.
„ „ „ , Bombay Branch; Journal.
„ „ „ , Ceylon Branch; Journal and Proceedings.
„ „ „ , China Branch; Journal.
„ „ „ , Straits Branch; Journal.
„ Dublin Society, Scientific Transactions.
„ Geographical Society; Proceedings.
„ „ „ New South Wales Branch.
„ Society, London; Proceedings.
„ „ of Edinburgh; Proceedings.
„ „ New South Wales.
„ „ of Tasmania.
„ „ of Queensland.
Seismological Society of Japan; Transactions.
Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C.; Reports, etc.
Sociedad Geografica de Madrid; Boletin.
„ de Geographia de Lisboa, Boletin, Lisbon.
Société Académique Indo-Chinoise, Saigon.
„ de Géographie; Bulletin et Compte Rendu des Séances, Paris.
„ des Études Japonaises, Chinoises, etc., Saigon.
„ d'Anthropologie de Paris; Bulletins et Mémoires.
„ d'Ethnographie, Bulletin, Paris.

Société Neuchateloise de Géographie, Bulletin, Neuchatel.
Sydney, Council of Education, Report.
University of Toronto.
United States Geological Survey.
„ „ Department of Agriculture.
Vereins für Erdkunde, Leipzig: Mittheilungen.
Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig.

Appendix C.

Accounts for the Year ending May 31st, 1891.

Dr.

To Hakubunsha for Printing	420.24
„ „ „ Stationery	45.13
„ Postage	21.07
„ Insurance of Library and Transactions	32.50
„ Illustrations &c. for Transactions	16.68
„ Carriage of Books	11.00
„ Yokohama Public Hall	20.00
„ Advertisements	6.00
„ Japan Directory	2.00
„ Error in Last Year's Account	10.00
	584.62
Balance	1825.06½
	2409.68½

Cr.

By Balance from Last Year	1114.43½
„ Entrance Fees	75.00
„ Life Subscriptions	128.00
„ Yearly Subscriptions	743.00
„ Sale of Transactions	327.10
„ Interest at Bank	22.15
	2409.68½

J. N. Seymour, Treasurer.

Examined and found correct,

C. S. Eby.
A. Tison. } Auditors.

June 21st, 1891.

The Chairman explained, in justice to the Treasurer and the Bank as well, that the error referred to in the accounts arose from no laxity

of theirs, but that one of the members paid into the Bank twice as much as he ought to have paid, and they had to pay him back.

The report and accounts were unanimously adopted.

The election of Officers and Councillors for the ensuing year resulted as follows:—

PRESIDENT—B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.
VICE-PRESIDENTS—Rev. Dr. G. W. Knox. James Troup, Esq.
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY—J. M. Dixon, Esq.
RECORDING SECRETARIES—A. Tison, Esq. J. K. Goodrich, Esq.
TREASURER—J. N. Seymour, Esq.
LIBRARIAN—J. McD. Gardiner, Esq.

COUNCILLORS:

Rev. Dr. J. L. Amerman.	Rev. T. M. MacNair.
Dr. E. Divers.	W. B. Mason, Esq.
Rev. Dr. D. C. Greene.	R. Masujima, Esq.
Rev. Clay MacCauley.	Dr. H. Weipert.
Rev. Dr. D. Macdonald.	J. H. Wigmore, Esq.

The CHAIRMAN said they had all hoped to have the pleasure of the presence of Judge Hannen, but he had written saying it was impossible for him to be present, and asking the Chairman to thank the members for electing him as President, and to express the sorrow he felt in severing his active connection with them, and also the interest he should always take in their prosperity.—(Applause.) In conclusion, Dr. Amerman expressed the deep regret with which the members viewed the loss of Judge Hannen and Dr. Knott, and their high estimate of the most valuable services rendered to the society by those gentlemen.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

Honorary Members.

Alcock, Sir Rutherford, K.C.B., Athenæum Club, London.
Arnold, Sir Edwin, C.S.I.N., London.
Arthur, W. Rear-Admiral, c/o Messrs. Hallett & Co., Trafalgar Square, London.
Aston, W. G., C.M.G., Woodland, Seaton, Devon.
Day, Prof. Geo. E., Yale College, New Haven. Conn., U. S. A.
Edkins, Rev. Joseph, D.D., Shanghai.
Franks, A. W., c/o Kegan Paul Trench Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, London, E.C., England.
Nordenskjöld, Baron A., Stockholm.
Rein, Prof. J. J., Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany.
Satow, Ernest M., C.M.G., Montevideo.
Wade, Sir Thomas F., K.C.B., Athenæum Club, London.
Whitney, Prof. W. D., New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.

Life Members.

Anderson, F.R.C.S., W., 2 Harley Street, Cavendish Square, London W.
Atkinson, B.SC., R. W., Cardiff, Wales.
Bisset, F.L.S., J., 78, Yokohama.
Blanchet, Rev. C. T., Bolton, Lake George, New York.
Brauns, Prof. Dr. D., Halle University, Germany.
Brown, Captain A. R., Central Chambers, 109 Hope Street, Glasgow, Scotland.
Carson, T. G., Bannfield, Coleraine, Ireland.
Clarke-Thornhill, T. B., Ruston Hall, Kettering, Northamptonshire, England.
Cooper, LL.D., C. J., Hampton Lodge, Stourton near Stour Bridge, Staffordshire, England.
Deas, F. W., 12 Magdala Place, Edinburgh.
Dillon, E., 13 Upper Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, London, S. W.
Dixon, M. A., Rev. William Gray, Warrnambool, Victoria, Australia.
Eaves, Rev. Geo., Poste Restante, Denver, Colorado, U. S. A.
Fearing, D., Newport, Rhode Island, U. S. A.
Flemmich, O. C., Alton House, Roehampton, England.

Flowers, Marcus, National Union Club, Albemarle Street, London, W.
Gowland, W., c/o F. Dillon Esq., 13 Upper Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, London. S. W.
Gribble, Henry, 134 Pearl Street, New York.
Hall, Frank, Elmira, Chemung Co., New York.
Holme, C., F.L.S., The Red House, Bixley Heath, Kent, England.
Kinch, Edward, Agricultural College, Cirencester, England.
Liberty, Lasenby, 13 Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park, London, England.
Lyman, Benjamin Smith, State Geological Survey Office, Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.
Maclagan, Robert, 9 Cadogan Place, Belgrave Square, London.
Malan, Rev. C. S., West Cliff Hall, Bournemouth, England.
Marshall, D.D., T., 48 McCormick Block, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.
Marshall, Prof., Queen's College, Kingston, Canada.
Morse, W. H., c/o Messrs. Smith, Baker & Co., 78 Yokohama.
Napier, H. M., Glasgow, Scotland.
Olcott, Colonel Henry S., Adyar, Madras, India.
O'Neill, John, Trafalgar House, Faversham, Kent, England.
Parker, E. H., British Consulate, Pagoda Island, viâ Hongkong.
Piggott, F. T., 36 Eaton Terrace, London, S. W. England.
Satow, F. A., 6 Queensborough Terrace, Hyde Park, London, W., England.
Tompkinson, M., Franche Hall, near Kidderminster, England.
Trower, H. Seymour, 51 Montagu Square, London, W.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

Akimoto, Viscount, Surugadai, Tōkyō.
Amerman, D.D., James. L., 19 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Andrews, Rev. Walter, Hakodate.
Arrivet, J. B., Koishikawa, Kanatomi-chō, Tōkyō.
Baelz, M.D., E., 12 Kaga Yashiki, Hongō, Tōkyō.
Baker, Colgate, Kōbe.
Batchelor, Rev, J., c/o Rev. Walter Andrews, Hakodate.
Bickersteth, Right Reverend Bishop, 11 Sakae-chō, Shiba, Tōkyō.
Bigelow, Dr. W. S., Boston, Mass. U. S. A.
Booth, Rev. E. S., 178 Bluff, Yokohama.
Brandram, Rev. J. B., Kumamoto.
Brinkley, R.A., Capt. Frank, 7 Nagata-chō, Ni-chōme, Tōkyō.
Brown, Jr., Matthew, 6 Yokohama.
Burton, W. K., 9 Kaga Yashiki, Hongō, Tōkyō.
Center, Alex., 4-A Yokohama.
Chamberlain, B. H., 19 Daimachi, Akasaka, Tōkyō.

Clement, E. W., 30 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Cochran, D.D., G., Los Angeles, Cal., U. S. A.
Cocking, S., 55 Yokohama.
Conder, J., 13 Nishi-konya-chō, Kyōbashi, Tōkyō.
Cruickshank, W. J., 35 Yokohama.
Dautremer, J., French Legation, Tōkyō.
Deakin, L. H., 20 Yokohama.
De Becker, J. E., 142 Bluff, Yokohama.
Dening, Walter, 40 Imai-chō, Azabu, Tōkyō.
Dietz, F., 70 Yokohama.
Divers, M.D., F.R.S., Edward, Imperial University, Tōkyō.
Dixon, M.A., F.R.S.E., James Main, 85 Myōga-dani, Koishikawa, Tōkyō.
Droppers, Garrett, 41 Shinzaka-machi, Akasaka, Tōkyō.
Du Bois, M.D. Francis, 48 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Duer, Y., Nippon Yūsen Kaisha Head Office, Tōkyō.
Dumelin, A., Swiss Consul-General, 90-A Yokohama.
Eby, D.D., C. S., 16 Tatsuoka-chō, Hongō, Tōkyō.
Enslie, J. J., British Consulate, Kōbe.
Fardel, C. L., Victoria School, Yokohama.
Favre-Brandt, J., 145 Bluff, Yokohama.
Fenollosa, Prof. E.F., Boston, Mass. U. S. A.
Francis, Rev. J. M., 25 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Fraser, J. A., 143 Yokohama.
Fraser, Hugh, British Legation, Tōkyō.
Gardiner, J. McD., 40 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Gay, A. O., 2 Yokohama.
Giussani, C., 90-B Yokohama.
Glover, T. B., 53 Kōenchi, Shiba, Tōkyō.
Goodrich, J. K., 2 Yokohama.
Green, James, 118 Concession, Kōbe.
Green, Rev. C. W., Dover, Del., U. S. A.
Greene, D.D. D. C., 24 Nakano-chō, Ichigaya, Tōkyō.
Griffis, Rev. W. E., 638 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.
Griffiths, E. A., British Legation, Tōkyō.
Groom, A. H., 35 Yokohama.
Gubbins, J. H., British Legation, Tōkyō.
Hall, J. C., British Consulate, Nagasaki.
Hampden, E. M. Hobart, British Legation, Tōkyō.
Hannen, N. J., Judge, British Consulate, Yokohama.
Hardie, Rev. A., Ottawa, Canada.
Hattori, Ichizō, Educational Department, Tōkyō.
Hellyer, T. W., 210 Yokohama.
Hepburn, M.D., L.L.D., J. C., 245 Bluff, Yokohama.
Hinton, C. H., Kanazawa, Kaga.
Hunt, H. J., 62 Concession, Kōbe.

Irwin, R. W., 5 Kiridōshi, Sakae-chō, Shiba, Tōkyō.
Isawa, S., 50 Dairokuten-chō, Koishikawa, Tōkyō.
James, F. S., 142 Yokohama.
Jamieson, G., c/o Henry S. King and Co., Cornhill, London, England.
Jaudon, Peyton, 3 Aoi-chō, Akasaka, Tōkyō.
Kanda, Naibu, Imperial University, Tōkyō.
Kanō, J., Fujimi-chō, Itchō-me, Kōjimachi, Tōkyō.
Keil, O., 12 Yokohama.
Kenny, W. J., British Consulate, Yokohama.
King, Rev. A. F., 11 Sakae-chō, Shiba, Tōkyō.
Kirby, J. R., 8 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Kirkwood, M., 43 Shinzaka-machi, Akasaka, Tōkyō.
Knott, D.SC., F.R.S.E., Cargill G., Royal Society, Edinburgh.
Knox, D.D. G. W., 27 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Lambert, E. B., Dōshisha, Kyōto.
Lay, A. H., British Consulate, Kōbe.
Liscomb, W. S., 41 Shinzakamachi, Akasaka, Tōkyō.
Lloyd, Rev. A., Toronto, Canada.
Lōenholn, Dr. J., 8 Kaga Yashiki, Hongō, Tōkyō.
Longford, J. H., British Consulate, Hakodate.
Lowder, J. F., 28 Yokohama.
Lowell, Percival, 40 Water St., Boston, Mass., U. S. A.
MacCauley, Rev. Clay, Keiōgijuku, Mita, Tōkyō.
Macdonald, M.D., Rev. D., 5 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Macnab, A. J., 42 Imai-chō, Azabu, Tōkyō.
MacNair, Rev. T. M., Meiji-gakuin, Shirokane, Tōkyō.
Mason, W. B., 41 Kōenchi, Shiba, Tōkyō.
Masujima, R., 21 Hiyoshi-chō, Kyōbashi, Tōkyō.
Mayet, P., 3 Aoi-chō, Akasaka, Tōkyō.
McCauley, Rev. James, 15 Sankōzaka, Shirokane, Tōkyō.
McCartee, M.D., D. B., 7 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Meriwether, C., Sendai.
Miller, Rev. E. Rothesay, Morioka, Iwate-ken.
Milne, F.G.S., F.R.S., John, 14 Kaga Yashiki, Hongō, Tōkyō.
Münter, Capt., 3 Aoi-chō, Akasaka, Tōkyō.
Münzinger, Rev. K., 11 Suzuki-chō, Surugadai, Tōkyō.
Odlum, E., Coburg, Ontario, Canada.
Palmer, Maj.-Gen. H. S., R.E., 41 Imai-chō, Azabu, Tōkyō.
Pole, Rev. G. H., 6 Concession, Ōsaka.
Pownall, C. A. W., M. I. C. E., 3 Aoi-chō, Akasaka, Tōkyō.
Quin, J. J., British Consulate, Nagasaki.
Rentiers, J. B., British Legation, Tōkyō.
Schurr, G. J. H., 18 Nagata-chō, Ni-chōme, Tōkyō.
Scriba, M.D., J., 13 Kaga Yashiki, Hongō, Tōkyō.
Seymour, B. A., M.D., J. N., 15 Masago-chō, Hongō, Tōkyō.

Shand, W. J. S., 4-B, Yokohama.
Shaw, Ven. Archdeacon, 13 Iigura, Roku-chōme, Tōkyō.
Smith, Rev. G. T., 152 Higashi-katamachi, Komagome, Hongō, Tōkyō.
Soper, Rev. Julius, 15 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Spencer, Rev. J. O., Aoyama, Tōkyō.
Stone, W. H., 3 Aoi-chō, Akasaka, Tōkyō.
Summers, Rev. James, 33-A, Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Takaki, Dr., 10 Nishi-konya-chō, Kyōbashi, Tōkyō.
Thomas, T., 49 Yokohama.
Thompson, A. W., 18 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Thompson, Lady Mary, Cliff End House, Scarborough, England.
Tison, A., A.M., L.L.B., 6 Kaga Yashiki, Hongō, Tōkyō.
Trevithick, F. H., Shimbashi Station, Tōkyō.
Troup, James, British Consulate, Yokohama.
Tsuda, Sen, Shimbori, Azabu, Tōkyō.
Vail, Rev. Milton S., Minami-machi, Aoyama, Tōkyō.
Van de Polder, L., 3 Kiridōshi, Shiba, Tōkyō.
Van der Heyden, M.D., W., General Hospital, Yokohama.
Vassillief, T., Imperial Russian Legation, Tōkyō.
Waddell, Rev. Hugh, 26 Ichibei-machi, Ni-chōme, Tōkyō.
Wagener, Dr., G., 18 Suzukichō, Surugadai, Tōkyō.
Walford, A. B., 10 Yokohama.
Walsh, T., Kōbe.
Walter, W. B., 1 Yokohama.
Warren, Rev. C. F., Ōsaka.
Watson, E. B., 46 Yokohama.
Weipert, Dr. H., German Legation, Tōkyō.
White, Rev. W. J., 6 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Whitney, M.D., Willis Norton, U. S. Legation, Yenokizaka, Akasaka, Tōkyō.
Whittington, Rev. Robert, Azabu, Tōkyō.
Wigmore, J. H., 13 Miyamura-chō, Azabu, Tōkyō.
Wileman, A. E., British Legation, Tōkyō.
Wilson, J. A., Hakodate.
Winstanley, A., 50 Yokohama.
Wyckoff, M. N., c/o Meiji-gakuin, Shirokane, Tōkyō.
Yatabe, B.SC., R., Fujimi-cho, Kōjimachi, Tōkyō.

THE
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Revised June, 1891.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Revised June, 1891.

NAME AND OBJECTS.

Art. I. The Name of the Society shall be THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Art. II. The Object of the Society shall be to collect and publish information on subjects relating to Japan and other Asiatic Countries.

Art. III. Communications on other subjects may, within the discretion of the Council, be received by the Society but shall not be published among the Papers forming the Transactions.

MEMBERSHIP.

Art. IV. The Society shall consist of Honorary and Ordinary Members.

Art. V. Honorary Members shall be admitted upon special grounds, to be determined in each case by the Council. They shall not be resident in Japan, and shall not pay an entrance fee or annual subscription.

Art. VI. Ordinary Members shall pay, on their election, an entrance fee of Five Dollars and the subscription for the current year. Those resident in Japan shall pay an annual subscription of Five Dollars. Those not resident in Japan shall pay an annual subscription of Three Dollars or a Life Composition of Sixteen Dollars.

Any Member elected after 30th June shall not be required to pay the subscription for the year of his election, unless he wishes to receive the Transactions of the past session of the Society.

Art. VII. The Annual Subscription shall be payable in advance, on the 1st of January in each year.

Any Member failing to pay his subscription for the current year by the 30th of June shall be reminded of his omission by the Treasurer. If his subscription still remains unpaid on the 31st of December of that year he shall be considered to have resigned his Membership.

Art. VIII. Every Member shall be entitled to receive the Publications of the Society during the period of his Membership.

OFFICERS.

Art. IX. The Officers of the Society shall be:—

A President;
Two Vice-Presidents;
A Corresponding Secretary;
Two Recording Secretaries;
A Treasurer;
A Librarian.

COUNCIL.

Art. X. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council composed of the Officers for the current year and ten ordinary Members.

MEETINGS.

Art. XI. General Meetings of the Society and Meetings of Council shall be held as the Council shall have appointed and announced.

Art. XII. The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held in June, at which the Council shall present its Annual Report and the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts duly audited by two Members nominated by the President.

Art. XIII. Nine Members shall form a quorum at an Annual Meeting, and Five Members at a Council Meeting. At all Meetings of the Society and Council, in the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents, a Chairman shall be elected by the Meeting. The Chairman shall not have a vote unless there is an equality of votes.

Art. XIV. Visitors (including representatives of the Press) may be admitted to the General Meetings by Members of the Society but shall not be permitted to address the Meeting except by invitation of the Chairman.

ELECTIONS.

Art. XV. All Members of the Society shall be elected by the Council. They shall be proposed at one Meeting of Council and balloted for at the next, one black ball in five to exclude; and their Election shall be announced at the General Meeting following.

Art. XVI. The Officers and other Members of Council shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Meeting and shall hold office for one year.

Art. XVII. The Council shall fill up all Vacancies in its Membership which may occur between Annual Meetings.

PUBLICATION.

Art. XVIII. The published Transactions of the Society shall contain:—

(1) Such papers and notes read before the Society as the Council shall have selected, and an abstract of the discussion thereon;

(2) The Minutes of the General Meetings;

(3) And, at the end of each annual volume, the Reports and Accounts presented to the last Annual Meeting, the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society, and a List of Members.

Art. XIX. Twenty-five separate copies of each published paper shall be placed at the disposal of the author, and the same number shall be reserved by the Council to be disposed of as it sees fit.

Art. XX. The Council shall have power to distribute copies of the Transactions at its discretion.

Art. XXI. The Council shall have power to publish, in separate form, papers or documents which it considers of sufficient interest or importance.

Art. XXII. Papers accepted by the Council shall become the property of the Society and cannot be published anywhere without consent of the Council.

Acceptance of a paper for reading at a General Meeting of the Society does not bind the Society to its publication afterwards. But when the Council has decided not to publish any paper accepted for reading, that paper shall be restored to the author without any restriction as to its further use.

MAKING OF BY-LAWS.

Art. XXIII. The Council shall have power to make and amend By-Laws for its own and the Society's guidance, provided that these are not inconsistent with the Constitution; and a General Meeting by a majority vote may suspend the operation of any By-Law.

AMENDMENTS.

Art. XXIV. None of the foregoing Articles of the Constitution can be amended except at a General Meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the Members present, and only if due notice of the proposed Amendment shall have been given at a previous General Meeting.

BY-LAWS.

GENERAL MEETINGS.

I. The Session of the Society shall extend over the nine months from October to June inclusive.

II. Ordinarily the Session shall consist of nine monthly General Meetings; but it may include a less or greater number when the Council finds reason for such a change.

III. The place and time of Meeting shall be fixed by the Council, preference being given, when the Meeting is in Tōkyō, to 4 p.m. on the Second Wednesday of each month. The place of Meeting may be in Yokohama when the occasion is favourable.

IV. Timely notice of every General Meeting shall be sent by post to the address of every Member resident in Tōkyō or Yokohama.

ORDER OF BUSINESS AT GENERAL MEETINGS.

V. The Order of Business at General Meetings shall be:—

(1) Action on the Minutes of the last Meeting;

(2) Communications from the Council;

(3) Miscellaneous Business;

(4) The Reading and Discussion of papers.

The above order shall be observed except when the Chairman shall rule otherwise.

At Annual Meetings the Order of Business shall include, in addition to the foregoing matters:—

(5) The Reading of the Council's Annual Report and Treasurer's account, and submission of these for the action of the Meeting upon them;

(6) The Election of Officers and Council as directed by Article XVI. of the Constitution.

MEETINGS OF COUNCIL.

VI. The Council shall appoint its own Meetings, preference as to time being given to 4 p.m. on the First Wednesday of each month.

VII. Timely notice of every Council Meeting shall be sent by post to the address of every Member of Council, and shall contain a statement of any extraordinary business to be done.

ORDER OF BUSINESS AT COUNCIL MEETINGS.

VIII. The Order of Business at Council Meetings shall be:—

(1) Action upon the Minutes of the last Meeting;

(2) Reports of the Corresponding Secretary,
of the Publication Committee,
of the Treasurer,
of the Librarian,
and of Special Committees;

(3) The Election of Members;

(4) The Nomination of Candidates for Membership of the Society;

(5) Miscellaneous Business;

(6) Acceptance of Papers to be read before the Society;

(7) Arrangement of the Business of the next General Meeting.

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

IX. There shall be a Standing Committee entitled the Publication Committee and composed of the Secretaries, the Librarian, and any Members appointed by the Council. It shall ordinarily be presided over by the Corresponding Secretary.

It shall carry through the publication of the Transactions of the Society, and the reissue of Parts out of print.

It shall report periodically to the Council and act under its authority.

It shall audit the accounts for printing the Transactions.

It shall not allow authors' manuscripts or printer's proofs of these to go out of its custody for other than the Society's purposes.

DUTIES OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

X. The Corresponding Secretary shall:—

1. Conduct the Correspondence of the Society;
2. Arrange for and issue notices of Council Meetings, and provide that all official business be brought duly and in order before each Meeting;
3. Attend every Council Meeting and General Meeting or give notice to the Recording Secretary that he will be absent;
4. Notify new Officers and Members of Council of their appointment and send them each a copy of the By-Laws;
5. Notify new Members of the Society of their election, and send them copies of the Articles of Constitution and of the Library Catalogue;
6. Unite with the Recording Secretaries, Treasurer and Librarian in drafting the Annual Report of the Council and in preparing for publication all matter as defined in Article XVIII. of the Constitution;
7. Act as Chairman of the Publication Committee and take first charge of authors' manuscripts and proofs struck off for use at Meetings.

RECORDING SECRETARIES.

XI. Of the Recording Secretaries, one shall reside in Tōkyō, and one in Yokohama, each having ordinarily duties only in connection with Meetings of the Society or its Council held in the place where he resides.

DUTIES OF RECORDING SECRETARY.

XII. The Recording Secretary shall:—

1. Keep Minutes of General and Council Meetings;
2. Make arrangements for General Meetings as instructed by the Council, and notify Members resident in Tōkyō and Yokohama;
3. Inform the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer of the election of new Members;

4. Attend every General Meeting and Meeting of Council, or, in case of absence, depute the Corresponding Secretary or some other Member of Council to perform his duties, and forward to him the Minute Book;
5. Act for the Corresponding Secretary in the latter's absence;
6. Act on the Publication Committee;
7. Assist in drafting the Annual Report of the Council and in preparing for publication the Minutes of General Meetings and the Constitution and By-laws of the Society;
8. Furnish abstracts of Proceedings at General Meetings to newspapers and public prints as directed by the Council.

DUTIES OF TREASURER.

XIII. The Treasurer shall:—

1. Take charge of the Society's Funds in accordance with the instructions of the Council;
2. Apply to the President to appoint Auditors, and present the Annual Balance sheet to the Council duly audited before the date of the Annual Meeting;
3. Attend every Council Meeting and report when requested upon the money affairs of the Society, or in case of absence depute some Member of Council to act for him, furnishing him with such information and documents as may be necessary;
4. Notify new Members of the amount of entrance fee and subscription then due;
5. Collect subscriptions and notify Members of their unpaid subscriptions once in or about January and again in or about June; apply to Agents for the sale of the Society's Transactions in Japan and abroad for payment of sums owing to the Society;
6. Pay out all Monies for the Society uppon application of the Officers, making no single payment in excess of Ten Dollars without special vote of the Council;
7. Inform the Librarian when a new Member has paid his entrance fee and first subscription;
8. Submit to the Council at its January Meeting the names of Members who have not paid their subscription for the past year; and, after action has been taken

by the Council
of any Mem
tions is to b
9. Prepare for p
Society.

DUTIES OF LIBRA

XIV. The Librarian
1. Take charg Society's Library
Transactions, books and periodicals
catalogue all to the Library, and super
the binding a. rvation of the books;
2. Carry out the lations of the Council for the use and lending of the Society's books;
3. Send Copies of the Transactions to all Honorary Members, to all Ordinary Members not in arrears for dues according to the list furnished by the Treasurer, and to all Societies and Journals the names of which are on the list of Exchanges;
4. Arrange with Booksellers and others for the sale of the Transactions as directed by the Council, send the required numbers of each issue to the appointed agents, and keep a record of all such business;
5. Arrange, under direction of the Council, new Exchanges of the Transactions with Societies and Journals.
6. Draw up a List of Exchanges of journals and of additions to the Library for insertion in the Council's Annual Report;
7. Make additions to the Library as instructed by the Council;
8. Present to the Council at its June Meeting a statement of the stock of Transactions possessed by the Society;
9. Act on the Publication Committee;
10. Attend every Council Meeting and report on Library matters, or, if absent, send to the Corresponding Secretary a statement of any matter of immediate importance.

LIBRARY AND MEETING ROOM.

XV. The Society's Rooms and Library shall be at No. 17, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, to which may be addressed all letters and

parcels not sent to the private address of the Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, or Librarian.

XVI. The Library shall be open to Members for consultation during the day, the keys of the bookcases being in the possession of the Librarian or other Member of Council resident in the neighbourhood; and books may be borrowed on applying to the Librarian.

SALE OF TR[illegible]ACTIONS.

XVII. A Member may obta[illegible]-price one copy for his own use of any Part of t[illegible]nsactions issued prior to the date of his Membership.

XVIII. The Transactions shall [illegible] on sale by Agents approved of by the Council and shall be supplied to these Agents at a discount price fixed by the Council. 215

RETURN TO ➡ **CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT**
202 Main Library

LOAN PERIOD 1 **HOME USE**	2	3
4	5	6

ALL BOOKS MAY BE RECALLED AFTER 7 DAYS

Renewals and Recharges may be made 4 days prior to the due date.

Books may be Renewed by calling 642-3405.

DUE AS STAMPED BELOW

FEB 04 1989

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UN [illegible]

MAR 31 1994

MAR 24 1994

CIRCULATION DEPT.

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